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Forgetting to Remember:
Theorizing the Role of the Forgotten in the Production of the Hebrew Bible

By

Jennifer L Stover-Kemp

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
Near Eastern Studies
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Ronald Hendel, Chair
Professor Robert Alter
Professor Chana Kronfeld

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Abstract

Forgetting to Remember:
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Jenna Kemp

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Professor Ronald Hendel, Chair

In this dissertation, I examine the Hebrew Bible as a cultural product, analyzing the diachronic text formation practices therein as acts of cultural memory.

Whereas approaches to cultural memory tend to focus on continuity, I turn my attention to forgetting, arguing for the forgotten as a site of fecundity—while remembering makes texts present across time, forgetting is the mechanism that allows meaning to change and multiplicities to converge, forming cultural text into a portable and durable cultural symbols. In this project, I center the scribes writing into the text as agents within the tradition who perform this kind of memory work as they redact, add to, or insert text into their inherited literatures.

This dissertation is made of three case studies that address selected pericopes from three of the main literary genres in the Hebrew Bible: pentateuchal law (Exod 34:11-17), prophetic poetry (Isa 2), and historical narrative 1 Sam 13-15). Each study integrates an eclectic methodology, drawing from the methods traditional to biblical studies (text-criticism, redaction-criticism, philology, etc.) along with theories of cultural memory and intertextuality. I begin each case study by making an argument concerning the text's composition history, and I proceed to analyze the secondary layer as an act of cultural memory that brings the text forward in time, but which also changes the text and its potentialities moving forward. This change, I argue, is part of what allows syntheses between cultural texts to converge into cultural symbols, which can be described as extra-textual hermeneutical assumptions by which readers approach the text. Those which I suggest are active in these case studies are Canon, Isaiah as Seer, and Divine History.

To my queer ancestors
To my queer East Bay Jewish community
To my son

כל הנחלים הלכים אל הים
והים איננו מלא

All rivers go to the sea,
and the sea is never full

—Qohelet 1:7

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ABBREVIATIONS

Books of the Bible

1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
Amos	Amos
Deut	Deuteronomy
Exod	Exodus
Ezek	Ezekiel
Gen	Genesis
Hab	Habakkuk
Hag	Haggai
Hos	Hosea
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Job	Job
Josh	Joshua
Jud	Judges
Lev	Leviticus
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah
Num	Numbers
Obad	Obadiah
Prov	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms
Zech	Zechariah
Zeph	Zephaniah

Other Abbreviations:

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
AHR	The American Historical Review
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
ARS	Annual Review of Sociology
ASR	American Sociological Review
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
BCT	The Bible and Critical Theory
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996.
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BI	Biblical Interpretation
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
<i>CMHE</i>	Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic
DSPN	Dutch Studies published by NELL
Gesenius	Gesenius, Wilhelm. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
<i>HALOT</i>	Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HT	History and Theory
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IBHS	Waltke, O'Connor
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JES	Journal of European Studies
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	The Journal of Religion
JSJPHRP	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
KTU	Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
PT	Poetics Today
SIDA	Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis
SPQ	Social Psychology Quarterly
Syr	Syriac

TS	Theory and Society
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UCLF	The University of Chicago Legal Forum
Vg	Vulgate
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

PREFACE

This is a dissertation about forgetting. Forgetting can be troubling to us as humans because forgetting involves loss, and loss reminds us of death, and death is daunting. As Genesis 3 tells us, we have become like the gods in our mortal and moral awareness, and it may be that we feel cheated out of the opportunity to pick from the second tree—the tree of life—that would render us fully divine. And so death lingers and waits, ready to turn our lives, our achievements, our dissertations and memories to ash. Forgetting, like death, feels corrosive.

And yet there is another thinker, more proximate to us in time, and more revolutionary, perhaps, than our beloved J. Charles Darwin has a different model for thinking about not just individual existence, but life's persistence. Darwin, to my knowledge, does not ruminate on forgetting, but he does offer the Western world a new approach to death, one that leaves our egos behind and forces us to think in more corporate ways. The deaths of those who do not *adapt* to their environment slowly allow species to change so that they collectively become more suited to their environments and can persist over time. Loss, in this sense, does not have to do with destruction ultimately, but instead is of central significance to the mechanisms of continuity even as it renders species changed. Darwin grants us what the Vedas and other Eastern traditions have long pointed out: individual death can bring new life. The central claim of this dissertation is somewhat parallel: forgetting allows memory to persist.

Models of memory that pit remembering and forgetting against each other are, in my estimation, the legacy of neo-platonic philosophy, Enlightenment views of the self, and a romantic longing for originality and authenticity. This Western philosophical tradition wants stability—an ideal form, a separate sense of self, a recovery and maintenance of that which has been lost. But that is not what this dissertation is about. I will suggest that memory—the persistence of ideas over time—is fundamentally composed of an interplay between remembering and forgetting. Remembering and forgetting are not separate, but form the dual engine that allows continuity as a phenomenon to exist. Remembering renders the past present once again, and without it, the past has no existence. Remembering activates this past and brings it into view. Forgetting, I shall argue, is what changes the past for use in the present. It allows meaning to shift and multiplicities to converge so that a memory is *useful* in new presents. So necessary is forgetting to memory that without it, memory dies; without forgetting, a memory

cannot *adapt* to its cultural environment. If we cannot make memory significant in the present, it ceases to persist.

Every act of memory requires an interplay of remembering and forgetting in order to make the memory compelling in the present. Forgetting is not death. Forgetting is adapting. The existence of the Bible's afterlife—a necessity for the religious communities who hold it to be sacred—lies in some amount of tension with the central ideas of these communities: the Bible must change in order to persist. It gives the aura of stability, though its existence, in every moment, is on the precipice of extinction without the agency of the reading community re-enlivening it in every generation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the result of years of obsessive thinking generally and a life-long anxious rumination on the inevitability of death. As such, I feel that I owe some thanks to the people who put up with these tendencies of mine and gently led me into more productive ways of thinking. These are, above all, Jamie Wright and Sarah Connelly.

There are many people I need to acknowledge in the production of this dissertation, first of whom is Ron Hendel, my advisor, who has tirelessly guided me through my education and continues to push me into more nuanced thinking. It goes without saying that this dissertation would not have been written without his shaping of the way I think (and the project and chapters). I also want to thank Chana Kronfeld and Bob Alter who read drafts and delivered valuable feedback that helped me form an approach to some of the complex ideas I attempt to tackle here. Many thanks go to Joel Baden who was generous with his time and insight when I spent a semester at Yale. His mentorship was enormously helpful in shaping the first chapter, out of which the entire project was born. I also want to acknowledge friends, teachers, and colleagues who read early drafts and helped me clarify my ideas through conversation: Seth Sanders, Jackie Vayntrub, Julia Rhyder, Ingrid Lily, Justin White, James Nati, Zach Margulies, and my Berkeley Hebrew cohort Madeline Wyse, Shirelle Doughty, Zissel Piazza, but most of all Oren Yirmiya, my work husband, as well as Carolyn Klaasen, my East Coast counterpart, both of whom read multiple relatively disorganized drafts and delivered valuable feedback. Whatever shortcomings remain in this manuscript are present despite the input of these generous colleagues and co-conspirators.

I want to acknowledge and thank those who have offered emotional (and oftentimes also material) support through this process because without them I would not have made it this far. Rabbi Dev Noily is an adopted queer parent and an ongoing conversation partner, pushing me to think outside of my academic training, and providing emotional and spiritual support and guidance. Anna Martin and Loel Solomon opened their home to me, housed me, and fed me at various times throughout this entire process. Our weekly shabbat dinners were always grounding and life-giving. My bffs believe in me and in the work I'm doing, and have been my *shomrim* team through the joys and challenges of life. They have been enormously supportive even though succeeding in this industry likely means being geographically separated from many of them: Emily and Megan, Toph and Natalie, Ciera, Sasha, Allie Grill, and Torre and Rachey. I would

like to offer special gratitude to Allie because without her becoming our podmate and helping with childcare, I could not have finished during the pandemic. I also want to thank the community I have through Kehilla and SVARA, both of whom taught me the value of intergenerational queer relationships. And to Kehilla, most of all, I can attribute the incredible network of support that I am happy to say has helped grow me into an adult who is deeply rooted in tradition and committed to justice in the present. But most of all, my gratitude goes out to Malka Stover who believes in what I'm doing with an unparalleled passion and who has supported me throughout my entire academic journey to an entirely ridiculous degree. I am eternally grateful to her support.

I have more than a few ancestors who paved my way, many of whom I cannot name. But I want to acknowledge my maternal grandparents for kindling a love of the Bible, though they may be shocked or perhaps even appalled if they were to read some of the contents of my work. But they have brought me to this moment perhaps more than anyone else as they have shaped both of my parents' own love of the Bible, who have in turn shaped mine. My grandparents have certainly empowered me, and my parents have offered me an enormous amount of cheerleading throughout. I would like to offer an acknowledgment of the many generations who have brought me to this moment, and the many generations who have risked so much so that someone like me has the space to do this work.

Lastly, this dissertation is in part dedicated to my son, Rafael, who I hope will one day be proud of what I have done in this world, academic and otherwise (but I hope mostly otherwise). As Gilgamesh learned, the repetition of one's name is what gives eternal life, and my one hope in this regard is not necessarily that Rafi would one day grant me this honor, but that I can live in such a way that he would feel proud to do so.

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The Hebrew Bible is not one text, and the books that make it up are not singular, but rather composite entities. This statement might be overly obvious in the context of biblical studies, but nevertheless, it is with this observation that my study begins. What perplexes me about the Bible is how such a diversity of perspectives that resides in this library of composite books gets squeezed through theological categories to make coherent statements: there is one God, images of God are bad, the messiah comes from the line of David, God has no body, God lives in the Jerusalem temple, and so on. In relation to any one of these claims, there are a multitude of biblical texts that contradict it in strikingly explicit terms. And yet, these are all ideas that begin in the biblical period and persist up through the present forms of Judaism, Christianity, and, in many regards, Islam. How is it that one statement survives over another into theological fruition even as its complete opposite still resides in the same authoritative text?

In response, I will offer a theory of cultural memory that accounts for the change of biblical text over time as well as the accompanying creation of symbolic categories through which later interpreters encounter these texts. In creating a study of “cultural memory,” I must first define what “culture” I imagine to be doing the remembering. For this study, I will consider the scribal culture which is responsible for the biblical texts. This culture is, admittedly, very broad and includes those institutions attached to the temple and the palace of the monarchic period, as well as those less formal institutions in the exilic period whose participants ostensibly loaded up carts of scrolls in Jerusalem, brought them to Babylon, and edited them into forms more recognizable to us (and proceeded to write new ones). It also includes those returnees to Jerusalem who, again, ostensibly loaded up the reformed scrolls once again and brought them back to Jerusalem, the impoverished backwater of the Persian empire, where, again, scribes maintained these written materials (and, again, wrote new ones). To consider this one “culture” is perhaps difficult, but the persistence of biblical text is the necessary evidence for its cohesion. The fact that these materials survived such a tumultuous fate and still existed through the Jewish wars of the first two centuries CE speaks to the continuity of the scribal culture that maintained them. The only way these materials could have still existed in this period is for generations of scribes to have handed them down over and over again through the centuries. Despite the

political shifts of empire and the vicissitudes of exile and return, this scribal culture had a level of continuity necessary to maintain texts we still encounter today.

Below, I will address the relevant scholarly literature in order to form my own theoretical perspective, suggesting that it is fruitful to think of cultural memory as a process rather than a product. This process is composed of *acts* of cultural memory over time. An act of cultural memory is the activation of cultural materials for use in the present (this can include rituals, narratives about the past, significant pieces of literature, events, etc.). This activation does not just bring the cultural materials into the present, but also places them in an interactive relationship with the symbolic system of the culture, a system that is both reflected and reformed in each act of cultural memory. Most importantly for this study, the act of memory itself is a combination of remembering and forgetting—continuity and change—as cultural materials are activated in the present, but are reconstituted for new purposes, making contact with different parts of the cultural structures.

In order to think about the development of the biblical text within scribal culture, I will clarify my terminology. An “act of memory” will be considered the activation and reading of a specific cultural material: biblical text.¹ I will call this cultural material a “cultural text” in order to both highlight its cultural production and to focus on text as a specific cultural material. These cultural texts are written materials that are handed down, read, and in many cases reworked in some way by scribal agents in a dialectical pattern that spans centuries. The continual handing down of the cultural text forms “cultural symbols,” which should be understood as the extra-textual hermeneutical lenses that allow cultural texts to integrate with one another to create synthetic meanings. Each of these acts is performed by a scribal agent as that agent inherits, reads, and integrates a literary intervention into the text—an intervention that is reflective of and perpetuates cultural symbols that must be taken into account by the next scribal agent as he reads a composite text.² These cultural symbols are formed by intertextual linkages in which relatively older text must be read in connection to the literary intervention and whatever extra-textual elements the agent links to it. In this way, the mnemotechnic paths of cultural texts converge to create cultural symbols which help the next agent make new meaning in his own present.

In each act of cultural memory, there exists an interplay of remembering and forgetting as scribes activate, add to, and pass on cultural texts. Broadly defined, remembering relates to the

¹ I realize that to call a text “biblical” in this period is etic and anachronistic. However, rather than burdening the reader with a description like “textual materials that would eventually be considered biblical,” I choose to use a shorter term.

² Throughout this dissertation, I choose to use a pronoun in reference to those scribes whose literary interventions I am analyzing instead of referring to the text itself as the compositional agent, which is somewhat typical in the field of biblical studies. I do this to give the writing scribe personhood and agency as a link in the transmission of tradition. I use the 3ms “he” rather tentatively simply because of the likelihood of this being the case, given the socio-historical reality. In all instances, I will additionally provide names for the scribes whose work I am analyzing. Again, this is to give agency to the scribes authoring the literary interventions I approach.

continuous elements within the literary tradition, and forgetting relates to discontinuous elements or those that have changed as the agent passes on the cultural text. It is my contention that forgetting does not receive its fair due in theories of cultural memory.³ Forgetting is precisely what aids the formation of cultural symbols. These synthetic, extra-textual, symbolic structures are the result of reading cultural texts in new contexts and making them mean in relation to the present. In order for new meaning to emerge, readers must forget aspects of the older text and its linkages to the preceding agent's present. In doing so, these agents shed old meanings but produce new ones that better connect to their current concerns. The concerns that are perceptible to us show up through the activation of other cultural texts that may not have previously been linked to the cultural text under examination. For example, late insertions into Isaiah that resemble Deuteronomistic rhetoric signal to us that that scribal agent reading Isaiah is reading it in connection to Deuteronomistic literature. This act may background previous meanings in the Isaiah text for the next reader, but in connecting it to Deuteronomy, the scribal agent is creating new meaning that arises as Isaiah and Deuteronomy make contact, initiating new potentials for meaning as these cultural texts resonate with one another for interpreters over time. In order for the next reader to make sense of the now-composite text, the tradition at large forgets those backgrounded meanings. But via that forgetting, scribal agents create syntheses that constitute new hermeneutical assumptions that they then bring to the text. These syntheses may be assumptions about authorial figures, the relationality between texts and text collections, or the meaning of the past.

These are the broad contours of my theoretical framework throughout this dissertation, and they will gain flesh within each of my case studies that make up the chapters herein. What follows in this introduction is an engagement with the scholarly literature on the interdisciplinary field of cultural memory (often called "collective memory") studies. In this overview of the literature, I will address specific theorists from a broad range of disciplines, engaging with their main ideas and then highlighting what I will use from them in this study and describing why I find their ideas useful. In conversation with these theorists, I will weave together my own theory of cultural memory as it relates to the composition of biblical text. I will then move on to examine how cultural memory studies have made inroads into biblical studies in order to carve out a new space for my own approach, after which I will review some of the other trends in biblical studies that have informed mine and on which I will be building. Next, I will make some brief comments on my own methodological assumptions for reconstructing the composition history of the texts at hand in order to identify literary interventions that represent acts of cultural memory. Lastly, I will outline the structure of the chapters.

³ For a recent treatment of forgetting, see Harald Weinrich, *Lethé: The Art and Critique of Forgetting*, trans. Steven Rendall (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

2. Theories of Collective and Cultural Memory

2.1. Maurice Halbwachs: Collective Memory (1925, 1950)⁴

Maurice Halbwachs was the first to posit “collective memory”⁵ as a mechanism by which social structures are maintained over time.⁶ Halbwachs was a student of sociologist Émile Durkheim, who had coined the term “collective effervescence” to describe those moments of heightened emotion whereby individuals in the context of group ritual would supersede their own boundaries and link together to create the bonds of collective consciousness.⁷ Working from his teacher’s understanding of collective experience, Halbwachs himself sought an answer to the question: What is it that allows this collectivity to remain intact in the less “effervescent” moments? To this question Halbwachs offered his theory of “collective memory.”⁸ Collective memory is, for Halbwachs, a group’s sense of its past that is mediated in the present by individuals. Collective memory, therefore, is not about retrieving a past, but rather its continual reconstruction in the present, which can only be done in the context of various intersecting social frames (*cadres sociaux*). Without these frames, Halbwachs contends, no memory—personal or collective—would be possible.

Halbwachs’ interest in memory is influenced by another of his teachers, Henri Bergson,⁹ who theorized individual subjective experience as the truest source of knowledge. Bringing Bergson’s ideas of subjectivity into contact with Durkheim’s interest in social structures, Halbwachs contends that it is individuals who remember, but they do so within a matrix of various social frames. Remembering, for Halbwachs, is an individual experience, but it is not an

⁴ The two main works I reference below are: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, ed. Mary Douglas, trans. Francis J. Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980). They were originally published in French in 1925 and 1950, respectively, with the latter edited and published posthumously, five years after Halbwachs’ death in 1945. Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1925); Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).

⁵ *Mémoire collective*.

⁶ At around the same time, art historian Aby Warburg independently posited the term “cultural memory” in relation to “artistic iconology, in which present images were seen as containing the accumulated residues of their long histories.” Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, “Introduction,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 21; Aby Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003); Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125n1.

⁷ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen Elise Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 216–25.

⁸ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Mary Douglas, “Introduction,” in *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980), 8.

⁹ Halbwachs began his graduate career under the tutelage of Bergson, only to leave to work with Durkheim in a shift from philosophy to sociology, and within that, a shift from thinking about individuals as isolated units to thinking about individuals functioning within various social frames. As Mary Douglas notes, Halbwachs “was not leaving Bergson’s territory in any neutral sense, but rather was moving into a good position from which to prepare an attack on it,” primarily as Durkheim “presented time not as an intuition but as a social construct.” Douglas, “Introduction,” 6.

isolated one. Rather, individual action in this regard is shaped by the collective structures for meaning making. Pushing back against Bergson's tendency to consider the individual as an independent unit, Halbwachs argues that "it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories."¹⁰ Human consciousness is not isolated, and memories do not reside as "ready-made images in some subterranean gallery of our thought."¹¹ For Halbwachs, memory is not retrieved, but is rather created and reconstructed in the present by the individual amid social frames.¹² This insight is foundational to cultural memory studies.

Halbwachs maintained a Bergsonian focus on the individual, but he painted the relationship between the individual and the collective as one of intersubjectivity. He claims: "It is not sufficient, in effect, to show that individuals always use social frameworks when they remember. It is necessary to place oneself in the perspective of the group or groups. The two problems, moreover, are not only related: they are in effect one."¹³ In an act of memory, one is reconstructing a past in the context of social frameworks that determine the possibilities for thought and meaning, and in order to do so that person has to inhabit that collective social framework which necessarily includes recollections of a collective past, ways of thinking about time, modes of structuring meaning, etc. Therefore, the individual simultaneously reproduces the collective frames in their act of memory, and acts as an individual in recalling a memory. In the words of Halbwachs, "One may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories."¹⁴ Iterating individual memory necessarily requires iterating memories of the collective past.

In integrating perspectives from his two great teachers, Halbwachs creates a theory of collective memory that combines key elements that do not always find their way together in newer iterations of his theory. Namely, he brings the social context of the individual together with the agency of the individual by theorizing cultural memory as produced, rather than preserved, over time. Far from positing a monumental collective memory, Halbwachs suggests that each individual is operating from a matrix of collectives to which they belong (family, religion, nation, etc.). When individuals remember, they must navigate these various social frameworks that structure their memories, drawing on some combination of the frameworks as

¹⁰ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 38.

¹¹ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 75. *La Mémoire collective*, originally published in 1950. This statement represents Halbwachs' characterization of Bergson's philosophy of memory.

¹² Halbwachs claimed that individuals can briefly escape these frames by entering into "contemplative memory or dreamlike memory," but he continues, "if we flee in this way from the society of the people today, this is in order to find ourselves among other human beings and in another human milieu, since our past in [sic] inhabited by the figures of those we used to know." Even when one could theoretically escape the present to fully enter the past, memories are still structured by the social frames of the past. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 49.

¹³ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

¹⁴ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

they act in any moment of recollection. Therefore, individuals, according to Halbwachs, operate from intersecting social frameworks,¹⁵ and thus social groups and social frames are in constant flux, interpenetrating one another at any given moment. Thus, while individuals must operate in these frames, they have the agency in any situation to navigate them according to their goals in the present. This emphasis on agency functions in the foreground of my study and will come back into view with Olick's sociology of collective memory, as I will show later, as well as Chana Kronfeld's theory of intertextuality that will be explicated in the chapters below.

Much of the critique against Halbwachs is due to misunderstandings of his work emerging from the dual meaning of his key term, "collective memory."¹⁶ On the one hand, collective memory is defined by the fact that individual memory is mediated through social frameworks; individuals cannot make meaning outside of their social frameworks, and so the creation and existence of individual memory is totally dependent on them. On the other hand, collective memory is a social group's shared sense of the past which is formed over generations through media, institutions, and communication and which is embedded in the social framework. His concept of "collective" memory has been misunderstood as "conceptualizing society in disembodied terms, as an entity existing in and of itself."¹⁷ Halbwachs himself had received this criticism and spent the last fifteen years of his life responding to it in the form of *Le mémoire collective*, which was published posthumously.¹⁸ He was, tragically, unable to finish this volume in his life because he was arrested and held in the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he died.¹⁹ Marc Bloch, for example, critiqued him for inappropriately painting individual

¹⁵ My use here of "intersecting" is not from Halbwachs, but emerges from critical race theory and originates with black feminist law scholar, Kimberle Crenshaw, who proposes the term "intersectionality" in order to problematize "the tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis." Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *UCLF* 140 (1989): 139. Intersectionality as a critical category operates as a way to examine the multiple power structures framing the experience of Black women in legal contexts. Black women are discriminated against as women and as Black people, but the intersection of the two identities yields a multivalent oppression that neither white women nor Black men experience. I use it in this context because as a term it sharply pinpoints the multiple social frames that one must navigate in any act of memory. It captures the multiple frames operating in every aspect of culture, from racism embedded in law to individual acts of memory.

¹⁶ In this dissertation, I will seek to sharpen this term with the help of various other theorists.

¹⁷ Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Sins of the Fathers: Germany, Memory, Method* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 42.

¹⁸ The English edition of this book, *The Collective Memory* (translated by Mary Douglas who includes a robust introduction), has since fallen out of print. His earlier work *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* is available in English in *On Collective Memory*, and it includes another of his influential works, "The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land" (*La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Etude de mémoire collective*).

¹⁹ After the death of his Jewish mother- and father-in-law by the hand of the Gestapo (or the Vichy militia), "Halbwachs was so outraged by the barbaric murders that he went to Lyon to inquire about the circumstances and to demand justice. He was immediately arrested and transported to the Buchenwald concentration camp." Lewis Coser, "Introduction," in *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 6–7.

psychology as a collective experience.²⁰ However, if we are to take the dual meaning of Halbwachs' term seriously (and Halbwachs did claim that the two meanings are inseparable), then some of the critiques leveled against him fade. Thus, the "collective memory" is neither disembodied nor an application of individual psychology to a collective. Instead, Halbwachs conceived of collective memory as both the structures that create meaning in a given culture and as individual action responding to, reproducing, and shifting these structures in the present. Individuals make these structures real and embodied as they continuously reproduce them in their actions.

2.2. Jan Assmann: Cultural Memory (1983-Present)

As the field is currently organized, Jan and Aleida Assmann are two of the major touchstone figures for theorizing cultural memory. Since I will revisit Aleida Assmann in my section on literature, I will focus in this section on Jan Assmann except where it is necessary to consider them together.²¹ Jan and Aleida Assmann develop from Halbwachs a more detailed and, at times, overly schematized theory of collective memory. They claim that Halbwachs leaves questions about the temporally distant memory of a collectivity largely unaddressed, and instead focuses on individual acts of remembering the recent past and their intersubjective relationship with social frames (a claim that I challenge in the excursus below). In revisiting Halbwachs, who had until then largely remained in obscurity,²² the Assmanns develop a theory of collective memory that they claim accounts for both the recent past of the individual and the recollection of memories deep in the collective past. In order to build from Halbwachs and to sharpen his key term, they posit collective memory as something of an umbrella term, under which mimetic memory, the memory of things, and, most importantly, communicative and cultural memory reside.²³ While they present these various aspects of collective memory, their main focus is to develop a distinction between communicative and cultural memory, with cultural memory

²⁰ Marc Bloch, "Mémoire collective, tradition et coutume," *Revue de Synthèse Historique* 40 (1925): 73–83. For a partial English translation see Marc Bloch, "Marc Bloch (1886-1944)," in *The Cultural Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, trans. Jennifer Marie Silva (New York: Ox, 2011), 150–55.

²¹ Though Jan Assmann is perhaps the most often referenced in biblical studies (this may be due to the temporal proximity of his subject matter to the biblical period, as well as his interest in the Bible and subjects relevant to the Bible), he himself frequently cites Aleida Assmann as his primary co-author and the interlocutor with whom he developed the theory; it was the two of them together who first wrote on the subject and offered their collective theoretical frame and terminology. For this reason, I include reference to them together. Jan Assmann, Assmann, Aleida, and Christof Hardmeier, eds., *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* (Munich: Fink, 1983). For Jan Assmann on the Bible, see the recent monograph, Jan Assmann, *The Invention of Religion: Faith and Covenant in the Book of Exodus*, trans. Robert Savage (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

²² Assmann notes that "[t]here is a certain irony in the fact that the theorist of social memory is now largely forgotten," adding in a footnote: "Since this statement was written (in 1990), this situation has changed completely. Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 31.

²³ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 5–6.

operating according to a set of characteristics. The distinction between the two and the characteristics of cultural memory are what I will take up moving forward.

2.2.1. Communicative and Cultural Memory

Communicative memory, for the Assmanns, “comprises memories related to the recent past” that “the individual shares with his contemporaries.”²⁴ These memories are communicated spontaneously, without the need for specialists (as opposed to cultural memory, which is institutional and requires specialists). Additionally, there is within communicative memory a “reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, and disorganization.” This idea of communicative memory, they claim, is most comparable to Halbwachs’ “collective memory,” in that it is focused on how social frames create the range of what is thinkable and how social interactions reaffirm and build upon the existing social frames. Perhaps the most central aspect of communicative memory is that it is confined temporally to the recent past and “does not extend more than eighty to (at the very most) one hundred years into the past.”²⁵ As individuals bearing those communicative memories die, the temporal horizon of a collective’s communicative memory shifts along with the passage of time. This horizon and the content of communicative memory is therefore perpetually in motion. Communicative memory, they claim, is where Halbwachs’ theory ends.

Cultural memory, on the other hand, is of a different sort. “The concept of cultural memory,” writes Assmann,

comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image. Upon such collective knowledge . . . of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.²⁶

As opposed to the immediacy of communicative memory, cultural memory is composed of fixed points in the distant past, the continuation of which are not dictated by the passage of time, but by perpetual use. Whereas the horizon of communicative memory is always shifting with the passage of time, the temporal horizon of cultural memory remains fixed, and its “memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance).”²⁷ As specialists reactivate cultural memory in new presents, it thus persists even as a memory of a distant past. Part of what makes the reactivation of the past possible, according to Assmann, is the “objectivization” of culture into “figures of memory” in which “a collective experience crystallizes, whose meaning, when touched upon, may suddenly

²⁴ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 36.

²⁵ Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 127.

²⁶ Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 132.

²⁷ Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 129.

become accessible again across millennia.”²⁸ The Assmanns do clarify parts of Halbwachs’ ideas, and they brilliantly put them to work in their own fields. However, aspects of their theory are overly schematized and create stark conceptual divisions where they are not necessarily helpful.

2.2.2. Characteristics of Cultural Memory

According to the Assmanns, cultural memory becomes such by following a certain set of characteristics. First, cultural memories help to establish the *boundaries* of a people, thus aiding in concretizing their identity.²⁹ These memories tell collectivities who they are and what makes them distinct. Second, cultural memory is constantly *reconstructed* in the present and relates to a contemporary situation. In other words, cultural memory continues to remain such by being relevant to the concerns of the community. In this regard, cultural memory is not resurrected, but reconstructed—it is tied to acts in time, which is an emphasis of my own conceptual mechanisms. Third, cultural memories become so by achieving a certain amount of *stability*. “The objectivation or crystallization of communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge,” writes Assmann, “is a prerequisite of its transmission *in the culturally institutionalized heritage of a society*.”³⁰ In other words, communicative memory has to condense and emerge as a dense, multi-determined object in order for it to enter into what Assmann deems cultural memory. Necessary after the formation of cultural memory as such, is the fourth characteristic: *organization*. By this, Assmann means “a) the institutional buttressing of communication . . . and b) the specialization of bearers of cultural memory.” For Assmann, cultural memory is, by definition, entrusted to these institutions and the specialists therein. Cultural memory is therefore highly differentiated from the everyday, communicative memory in that it is performed by specialists (scribes, bards, shamans, etc.), it has to be “prepared and vetted” with a “controlled distribution,” and its specialists are pressed with the requirement of providing “a word-for-word rendition.”³¹ Fifth, cultural memory presses an *obligation* onto the members of the collective. It provides normative and formative values to the people for whom the cultural memory is significant.³² Lastly, cultural memory is reflexive in that it draws on itself to interpret practice, explain and interpret the present, and structures how the group thinks about itself.³³

²⁸ Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 129. Assmann cites this idea as originating with Aby Warburg, an early theorist of cultural memory.

²⁹ The focus on a sense of identity within cultural memory studies is a fruitful contribution by the Assmanns to Halbwachs’ theory.

³⁰ Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 130. Emphasis original.

³¹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 39–40.

³² Assmann states: “The relation to a normative self-image of the group engenders a clear *system of values and differentiations in importance* which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols.” Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory,” 131.

³³ This last characteristic gives too much agency to “cultural memory,” neglecting the agency of the person performing an act of cultural memory and what agents *tend to do* in the cultural system in relation to cultural memories. The question of agency is one I shall take up throughout the dissertation.

Before moving on to my critique of these specific characteristics, the identified problem that lies at the heart of my critique is Jan Assmann's general elitist and rigid view of the functions and production of human culture. Assmann distinguishes between communicative and cultural memory, in part, by the level of institutionalization of the cultural materials and how flexible or fixed they are. This perspective excludes things like counter-culture movements, folk arts, and various types of intertextuality from being considered under the rubric of "cultural memory." It also, I argue below, leaves a sizable gap in his theory when we ask what the process is that moves "memories" from communicative to cultural. I contend that his elitist dichotomization in this area prevents his ideas from being as useful as they could be within the study of the production of the Hebrew Bible. I intend to remedy this problem by critically engaging with some of his categories and blending them together to focus on cultural memory as a dialogical process. Part of how I will do this is to pay attention to how Assmann conceives of cultural memory as either a product or a process, where these two categories meet, and how they function in tandem.

Assmann's two features that I would like to critically deal with are the third and fourth: the formation and organization of cultural memory. In these two categories he shifts from cultural memory as a process to cultural memory as a product, resulting in an unhelpful distinction. His first two characteristics, "boundaries" and the "reconstruction" of cultural memory, focus attention onto cultural memory as a process by which boundaries are continuously negotiated via the reconstruction of the past in the present. Similarly, the obligation (characteristic four) pressed upon members in these acts are continuously reconstituted as agents reinforce cultural memory through the activation of other memories (reflexivity, characteristic five). However, Assmann's use of stabilization and organization decouples the process of cultural memory from the product in a way that limits cultural memory as a *product* to institutionalized settings without claiming cultural memory as the *process* that institutionalized these materials in the first place. Rather, much as one can suddenly drink legally at twenty-one, Assmann schematizes his theory so that the processes of cultural memory kick in once cultural materials become cultural memories. I do think that stabilization and organization are key components for the study of cultural memory, but I would like to show the intertwined nature of the processes that form what Assmann would call cultural memories with the processes that dictate their trajectories.

For example, Assmann claims that cultural memory is only to be labeled as such once it is institutionalized, at which point it is "cultivated" by professionals. Two of the modes of cultivation he mentions here that pertain to text in particular are the cultivation of text via word-for-word transmission and the cultivation of meaning via a hermeneutic culture. Dichotomizing the "canon," which requires these two modes of cultivation, from the "stream of tradition,"³⁴

³⁴ He borrows this phrase from Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

which he describes as free-flowing, Assmann insinuates that the stream of tradition is *not* cultural memory because it is not fixed. Cultural memory begins once the text has become stabilized and therefore requires a hermeneutic culture to keep it newly relevant. As I shall argue in my first chapter, this distinction is problematic since hermeneutic cultures collaborate with the stream of tradition to form canonical texts. The process of cultural memory—of remembering and interpreting cultural texts—is the locomotive engine driving the stabilization and organization of cultural materials, just as cultural materials remain propelled by these same forces once they cross Assmann’s invisible line into qualifying as “cultural memory.” For this reason, I will choose to focus on cultural memory as a process that explains the persistence of cultural materials over time. Theorizing cultural memory is a way to account for the phenomenon of continuity in the face of the oblivion brought on by the passage of time. The fact that information and ideas persist past their use in a present cries out for a critical explanation.

To do this, I will think about cultural memory as an act in time performed by an agent of memory, which can, in theory, be an activation of the community’s shared past or its cultural materials emerging from that past, both of which are brought forward in time by use in a present moment. The individual agents I will be examining are located within a broad sense of ancient Israelite/Judahite scribal culture in which scribal agents are receiving and passing on some collection of written material deemed worth maintaining and therefore culturally important. In this use, acts of cultural memory are not necessarily acts of reconstructing *the past* in the present, but they are rather acts of reconstructing a past *cultural text* for new use in the present. By doing so, they are inheriting texts from the past of the scribal culture, they are reading them and inserting new material, and as a result they are passing on a new iteration of that text, a text that has been changed and has accumulated new meaning. These texts are cultural materials that come together over time via the literary interventions of agents within scribal culture. The process by which these are produced, therefore, is a *process of cultural memory made up of acts of cultural memory, the meanings of which accumulate onto the text as an object*. To further illuminate how I am situating my theory of cultural memory, I will move now to address the term “cultural.”

2.2.3. Excursus: Positioning the Assmanns in Relation to Halbwachs

With the communicative/cultural binary that they delimit by both the passage of time and the institutionalization of memory, the Assmanns claim to fill a gap in Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory. It is a misunderstanding of Halbwachs, however, to say that he limits his theory to the recent (communicative) past; he simply cuts a different distinction based on the category of experience (which is perhaps unsurprising for a student of both Bergson and Durkheim). Halbwachs posits the umbrella term of collective memory, under which “historical” memory and “autobiographical” memory reside.³⁵ For Halbwachs, historical memory is defined

³⁵ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 50–55.

by memory that is *borrowed* from outside of the individual. Examples of historical memory could range from one's own memories of a historical event during which they were alive but which they did not experience directly (e.g. I remember the falling of the Twin Towers, but my memory is what Halbwachs would characterize as "borrowed" because I saw it on television rather than experienced it directly) to memories of historical events in the distant past of the collective (e.g. I remember the American Revolution because I learned about it in school and visited the relevant sites). Autobiographical memories, on the other hand, are those that an individual *directly experienced* (e.g. I remember my freshman year of high school). These types of memories are intertwined in that we use historical memories in order to structure our own autobiographical memories (e.g. I remember that I was a freshman in high school in 2001 because I remember that the Twin Towers fell my freshman year). Essentially, the key distinction that defines the dual engine of Halbwachs' "collective memory" is broken down by the category of experience³⁶ into direct memories or mediated memories. The Assmanns miss this distinction that Halbwachs makes (or they mischaracterize it) and claim that Halbwachs never accounted for the deep historical "cultural" memory of a collective, stopping instead at the temporally shallow "communicative" memory. This claim is simply incorrect.

Perhaps a bit confusingly (and Halbwachs is aware of the potential for terminological confusion),³⁷ Halbwachs does provide an ultimate contrast between the critical category of *history* and *collective memory*, claiming that "general history starts only when tradition ends and the social memory is fading or breaking up."³⁸ The aim of history, for Halbwachs, is to provide an objective and total account of the past of the entirety of humanity. Even when one historian is focusing on a single period in the history of a single nation, these details are intended to be added to the whole of history, allowing history to be a unitary and non-contradictory compilation of the entire story of human existence. He suggests that this history can only begin once the events within it are no longer active in the collective memory of a group, and the events can therefore be separated from a collective's present interests and instead presented as objective facts. History is, for Halbwachs, a preservationist enterprise which aims to save that which is not in cultural use. The category of "history" is not defined by temporal distance but by cultural disuse. I do not think that we need to follow Halbwachs this far. Halbwachs, in this regard, is very much a product of his time, and scholars today have reaped the benefits of the linguistic turn in the humanities that has problematized the stark differentiation between history and memory, the objective nature of history writing, and the non-conflictual and singular truth of the past that is available for discovery. Particularly relevant to as challenges to Halbwachs' conception of history are the work of Michel Foucault and Hayden White, both of whom have demonstrated in

³⁶ A category which requires in another context some critical engagement due to the changing nature of media and where "authentic" experience lies.

³⁷ He admits, "'historical memory' is a rather unfortunate expression because it connects two terms [history and memory] opposed in more than one aspect." Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 78.

³⁸ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 78.

different ways that critical history can escape neither the synthetic nature of meaning nor selective narrativization. They are both absolutely necessary for history writing.³⁹

2.3. Ann Swidler: Culture as Use (1986-Present)

Though “cultural memory” was originally introduced by Assmann, I will use the term not in juxtaposition to communicative memory, but to frame activations of a collective past (whether a past event or cultural materials emerging from the past) within a sociological approach to culture. In using the term “cultural” memory, I am not suggesting that Halbwachs was wrong to use “collective” or that, following the Assmanns, cultural memory should be considered a subset of collective memory and distinguished from communicative memory. Instead, I choose to use “cultural” memory because setting the problem in terms of cultural studies is a productive move and brings the study of cultural memory into contact with a specific toolset. The term “collective” is, as some of the critique of Halbwachs has highlighted, misleadingly suggestive of a collective psychology.⁴⁰ Rather, I use the term “cultural” because it captures the process of remembering the past of a collective as a fundamentally cultural issue.

Clifford Geertz famously initiated a turn in the study of culture as “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.”⁴¹ This groundbreaking definition introduces culture as a type of semiotics in which relationships between symbols constitute a system of meaning.⁴² For Geertz, the cultural critic can read cultures as if reading texts, examining how each part relates to the other to create meaning.⁴³ While Geertz’s definition continues to persist, he has been justly critiqued for viewing culture as a singular unifying system, a “container” that holds all aspects of culture as a monolithic unity.⁴⁴ If one can locate the central unifying

³⁹ In particular see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality,” in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1–25.

⁴⁰ However, as I wrote above, these critiques stem from a misreading of Halbwachs. Additionally, the Durkheimian school at large has been frequently criticized for inappropriately applying features of individual psychology to collectivities. Those with something at stake in the issue argue over whether this is or is not a fair and/or informed critique of Durkheim. I do not wish to weigh in on this point, only to recognize and sidestep the argument by constructing an approach more grounded in current trends in the sociology of culture.

⁴¹ Clifford Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89.

⁴² Among others, see Ann Swidler, *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); William H. Sewell, “Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille,” *TS* 25, no. 6 (1996): 841–81; William H. Sewell, “A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation,” *AJS* 98, no. 1 (1992): 1–29; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁴³ See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁴⁴ See the volume, Shelly B. Ortner, ed., *The Fate of “Culture”: Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

principle to this system, then one can put the other puzzle pieces of the semiotic system together in relation to one another. This view, in the words of Ann Swidler, “leav[es] aside the question of how actors might navigate among multiple competing ‘systems,’ or how the polysemy and multivocality of cultural symbols might shape the ways people actually bring culture to bear on experience.”⁴⁵ Geertz’s definition and theory of culture gives us the basic framework for viewing culture as a semiotic system, but we have to take into account the fact that symbols within the cultural schema are always multi-determined, holding different meanings in different contexts in which they are used, and that these meanings often exist in tension one another.

Ann Swidler offers a new approach that she characterizes as “turning Geertz’s method, as well as his theory, inside out.” She continues:

Instead of describing a particular piece of culture’s resonances with other aspects of life and the glow it casts over them, one would start with those who use culture, asking what they do with the different ways of framing meaning they have available.⁴⁶

Swidler argues here that rather than looking at the semiotic system as an entity existing apart from people’s use of it, agents within the culture show us how they connect symbols and actively construct the system in time. This approach better captures the multiplicities embedded in symbols and the multiple ways in which one can relate to another within a cultural system. Swidler offers a more usable alternative to Geertz in constructing “culture as a ‘tool kit’ of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems.”⁴⁷ For Swidler, we need to begin to analyze culture by looking at acts of culture, asking how the agent is utilizing various symbols and frames of meaning and bringing them into relation with one another.⁴⁸

In bringing Swidler’s ideas into my own theoretical tool kit, I am positioning the act of cultural memory in time—in the case of this study, the activation of a cultural text—as an agentive usage of cultural materials in which the materials themselves change enormously with each (detectable) use. Through their maintenance within scribal culture in the past relative to the

⁴⁵ Swidler, *Talk of Love*, 13.

⁴⁶ Swidler, *Talk of Love*, 22.

⁴⁷ Ann Swidler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies,” *ASR* 51, no. 2 (1986): 273.

⁴⁸ Olick criticizes “tool-kit models,” suggesting that while they “avoid the pitfalls of determinism, emphasizing the improvisational character of social action,” the central metaphors still “sometimes imply a ‘system’ that contains distinct elements defined separately from their use,” and that “the organization of cultural resources is prior to action, not a part of it, and that the elements stand in some definitive logical relationship to each other.” Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 433. While Olick may be correct about the “tool kit” metaphor itself (if one were to take the metaphor too literally), Swidler, for one, makes no such mistake in her theory, suggesting that “understanding how cultures change . . . will require that sociologists address the problems created by the diverse uses of common cultural materials” (Swidler, *Talk of Love*, 13.) Inherent in this statement is the assumption that since culture is a tool kit, the “common materials” that make it up are part of the change that cultures undergo in using the tools; tools are not static entities. Like Olick, Swidler understands cultural structuring to be in dialogical relationship with cultural objects via the use of objects in time.

agent, these cultural texts fall into a present agent's tool kit, and the agent calls upon and reshapes them with each use, subsequently passing them on as affected objects to the next agent of cultural memory. This is a diachronic process made up of individual acts as the agents collaborate with the cultural products brought forward by past agents, a collaboration that forms the tradition. Swidler's focus is synchronic as she looks at individual acts. However, in order to think about change over time, the accumulative nature of cultural memory, and the convergence of memory into symbols, I now turn to Jeffrey Olick's sociology of cultural memory, and in particular his theory of its path-dependence.

2.4. Jeffrey Olick: The Path-Dependence of Cultural Memory (2016)

In his study on German memorializing of the Holocaust, Olick shapes a theory of cultural memory⁴⁹ in which he analyzes the relationship between genre as a memory category and what he calls "legitimation profiles" (what sociologists typically call "frames").⁵⁰ Olick argues that both genres and profiles are formed dialogically and that they emerge pragmatically (in the philosophical and linguistic sense of pragmatics) from an accumulation of use rather than existing prior to use. In this way, cultural memory is only manifest as such when it is in use. His basic argument in relation to memorializing the Holocaust is that within the acceptable memorialization practices of the nation, certain genres of memorializing can only interact with certain legitimation profiles in order for the act of cultural memory to be publicly acceptable.⁵¹ For example, in 1988 Philip Jenninger, the Christian Democratic president of the Bundestag, garnered criticism (ultimately resulting in his resignation) when he inappropriately mixed up these categories. He commemorated Kristallnacht, which requires a genre of German guilt, with a German victimhood genre. Both the genres are acceptable forms within the broader discourse of memorialization practices, but Olick demonstrates that it was their particular combination in this instance that created outrage among the public.

Olick posits a sociology of cultural memory that is what he calls "the memory of memory," by which he means that "in addition to memory of the historical event being marked, images of the past always contain within them (explicitly or not) memory of earlier such markings."⁵² In other words, the commemoration of a past event is an act of remembering that

⁴⁹ Olick prefers the term collective memory as "a default to the term's historical success rather than a specific objection to the Assmanns' alternative," though he does not accept the Assmanns' distinction between communicative and cultural memory, preferring instead to blur the two categories in his study. Olick's choice to use "collective" versus "cultural" memory is a deferral to the more widely used terminology. However, I will continue to speak of "cultural" memory for the sake of continuity. Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 44n6.

⁵⁰ He argues that his terminology "indicate[s] more emergence and fluidity than does the concept of frame, with particular emphasis on the path-dependency of profile change." Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 62. I appreciate and agree with his point in this regard, but I will continue to refer to "frames" so that my argument remains more widely legible.

⁵¹ The genres are administration, guilt, victimhood/suffering, and German traditions. The legitimation profiles are Germany as the: reliable nation, moral nation, and normal nation.

⁵² Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 74.

event at the same time as it is an act of remembering the intervening commemorations of it. This theory speaks to the accumulation of meanings that lie within cultural materials, which create the boundaries of how those materials can signify.

I would like to illustrate Olick's point here with a reflection on time by Maurice Merleau-Ponty in *Phenomenology of Perception*. Working with Husserl's phenomenology of time, Merleau-Ponty constructs moments in time that accumulate and collapse upon each other in the following way:

I do not pass through a series of instances of nows whose images I would preserve and that, placed end to end, would form a line. For every moment that arrives, the previous moment suffers a modification . . . It begins to appear perspectively against or to project itself upon my present.⁵³

He states: "I am presented with A as seen shining through A', and then this ensemble shining through A'", and so on and so forth, just as I see the pebble through the volumes of water that flow over it."⁵⁴ With each arriving moment, "the layer of time between it and myself becomes thicker."⁵⁵ While Merleau-Ponty is reflecting on the experience of time, his insights illuminate the cumulative orientation that agents activating or remembering a past have toward the past that they are recalling. They are not calling the original past into being; they are reconstructing the past in the present, and in doing so, they must carry with the past an accumulation of the memories of it, spanning from its original emergence up to their own present moment.

This phenomenon of the memory of memory and what it does to form syntheses is what Jeffery Olick characterizes as the "path-dependence of cultural memory," which when speaking of the path itself, I shall describe as "the mnemotechnic path of the cultural object."⁵⁶ Olick's ideas are grounded in the activation of and dialogic relationship between both the content of the cultural memory and the sociological frames in which the memory is activated as it persists over time. "Path-dependence," Olick suggests,

refers to the ways in which historical events occur sequentially so that early moments open later opportunities and close others . . . this means not only that the event being remembered shapes a particular representation of the past, but that all intervening representations of the event shape it as well.⁵⁷

⁵³ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald A. Landes (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 441.

⁵⁴ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 441.

⁵⁵ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 439.

⁵⁶ The term "mnemotechnic" harkens back to Jan Assmann's critical category, not the classical art of memory.

⁵⁷ Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 60.

The path-dependent nature of cultural memory means that cultural memory is a fundamentally temporal act, taking place in a moment. The memory refers to a past, bringing with it previous meanings and uses of that past, which shape how it can be activated in the present. Additionally, there are frames in the present to which the new iteration will relate in order to make meaning. From such a dialogical perspective focused on agency, accumulation, and structures for making meaning, Olick's central argument regarding cultural memory is that it is "*path-dependent but not unyieldingly so, shaped by the past but not completely so, and responsive to the present but not directly so.*"⁵⁸ An act of cultural memory is a mode of meaning making by which agents navigate (often unconsciously) multiple levels of pastness and organize them in relation to the present.

I find conceptualizing the memory of memory and metaphorizing it as a path to be quite compelling because it focuses analytical attention onto memory as an act, prioritizing the cumulative nature of cultural memory, the resulting resonances tied up within each act, and the change of cultural materials over time via activation, all of which makes up the mnemotechnic paths. Olick's theory is helpful because it refuses to explain the continuity of cultural memory in terms of an independently existing subterranean connective tissue, but instead accounts for it in terms of a continual activation over time. Simultaneously, Olick centers the person who is activating the memory as having *agency* to shape the cultural material as they inherit it from the past and leave it in some way transformed for agents in the future. Yet he additionally sets that agency in the context of the frames of meaning available to the agent in their present. Indeed, Olick claims that he prioritizes a "dialogical" approach in order to "grasp the ordering of commemorative speech as a process in time, rather than as a series of consecutive structures at different times in some kind of a narrative relation." This

dialogical approach does two things. First, it calls our attention to how the terms that come together in unique ways at different points in time respond as much to their past as to their present. Second, it understands [the Geertzian] 'interworking' [meanings] as a *process in time*, rather than as an abstract relation.⁵⁹

He goes on to metaphorize memory as a gyroscope functioning as "a mechanism for mediating between the weight of the past (momentum) and forces in the present (gravity)," by which "we are continually locating our presents at the ever-shifting intersection of past and future."⁶⁰

The diachronic agentive approach I am constructing here via engagement with Halbwachs, the Assmanns, Olick, and Swidler responds to some of the critiques of the field, well-articulated by Kansteiner. In a 2002 article, he critiqued collective memory studies for two

⁵⁸ Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 76. Emphasis original.

⁵⁹ Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 67.

⁶⁰ Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 438.

main reasons: “1) Collective memory studies have not yet sufficiently conceptualized collective memories as distinct from individual memory . . . 2) Collective memory studies have also not yet paid enough attention to the problem of reception both in terms of methods and sources.” As a solution to these problems, Kansteiner correctly claims that scholars need to “adopt and further develo[p] the methods of media and communication studies, especially regarding questions of reception.” Kansteiner proposes that we think about collective memory

as the result of the interaction among three types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their interests.⁶¹

This approach captures the diachronic, agentive process of the formation of the biblical text in which the social frames of the agent play a role in the potential choices the agent can make in regard to receiving cultural objects, and the ways that agent can pass them on as transformed objects to new receivers of the tradition. Kansteiner is correct to assert that cultural memory studies must take into account cultural processes of accumulation and diachronic reception grounded in agents’ use in time (though he does not phrase it in these terms). By doing so, we can escape the inappropriate ways in which cultural memory is paralleled to individual memory, and we can ground cultural memory processes in real acts of reception. In an act of cultural memory, individual agents collaborate with that which emerges from the past as well as their own social frames in order to form the mnemotechnic paths of cultural objects.

We will see that the culturally significant texts that would make up the Hebrew Bible can be fruitfully analyzed drawing on these theoretical models. In this dissertation, I will examine what I am calling “literary interventions,” which represent what are commonly referred to as secondary insertions into the text. However, I prefer to call them “interventions” because this terminology works better to capture the agentive process of cultural memory. It is not the case that scribal agents simply put new material into the text, as if neutrally adding a book to the collective bookshelf (assuming even that any such activity could be neutral). Instead, scribal agents are often simultaneously inserting, editing, redacting, and reworking older material with these literary interventions so that the texts become composite as the scribal agents change their meaning—changes which range from slight to radical. Additionally, these interventions make contact with the literary world around them, and thus the scribal agents initiate intertextual patterns between their texts and countless others to create new meaning. To call them “literary interventions” captures the active dynamic with which these scribal agents are receiving, reading,

⁶¹ Wolf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *HT* 41, no. 2 (2002): 180.

maintaining, and passing on their culturally significant texts. In this way, the biblical text as we have it, represents a cumulative reading tradition—a tradition of actively remembering text and reconstructing it in the scribal agent’s present—contextualized in ancient Israelite and Judahite scribal culture, ranging temporally from the monarchic period, through the exile and return, and in some cases up into the Hellenistic period. Though of course the cultural contours of this group changes enormously over time, what gives it an amount of continuity is the interest in the maintenance of what are considered culturally significant texts over time. Though we cannot always tell in what period these literary interventions are placed, we can critically reconstruct relative dating in regard to *some* of the layers of certain texts, which is what I do in the chapters below.

2.5. Literature as Sites of Memory

I would like to frame the discussion of literature with the idea of “sites of memory,” introduced by Pierre Nora (*lieux de mémoire*).⁶² In thinking about memory, history, and the French nation, Nora proposes that the onset of modernity and the development of the critical tools of history (as well as the tendencies toward globalization, democratization, and mass culture) have caused a rupture in authentic cultural memory. In his words, “[w]e speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.” Instead, what we are left with are “*lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory.”⁶³ This pun in French works in English as well: because there is not a milieu of memory, sites (*lieux*) of memory arise in lieu of memory proper. In his problematic primitivism, he claims that these environments of memory are most authentically present in peasant culture; and yet, the onset of historical awareness, according to Nora, has destroyed them in the modern period. While memory is authentic, spontaneous, and unconscious, history is conscious, reconstructive, and an attempt to destroy “authentic” memory by writing a “true” memory. Sites of memory, for Nora, are cultural objects (both physical and conceptual) with symbolic meaning that mediate between the end of memory and the initiation of historical awareness.

Nora’s insight was groundbreaking and has been useful for thinking about nationalism and its accompanying symbolic system,⁶⁴ but it has been justly criticized from a multitude of

⁶² Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris: Gillimard, 1984). The following is one English translation: Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

⁶³ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (1989): 7.

⁶⁴ With the introduction of Nora’s terminology and interest in the nation, “[t]he focus [in memory studies] thus shifted from the dynamics of memory in culture to the specific memories of (allegedly stable and clearly demarcated) cultures—the most popular social unit being the nation-state, which was then swiftly seen as isomorphic with national culture and a national cultural memory.” Astrid Erll, “Traveling Memory,” *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 6. Nora’s interest in the nation focused critical attention onto issues of nation, nationalism, and the accompanying separation of memory and history into opposing entities. See overview and critique of the issue by

perspectives for its sharp distinction between memory and history, its monolithic view of cultural memory, and its primitivist focus on nationalism without consideration of the intertwined colonialism.⁶⁵ However, his terminology remains useful when we strip from it the value-laden mourning of the loss of “authenticity,” and the stark differentiation between the modern and pre-modern periods with their relative foci on history and memory. In its travels, memory does tend to converge and condense, taking on symbolic significance as the mnemotechnic paths of objects begin to cross and become mutually illuminative over time. We should not view the sites at which these mnemotechnic paths converge as sites that develop in *lieu* of authentic memory (to return to Nora’s wordplay), but rather as a fundamental dynamic that creates dense and multi-determined symbolic objects which themselves become powerful modes by which agents perform acts of cultural memory. Sites of memory are, and have always been, the result of cultural memory as a process. From this perspective, modernity has not interrupted memory, but has provided new mediums and tools with which the process of cultural memory occurs. In addition, sites of memory do not function in lieu of memory; on the contrary, a site of memory is the result of a process of cultural memory in which multiple mnemotechnic paths converge to form cultural symbols, symbols that are also subject to the processes of cultural memory.

Aleida Assmann, Astrid Erll, and Ann Rigney have all engaged with Nora’s central idea, and they have developed it toward the relationship between literature and cultural memory, emphasizing, however, the mobility and malleability of memory.⁶⁶ All of these literary theorists have argued in terms of thinking about sites of memory as emerging points in a dynamic process that are continuously reinvigorated and reshaped via acts of memory over time. Rigney, for example, states that the terminology, “‘memory site’ can become misleading if it is interpreted to mean that collective remembrance becomes permanently tied down to particular figures, icons,

Hue-Tam Ho Tai, “Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory,” *AHR* 106, no. 3 (2001): 915–22.

⁶⁵ For example, Hue-Tam Ho Tai critiques Nora for neglecting the history of French colonialism in his rather monolithic conception of *the* French cultural memory. Ann Rigney maintains his central metaphor of “sites” of memory, but criticizes Nora for his model of cultural memory that she claims is operating on a model she calls “original plenitude and subsequent loss,” in which memory “work[s] at its best when a maximum number of original experiences are preserved for as long as possible.” Ann Rigney, “Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory,” *JES* 35, no. 1 (March 2005): 12. For a larger critique of this reflection on memory see pages 11–14. Tai, “Remembered Realms.”

⁶⁶ See a selection of their publications that I engage below: Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97–107; Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, “Methods for the Study of Literature and/as Cultural Memory,” in *Literature and Memory: Theoretical Paradigms, Genres, Functions* (Tübingen: Francke, 2006), 11–28; Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008); Erll, “Traveling Memory”; Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. Sara B. Young (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ann Rigney, “Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans,” *PT* 25, no. 2 (2004): 361–96; Rigney, “Plenitude”; Ann Rigney, “The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 345–53.

or monuments.” Rather, “sites of memory are constantly being reinvested with new meaning,” and therefore “become a self-perpetuating vortex of symbolic investment.”⁶⁷ Erll, in her “transcultural” approach to memory, recognizes that travel, movement, and transformation are the very dynamics that allow cultural memory to traverse time and space as she states that memories

must be kept in motion, because they do not possess any materiality and meaning in themselves. They do not exist outside individual minds, which have to actualize and reactualize those contents continually to keep them alive.⁶⁸

While these insights are central to Halbwachs’ approach to cultural memory, Nora’s theory does not adequately take the same dynamism into account since his “sites” of memory function in place—in lieu—of memory. His idea of memory sites with the caveats above, however, is helpful for thinking about the relationship between cultural texts and cultural symbols within what Erll and Ansgar Nünning call the memory *of* literature.⁶⁹

The cultural memory *of* literature “is a concept which accentuates the diachronic dimension of literature . . . as being ‘remembered’ by authors, readers and institutions.”⁷⁰ Features such as intertextuality, genre, canon, and the history of literature all function and are formed in relation to a diachronic sense of literature in which the mnemotechnic paths of literature converge and condense to form extra-textual categories that are essential to reading and understanding literature in context. I will call these categories cultural symbols, and in this dissertation, I will attempt to show how these symbols, formed over the course of the reading history, function as hermeneutical lenses that make the biblical text transportable and meaningful over time.

A cultural symbol is a powerful carrier of meaning within cultural memory processes because it represents the condensing of objects, meanings, and their accumulation of use over time. In other words, it is the point at which the mnemotechnic paths of cultural objects converge. “In memory studies,” Erll states,

⁶⁷ Rigney, “The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing,” 346.

⁶⁸ Erll, “Traveling Memory,” 13.

⁶⁹ Erll and Nünning, “Methods for the Study of Literature and/as Cultural Memory.” They schematize three foci for thinking about the relationship between memory and literature. The first is the memory *of* literature, which I will address below. The second, memory *in* literature, refers to how processes of memory are depicted in literature. The third, literature as a medium of cultural memory, refers to the “mediality of literary texts and their functions in the formation and transformation of cultural memories” (14). Another focus highlighted by Aleida Assmann is on the relationship between memory storage and writing, see Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 119–34, 169–205.

⁷⁰ Erll and Nünning, “Methods for the Study of Literature and/as Cultural Memory,” 13.

condensation has come to mean . . . the compression of several complex ideas, feelings or images into a single, fused or composite object. The result is over-determination: many different associations about the past can converge in one condensed mnemonic object; and therefore the object will lend itself to different interpretations.⁷¹

Once a text becomes culturally significant, that text has to be continuously activated in order to maintain its status. The more it is activated, the more meanings it accrues as rememberers relate it to other cultural texts and cultural symbols as well as their own current events and social structures. Texts, therefore, gain extra-textual cultural symbols by which readers interpret them. These are formed as the mnemotechnic paths of multiple cultural texts collide and are brought together to create synthetic meaning.

The condensation of mnemotechnic paths into sites of memory, or cultural symbols, is useful for understanding the process of the formation of the biblical text in two ways. First, the biblical text itself is a point of condensation, as layers of scribal interventions form composite texts which are then read as singulars. The biblical text is a site of memory insofar as its own diachronic reception is bound up in its composition. Thus, later readers who encounter them have to navigate the multiple and conflicting meanings that are often present in a single biblical text and in its perceived relationship with others. Secondly, the literary interventions placed in the biblical texts represent moments of remembering the text and reflect specific acts of reading through which we can detect hermeneutical suppositions that shape the scribal agent's understanding of the text, along with the interpretive potentials that the agent both curtails and passes on to the next agent. These specific moments can act as points of reference that show cultural practice at work, and we can then make meaningful observations as we connect specific practices over time to forge syntheses regarding cultural continuities and changes in reading practices.

Chana Kronfeld's work on intertextuality provides a theoretical underpinning for thinking about the change in a literary tradition over time.⁷² Working within the Tel Aviv School of Poetics, Kronfeld critiques the reigning theories of intertextuality put forward by Bloom on the one hand and Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva on the other. Kronfeld takes the principle of agency reflected in Bloom's writings, but dismisses the conflictual elements between generations of poets. Instead of a relationship of conflict, Kronfeld utilizes the Bakhtinian and Kristevan principle of dialogue between generations of poets, setting aside their tendency to ascribe agency to the text. Working with this principle of the dialogical agency of poets, Kronfeld argues that

⁷¹ Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 145–46. Erll goes on to highlight that the idea of “condensation” is central to every theorist of cultural memory “from Aby Warburg’s ‘pathos formula’, to Maurice Halbwachs’s ‘idée étoffée’, E. R. Curtius’s ‘topos’, Pierre Nora’s *lieu de mémoire*, and to Jan Assmann’s *Erinnerungsfigure* (memory figure)” (146).

⁷² Chana Kronfeld, “‘I Want to Mix Up the Bible’: Intertextuality, Agency, and the Poetics of Radical Allusion,” in *The Full Severity of Compassion: The Poetry of Yehuda Amichai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 117–73.

the poet reads texts and alludes to them in new compositions, within which the poet has agency to interact with the existing works. At the same time, the creation of poetry initiates a process of dialogical intertextual resonance, the results of which are infinite and unpredictable. The new poem has an array of potential meanings based on how subsequent readers read it in relation to the tradition preceding it. Additionally, once a new poem exists, it alters the potential meanings of the poems to which it refers. Meaning is therefore not located in the text itself, necessarily, but in the relationality between existing texts which authors, readers, and the reading community have the agency to initiate and shape in some way.

In light of Kronfeld's contribution to theory of intertextuality, I would like to focus on the figures responsible for the production of the biblical texts, the figures who inherited cultural texts, added material directly to them, and passed them on within the diachronic reading community. As I approach the nexus of textual reception and production, rather than "reader" or "author," I would like to offer a term that captures both of these functions: scribal agent. The term "scribal" captures the medial point of the scribe in the diachronic chain of transmission. Even the naïve portrait of the scribe as a copying automaton evokes such diachrony facilitated by human figures. This image is one that the "scribal turn" in biblical studies (to be discussed below) has complicated, opening up more potential for thinking about scribes as having agency in this process. By utilizing the term "agent," I hope to center the idea that biblical scribes (at least of the type I will be studying) had the power to shape the cultural texts they inherited within the culturally available range of possibilities.⁷³

Next, Renate Lachmann conceives of memory and intertextuality as they exist in the semiotics of culture, arguing that once a cultural memory is activated, it shifts its position in the semiotic system while being simultaneously reified in its existence in the system. For Lachmann, as for Kronfeld, meaning is not in the text itself, but is in the points of intersection between texts, which become altered little by little as new text is written. What Kronfeld does that is of use to me is to center the author as a reader of the tradition and as an agent who has the ability to make choices that impact the semiotic system of the culture with which Lachmann is concerned, a system more apt to think about tradition in a diachronic sense. Kronfeld's concern with agency, however, allows space for thinking about individual moments of radical difference and critique within this diachronic trajectory.

⁷³ The scribal agent of this dissertation is similar to Sara Milstein's "master scribe." The difference between our conceptualizations of scribes stems from our difference of theoretical focus, not necessarily the function of the scribe. Sara J. Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

2.6. Remembering and Forgetting

In theorizing cultural memory as a process made up of individual acts, we must understand the interplay of remembering and forgetting in the context of each act. I propose that an act of cultural memory is composed of both remembering and forgetting, and that together, these form the dual engine that propels the mnemotechnic paths and convergence of cultural texts and symbols through time. In terms of the memory of literature, an agent remembers it by activating it in her reading. Simultaneously, however, the agent must deselect previous aspects as she makes use of the literature in her present, bringing it into contact with her social frames, her understanding of the world, and her understanding of the literature itself. This element of deselection or backgrounding within an act of cultural memory causes readers and the reading tradition to forget that which was previously active along the mnemotechnic path of cultural texts. While remembering makes texts present across time, forgetting is the mechanism that allows meaning to change and multiplicities to converge, bringing the mnemotechnic path of the cultural object into contact with other mnemotechnic paths as these intersections form portable and durable cultural symbols. For this type of convergence or condensation to occur, the agent of memory must deselect aspects of the mnemotechnic path of the object up to the agent's present, causing the reading tradition to forget that which was not brought forward.

Returning to Halbwachs' and the Assmanns' sociological approach, our model of cultural memory, in the words of Ann Rigney, "takes as its starting point the idea that memories of a shared past are collectively constructed and reconstructed in the present rather than resurrected from the past."⁷⁴ Rigney continues, "[t]he term 'cultural memory' highlights the extent to which shared memories of the past are the product of mediation, textualization and acts of communication," in which the changes involved "are not just regrettable deviations from some spontaneously produced memory . . . but rather a precondition for the operation of memories across generations, for the production of collective memories in the long term."⁷⁵ Changes, then, are part of the persistence of a cultural object's mnemotechnic path through time, and these changes are central to the continued relevance (and therefore the continued use) of these cultural texts. Agents activate cultural texts and their accumulated mnemotechnic paths in a selective and partial way according to the present needs of their culture, and presenting them in a way that is productive and useful. This action necessitates an activation (remembering) of the cultural text and a sublimation, ignoring, deselecting, etc. of some of its aspects, resulting in changes to the cultural text moving forward. The changes involved, I suggest, can fruitfully be considered under the rubric of forgetting.

Forgetting in the sense of change requires more clarification. Aleida Assmann (among others) suggests that perhaps somewhat counter-intuitively, forgetting is "the normality of

⁷⁴ Rigney, "Plenitude," 14.

⁷⁵ Rigney, "Plenitude," 14.

personal and cultural life [and] remembering is the exception which . . . requires special and costly precautions.”⁷⁶ For the persistence of culture to occur, remembrance must be active and iterative, whereas forgetting in general requires only non-action. In light of this fact, Assmann claims that “cultural memory creates a framework for communication across the abyss of time,”⁷⁷ and she schematizes both remembering and forgetting into their active and passive forms. Regarding forgetting, Assmann suggests that there is an active form in which agents intentionally destroy or omit cultural materials. Alternatively, the passive form is in losing, abandoning, or neglecting these same materials. In this passive form, “the objects are not materially destroyed; they fall out of the frames of attention, valuation, and use.”⁷⁸ I would like to suggest that the forms of forgetting I will be examining are somewhere in between this binary.⁷⁹ I would, however, like to temper the value-laden terminology inherent in words like “destroy” or “abandon,” and instead theorize passive and active forgetting with descriptors more relevant to my model of collaborative hermeneutics.

A scribal agent actively makes changes via literary interventions to the content and meaning of the text he receives. Perhaps less actively, this agent, in selecting aspects of the texts to bring forward in time, naturally deselects meanings that were available when he received the text. In passing the transformed text on to the next reader, the scribal agent has changed the potentials for how the text means moving forward; he has connected it with other texts through his literary intervention and he has shifted the text to make new meaning in light of his own concerns and the literary tradition in which he is participating. In performing this action, he has therefore deselected aspects of his inherited text, and simultaneously, in creating new potentialities for the subsequent reader, the scribal agent has caused those aspects *to be* forgotten

⁷⁶ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 98. Rigney suggests that “*anamnesis* may be even better than either remembrance or ‘memory’, since it emphasizes the fact that recollection involves overcoming oblivion (an-*amnesia*), and that forgetting precedes remembering rather than vice versa.” Rigney, “Plenitude,” 17. See also Weinrich, *Lethe*; Lewis Hyde, *A Primer for Forgetting: Getting Past the Past* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019); Barry Schwartz, “Collective Forgetting and the Symbolic Power of Oneness: The Strange Apotheosis of Rosa Parks,” *SPQ* 72, no. 2 (2009): 123–42; Elena Esposito, “Social Forgetting: A Systems-Theory Approach,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 181–90. Regarding a different perspective on the social function of forgetting, see Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life,” in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge (U.K.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 57–123.

⁷⁷ Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” 97.

⁷⁸ Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” 98.

⁷⁹ Assmann suggests that the active form of remembering is formed into the canon and represents the master narrative by which cultural meaning is produced (she alternatively calls this “functional memory”). The passive form is the archive in which memory is stored and can potentially be reactivated for repairing the master narrative when it is challenged (alternatively termed “storage memory”). Additionally, that which is passively forgotten has the potential to be found and introduced back into memory in some way. I find Assmann’s distinctions heuristic, but not binding, and I would push back against such a stark categorization especially in light of my theory of cultural memory which always requires an interplay of remembering and forgetting. We can use Assmann’s schematics to think productively about the interplay of remembering and forgetting without strictly reproducing it. See also Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 119–32. Aleida Assman, *Cultural Memory in Western Civilization*, 119–132.

by the reading community as the text persists along its mnemotechnic path. The agent forgets via change and deselection at the same time as he causes forgetting through these same actions.

Forgetting, however, is to be distinguished from oblivion or complete loss because that which is forgotten by the agent and caused to be forgotten for the subsequent reader is still actually *in* the literary product as it crosses “the abyss of time.” Indeed, the fact that the forgotten is recoverable via the critical lens suggests that this cultural information recedes from view in a kind of passive forgetting at the same time as it is encoded in the archive (Assmann’s passive form of remembering) and maintained over time through its presence in the canon (her active form of remembering). Thus we can see that remembering and forgetting in their active and passive forms are inseparably bound up in one another. The interplay of remembering and forgetting and the way forgetting operates within the mnemotechnic paths of cultural objects through time will be the subject of each of the following case studies. In each one, I will further elaborate this theory of forgetting as it becomes relevant. I now turn to examining how theories of cultural memory have made inroads into biblical studies.

3. The Bible and Cultural Memory

Biblical scholars have been engaging theories of cultural memory since the late 90s and early 2000s (about fifteen to twenty years after the so-called “memory boom”⁸⁰ in the humanities at large), and this development coincides with the publication of Jan Assmann’s *Moses the Egyptian* (1998), which has certain natural relevance for the study of the Hebrew Bible.⁸¹ In this work, Assmann constructs a theory of “mnemohistory,” which is a study of “not the past as such, but only . . . the past as it is remembered.”⁸² This type of reflection on the past is completely apt for thinking about biblical portrayals of the past because these are often tied up with issues of myth, folklore, propaganda, and various ideological commitments. Since the publication of Assmann’s book, biblical scholars have mostly engaged theories of cultural memory in light of questions relating to the critical study of history. This trend makes sense given the entwined relationship that our field has had to questions of historicity, archaeology, and the relative difficulty of constructing a history of ancient Israel and Judah. I suggest, however, that by engaging theories of cultural memory of literature in tandem with the so-called “scribal turn,” we can make contributions both to the study of the cultural memory of literature (which has focused almost exclusively on single-authored works) as well as to the study of scribalism as a practice relevant to both textual production and textual reception. In practice, this methodology requires

⁸⁰ See Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *ARS* 24 (1998): 106–8; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, “Introduction.” Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies,” especially 106–108; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, “Introduction.”

⁸¹ We should note the early inroads to Jewish studies, however, with Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).

⁸² Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8–9.

an attention to the compositional history of biblical texts as we consider how scribal agents actively engaged with the literary materials they received, which are reflected in their literary interventions situated at the nexus of text-reception and production. These literary interventions can be theorized as acts of cultural memory, within a consideration of the cultural memory of literature articulated by Erll (alone and with Nünning), Rigney, and A. Assmann. This approach neatly side-steps the dominant questions regarding the Bible and cultural memory that are active in the field, and instead provides a framework for thinking more theoretically about the formation of the biblical text as a process of the cultural memory of literature.

3.1. Philip Davies (2008)

I begin with Philip Davies for two reasons: first, his work was in the early wave of cultural memory studies in biblical studies; secondly, it exemplifies some of the problems of the meeting of the two fields. Davies frames his book, *Memories of Ancient Israel*, as a contribution to thinking about how we can write the history of ancient Israel, and in particular, the role of the biblical text within such an endeavor. He reviews the main resources for doing so, which he identifies as the Bible, archaeology, and epigraphic sources. Unsatisfied with the fact that none of these witnesses to the past are “totally reliable,”⁸³ Davies proposes that scholars consider the Bible to be “cultural memory.” He does this in order to argue for a minimalist approach to considering the historicity of the Bible. Cultural memory, for Davies, is used as a label, and he does not necessarily move past this to make a contribution to the study of cultural memory.

I agree in part with Davies’ basic idea that the biblical texts are deeply related to issues of cultural memory. He brings in the socio-cultural framing of the issue by Halbwachs and subsequently Assmann, yet his use of the theories shows that he misunderstands them. First, he frames his inquiry in terms of the debate between minimalists and maximalists in their relative understanding of the historical accuracy of historical narratives in the Bible. In my view, questions regarding cultural memory can be brought into fruitful contact with issues of historicity, and indeed any inquiry into cultural memory must begin with some kind of historicizing in regard to the agent of memory and what past they are reflecting on. Davies, of course, is correct to view the biblical text with suspicion because we do have to have a sense of the present of the author, as well as some consideration of what “actually” happened in order to compare the so-called cultural memory reflected in the biblical text.⁸⁴ Davies, however, seems

⁸³ Davies ends part one of his book (titled “Resources”) by claiming that none of these data sets is “totally reliable” and that “[n]one of the three sources provides an ideal foundation for the construction of a modern history.” He settles into the claim that “the historian may still be unable to write a really good history. But at least a number of bad ones can be avoided.” Philip R. Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel: An Introduction to Biblical History* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 100–101.

⁸⁴ In other words, we have to have a sense of both text and context. See Steven Weitzman, “Text and Context in Biblical Studies: A Brief History of a Troubled Relationship,” in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Ancient Israel*, ed. Susan Niditch, First (Chichester, West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2016), 77–78.

not to want to use cultural memory in this way. He is not examining authors or analyzing their presentation of the past. Rather, he is simply labeling the Bible as cultural memory in contrast to critical history in the contemporary sense. He thus uses “cultural memory” as a cudgel against maximalists from his own minimalist position. “Cultural memory,” in this sense, is, for Davies, a way of saying: these things need not to have truly happened because the Bible is “just” cultural memory (and his attitude does reflect a dismissive attitude toward its historical value).⁸⁵

Secondly, the distinction he draws between “cultural memory” and “tradition” exposes his lack of understanding of what cultural memory is and does, at the same time that it exposes his cynical view of cultural memory as a kind of “opiate for the masses” rather than a basic function of human culture. An excerpt on this issue is worth quoting to illustrate his view:

The basic notion of *traditio* is of a ‘handing on’ . . . , a continuity. The word easily lends itself to belief in an essential and perhaps recoverable core of history, despite the well-known and well-documented phenomenon of invented tradition . . . Such continuity may seem to sustain a link, however fragile, between a real past and a story about it. But cultural memory does not necessarily preserve links. It can effect quite sharp breaks, especially—as in human memory—in cases of trauma . . . The point is not that cultural memory has no true recollection, but that true recollection is not intrinsic to its mechanism or purpose: equally important are remembering and forgetting.⁸⁶

There are a number of problems with this statement regarding the relationship between tradition and cultural memory, the first being that it suggests that what tradition is and how it functions can be located within its etymological root. This assumption is an entirely uncritical view of the concept of tradition, or the working of etymology, for that matter. He then states that since “tradition” is in fact a “handing on,” it then necessarily ties back to an original event. He contrasts this with “cultural memory” which introduces breaks and discontinuities into the handing down implicit within tradition. It seems, therefore, that what he is suggesting is that cultural memory is responsible for the ruptures in tradition. Alternatively, he may be suggesting that the Bible should not be thought of as tradition because it does not tie back to original events; instead, it should be thought of as cultural memory which does not need to (and he implies that it

⁸⁵ Because his interest is so deeply in historicism and in demonstrating that the Bible is historically inaccurate, he makes statements about the Bible such as the following: “[Scribes] did not write paperbacks for mass consumption. If not exactly working for Orwell’s famous Ministry of Truth, they served just the same function in what was a totalitarian polity. The stories that they told were, in any case, fed and absorbed into the public memory, through public recitation, by word of mouth, [etc.]” (113). Or another example: “The modern biblical historian is thus inevitably a historian of cultural memory” (111). His use of terms like “Orwell,” “fed and absorbed,” and “inevitably” reflect a deflated defeatism in which his main point is that we cannot trust the historicity of the biblical text. To be clear, I am not arguing that we can uncritically accept the Bible’s presentation of the past as historical fact (this is not my primary question of interest); I am simply pushing back against Davies’ misuse of the tools of the study of cultural memory.

⁸⁶ Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel*, 111–12.

in fact does not) tie back to original events. This dichotomy is altogether false and demonstrates a lack of critical engagement with both tradition and cultural memory.

In the study of cultural memory, tradition and cultural memory are not diametrically opposed in the way that Davies suggests. The Assmanns' theory (and here I include Aleida along with Jan) of cultural memory is a critical way to examine the persistence and change of a tradition over time within human culture. For example, Jan Assmann's concept of "mnemohistory" (which Davies cites)

is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered. It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past. Mnemohistory is not the opposite of history, but rather is one of its branches or subdisciplines, such as intellectual history . . . Mnemohistory is reception theory applied to history.⁸⁷

In fact, Jan Assmann writes, "The borderlines between memory and tradition can be so flexible that it seems pointless to try and introduce rigid conceptual distinctions."⁸⁸ He goes on to offer In the same volume, he offers a more nuanced difference between tradition and history, but one in which there is significant overlap. He suggests the "conventional concept of 'tradition' . . . masks the break that leads to the birth of the past, focusing our attention on continuity."⁸⁹ Against Davies' use, there is not here a diametrical opposition in which tradition is a handing down, while cultural memory represents a break. Rather, the idea of tradition cannot capture "the negative aspect of reception, the bridging of the gap, and also the negative factors of oblivion and suppression."⁹⁰ These things are certainly present within every tradition's development, but the theory of cultural memory allows us to see those, illuminate them, and theorize their reception. Davies recognizes the tie between cultural memory and *perception* of the past, but he is using a blunt understanding of the theory to make the unrelated claim that the Bible is not historically reliable. By contrast, what Assmann is suggesting is that asking questions of historical reliability of cultural memories is not really the point of the toolset. Mnemohistory is looking at how cultural memories move over time and how they both persist and change along their path. It is "not the opposite of history."

Contrary to Davies' use and understanding, I agree with Assmann that cultural memory is deeply tied to tradition, and it constitutes a way to think about perceptions of the past, perceptions which *can* be tied to an actual past, even if in a mythologized way, as suggested by

⁸⁷ Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 8–9.

⁸⁸ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 30–31.

⁸⁹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 20.

⁹⁰ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 20.

Hendel.⁹¹ But the purpose of the study of cultural memory is not to write history, but to understand how “the present is ‘haunted’ by the past and the past is modeled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present.”⁹² Davies draws the biblical text into relationship with theory of cultural memory, but his study is flawed. Biblical scholarship needs to engage the theoretical aspects in a sophisticated way not just to understand aspects of the biblical texts, but additionally to offer constructive analysis to the field of cultural memory studies.⁹³

3.2. Mark Smith (2004)

In his book, *Memoirs of God*, Smith applies insights from cultural memory studies to his findings about how Israel’s view of its past and its deity changed over time. Rather than using cultural memory studies to enter into the minimalist/maximalist debate, even prior to Davies’ book Smith claims that “the academic study of collective memory offers important intellectual help for understanding the biblical representation of the past.”⁹⁴ Smith is at the forefront of bringing cultural memory studies into contact with biblical studies. He wields the theory to focus analytical attention on the shifting nature of Israel’s past and deity over time, arguing that thinking about the Bible as a compendium of cultural memory helps us sidestep the question of whether or not the events within it are true. The fact that in the field the historicity of narratives have taken a backseat to other points of interest is due, in part, to studies like Smith’s that carve out a new analytical space.⁹⁵

In this book, Smith activates the fields of cultural memory studies and biblical studies, but he does so for a one-way illumination, from cultural memory toward the biblical text. And within that illumination, he uses the lens of cultural memory to illustrate his point rather than demonstrate it. By this I mean that he establishes his findings about the change of the past and the deity over time in ancient Israelite literature, noting in the last chapter that this is likened to a process of cultural memory. However, in doing so, he neglects to show the mnemotechnic process at work and thus to offer insights into how cultural memory *works*. His self-conscious choice to engage with historians within the *Annales* school leads him to neglect the theories of Jan and Aleida Assmann and the more sociological understanding of how cultural memory tends

⁹¹ Hendel utilizes Assmann’s concept of “mnemohistory” to think about the exodus as a cultural memory, stating, “Cultural memories tend to be a mixture of historical truth and fiction, composed of ‘authentic’ historical details, folklore motifs, ethnic self-fashioning, ideological claims, and narrative imagination.” Ronald Hendel, “The Exodus in Biblical Memory,” *JBL* 120, no. 4 (2001): 602. As a case study relating to this claim, he cites Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

⁹² Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 9.

⁹³ See also Daniel Pioske who engages critically with Davies, while ultimately building on Davies’ insights as a foundation for his own work. Daniel Pioske, “Retracing a Remembered Past: Methodological Remarks on Memory, History, and the Hebrew Bible,” *BI* 23 (2015): 291–315.

⁹⁴ Mark S. Smith, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 125.

⁹⁵ In the words of Smith, “to write back through the past is to enable moving through present loss and toward the future.” Smith, *Memoirs of God*, 137.

to function in societies. By limiting himself to these theorists, Smith prioritizes thinking about the texts *as memories* instead of thinking about the *process* of cultural memory. At the same time, his attachment to the French school and an uncritical engagement with Nora in particular leads him to focus on the overly dichotomized relationship between memory and history, which limits his insights to saying something like: the Bible is a collection of cultural memories that vary from author to author and change over time.

The insights of scholars such as Davies and Smith have opened up space for thinking about how theories of collective memory could be relevant to biblical studies. They have demonstrated that the theories can help us frame what biblical texts are and to think about how the texts relate to questions of historicity, which is no trifling accomplishment. I would like to build on their insights and develop a more robust theory of cultural memory as it relates to the Bible. My purpose in doing so is twofold. First, this study is designed to shed new light on the process of the production of the Hebrew Bible and the cultural symbols driving it. Second, I hope to offer insight into the place of literature and its reception within the field of cultural memory studies; pushing the theory into new areas means building on these early proposals of scholars such as Smith and Davies.⁹⁶

3.3. Ehud Ben Zvi (2009-Present)

A more sophisticated, text-centered approach is advocated by Ehud Ben Zvi, who partners frequently with Diana Edelman and Christoph Levin to explore the dynamics of social memory in Persian period Yehud.⁹⁷ I will focus on Ben Zvi since he is probably the most frequently cited in the field of biblical studies regarding issues of collective, cultural, or, as he describes it, social memory. Rather than labeling the biblical text as “cultural memories,” Ben Zvi has an integrated theoretical lens that is more sociologically informed and is forged from a deep engagement with a broad span of the literature in cultural memory studies.

⁹⁶ I suspect that the intersection of cultural memory with biblical studies has not proceeded very far past Davies’ and Smith’s conceptualizations of it is that both of them placed “cultural memory” over the top of their studies that are carried out independently from the theory. This kind of overlay of theory onto the biblical text leaves “cultural memory” as a relatively easily understandable critical category and sets the example for the field that such an overlay is the goal of utilizing the theoretical framework.

⁹⁷ These two scholars participate in a collaboration between Ludwig-Maximilians University and the University of Alberta. The workshops are organized by Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, but Edelman is a frequent conversation partner in this context and has co-edited many of the resulting volumes with Ben Zvi. Edited volumes with Edelman include Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman, eds., *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, LHB/OTS 591 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014); Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman, eds., *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman, eds., *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (London: Equinox, 2009). Edited volumes with Christoph Levin include Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014); Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *Remembering and Forgetting in Early Second Temple Judah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Contexts*, BZAW 404 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

Ben Zvi takes a synchronic approach in which he reconstructs the “social mindscape” of the literati in late Persian/early Hellenistic period Yehud.⁹⁸ For Ben Zvi, a mindscape is composed of “ways of thinking, organizing knowledge, construing questions and ways to address them—in other words, [it is] an ideological, comprehensive viewpoint.”⁹⁹ In order to gain access to this “comprehensive viewpoint,” Ben Zvi suggests that biblical texts such as the Pentateuch, DtrH, the prophets, Chronicles, most of Psalms and Proverbs, Lamentations, and Ruth, among others, are “approximately *representative* in more-or-less their known present forms of the general authoritative repertoire of the literati in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period.”¹⁰⁰ An examination of how Persian period literati read these texts, therefore, yields a window into the social mindscape, or comprehensive viewpoint, of the Persian period literati in Yehud for Ben Zvi. By gaining access into the social mindscape of literati via an analysis of how they read, Ben Zvi suggests that we better understand the identity of this community and how they thought of themselves in relation to the biblical past.

By working with the concept of “social mindscape,” Ben Zvi unnecessarily sets up a problematic parameter of his study as he begins with a “comprehensive, central, collective memory of Yehud.”¹⁰¹ His method reflects the understanding that we can only analyze a specific act of cultural memory by comparing it to some sense of the comprehensive “social mind” of the collective. Certainly, the more we know about the broader social context of the agent of memory, the more we can accomplish in regard to analyzing acts of cultural memory. This fact is undeniable and is the constant frustration of biblical scholars and historians alike—we never have a full picture of past epochs. However, by setting out a need for a comprehensive canon (in the sense of a measuring stick or a model) before one can begin asking questions about social or cultural memory undercuts the design of his own research. In addition, this is circular logic in which one must start with the totality to which the specifics are then compared, but to establish a totality, one must work from an analysis of specifics.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ In framing cultural memory as positioned with this “social mindscape,” he is following Eviatar Zerubavel, a sociologist who has posited what he dubs a “cognitive sociology.” Placing his work in relation to cognitive science, Zerubavel argues that cognitive sociology can help straddle the individual/universal divide in approaching questions of cognition, since “cognitive sociology keeps reminding us that while we certainly think both as individuals and as human beings, what goes on inside our heads is also affected by the particular *thought communities* to which we happen to belong.” Eviatar Zerubavel, *Social Mindscales: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8–9. In his focus on the social framing of individual cognition, Zerubavel is, like Halbwachs, certainly following in the Durkheimian tradition with its prioritization of the collective context(s) of the individual.

⁹⁹ Ehud Ben Zvi, “Remembering the Prophets through the Reading and Rereading of a Collection of Prophetic Books in Yehud: Methodological Considerations and Explorations,” in *Remembering and Forgetting in Early Second Temple Judah*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 18.

¹⁰⁰ Ehud Ben Zvi, “Introduction,” in *Social Memory Among the Literati of Yehud* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 20. Emphasis original.

¹⁰¹ Ben Zvi, “Remembering the Prophets,” 34.

¹⁰² In a different context, Michael Bernstein suggests that “to show just how crucial is the conjunction of life and counterlife, event and its shadow, requires not so much a global schema as a sequence of careful acts of local scrutiny.” This kind of analysis focused on particulars is the kind that I engage in here. Michael André Bernstein, *Foregone Conclusions: Against Apocalyptic History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 8.

This primary problem with Ben Zvi's outline is revealed most clearly in his claim that one could not reasonably utilize his method for monarchic Israel or Judah (or presumably texts difficult to date or even those written or added to in exile). Casting doubt on redaction criticism in general, he states that though scribes or literati during this period certainly would have had a social mindscape and would have been engaging in processes of cultural memory, we do not have enough access to their comprehensive library to engage it in the same way. He states:

Unless historians have access to something that may serve as a representative or a reasonable approximation to this library, the type of project (and approach) advanced here would not work . . . I do not think that historians have access to the necessary approximation to the library of literati in, for example, Ahab's Israel or Josiah's Judah. I would like to stress that even if I were to grant the possibility that at least some of the texts that our redaction-critical colleagues have proposed to have existed . . . we still would not have anything close to an approximation of the comprehensive mental library of core texts shared by these literati.

The implication here is that we *do* have the comprehensive library from late Persian/early Hellenistic period Yehud.¹⁰³ However, the fact that this cannot be the case results in him drawing an arbitrary line in regard to how many or what percentage of texts available to the literati of a certain period are enough in order to use social memory approaches or enough to reconstruct the "social mindscape" of a collective. While we may have a clearer picture concerning what the literati in Yehud considered authoritative than what the monarchic or exilic literati did, in neither case do we have anything like a complete picture. He claims to have an approximation to the comprehensive library for those in Yehud, but there is no way to demonstrate that this is indeed the case.

I follow Ben Zvi in his focus on how the literary elite read their authoritative texts. His emphasis on reading has the potential to ground analysis in particulars, which is what I seek to do. Additionally, whereas biblical studies has historically projected the biblical representation of the past onto the historical past of ancient Israel, Ben Zvi's insistence that we focus on the literary elite is a responsible line to draw for intersections of sociology with biblical studies. However, where Ben Zvi is interested in *minds*, I am interested in *agency*. Rather than trying to

¹⁰³ He grants in a footnote that "It is true that additional books, now lost, might have been part of the core, but the alternative option, namely that the extant corpus is completely unrepresentative of the authoritative repertoire of the literati and thus cannot serve even as an approximation is difficult to maintain." Ben Zvi, "Introduction," 20n36. In another essay, he claims that "to reconstruct an approximation of the comprehensive social memory of the community in Yehud or its literati, or its underlying discourse or social mindscape . . . requires a multifaceted research programme that will take decades to develop and a large number of researchers." Ehud Ben Zvi, "On Social Memory and Identity Formation in Late Persian Yehud: A Historian's Viewpoint with a Focus on Prophetic Literature, Chronicles, and the Deuteronomistic Historical Collection," in *Texts, Contexts, and Readings in Postexilic Literature*, ed. Louis Jonker (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 38. His commitment to some version of comprehensivity is problematic throughout his writings, and his approach would benefit from working out a more limited frame.

pry our way into the cognitive interiors of individuals or communities, I suggest that we can make more progress by thinking about what individual literary interventions *do* in relation to the diachronic literary tradition. For example, if we can reasonably posit that someone wove two flood stories together to make one story, then we can ask about that redaction in terms of cultural memory practices. We do not necessarily need to know the extensive parameters of the literary repertoire of the redactor to think about the particular act (although of course it would help). Focusing on scribal *agency* rather than the scribal *mind*, we can ask what the redaction *does* for the continued memory of the flood or what interactions and problems are produced in the combination of the two narratives. We can think about what *assumptions* about the traditions might be reflected in such a move, and therefore what synthetic hermeneutical lenses are functional for the redactor. We can then think about how those problems persist along the flood story's mnemotechnic path. The point I would like to emphasize is that *if we can detect acts of cultural memory, then we can analyze them as such, recognizing the limitations in the conclusions we can draw past the individual act*. However, to suggest that we cannot say anything unless we have an understanding of the redactor's full literary knowledge is too limiting, it is impossible to establish, and it prioritizes generalities over particulars.

3.4. Ronald Hendel (2001-Present)

Ronald Hendel works broadly within Jan Assmann's theorization of cultural memory, and views the Bible as a collection of the cultural memories of ancient Israel and Judah.¹⁰⁴ These cultural memories represent a complex amalgamation of history and myth. In the words of Steven Weitzman (speaking of Hendel's work), "collective memory [i]s a *mediation* between myth and history: it is not just that collective memory combines truth and falsehood, but that it combines elements of language and reality, of textuality and the external world."¹⁰⁵ Hendel suggests that the study of cultural memory provides "a model that adequately attends to the complicated interactions of narrative style, historical reference, and cultural self-fashioning in biblical narrative,"¹⁰⁶ since cultural memories "tend to be a mixture of historical truth and fiction, composed of 'authentic' historical details, folklore motifs, ethnic self-fashioning, ideological claims, and narrative imagination."¹⁰⁷ This approach is a welcome response to the stark dichotomization of history and memory emanating from Halbwachs and misrepresented in studies such as Davies'. We should veer away from this dichotomization. Rather, if we desire to ask questions about the historicity of the biblical text, theories of cultural memory can provide a

¹⁰⁴ His relevant studies are, among others, Hendel, "Exodus in Biblical Memory"; Ronald S. Hendel, *Remembering Abraham: Culture, Memory, and History in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ronald Hendel, "Exodus, Conquest, and the Alchemy of Memory," in *Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of P. Kyle McCarter*, ed. Christopher A. Rollston (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2021); Ronald Hendel, "Cultural Memory," in *Reading Genesis: Ten Methods*, ed. Ronald Hendel (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–46.

¹⁰⁵ Weitzman, "Text and Context," 80.

¹⁰⁶ Hendel, "Alchemy of Memory."

¹⁰⁷ Hendel, "Exodus in Biblical Memory," 602.

toolset by which we can think about the relationships between the imagined and the historical past.

In his approach to cultural memory, Hendel focuses on representations of the past mostly within biblical narrative. He frames his approach as integrating the synchronic emphasis on social frames from Halbwachs with the diachronic mnemohistorical inquiry from Jan Assmann, in which memories of the past change over time and are set within the history of tradition, religion, etc. Hendel adds to this a third rubric of the “poetics of memory,” which pays attention to literary features of the biblical text and how they “actualize or commemorate the represented scene.”¹⁰⁸ In his work on the Exodus tradition, for example, Hendel integrates these three rubrics to argue that the biblical Exodus motif is a cultural memory of a real historical circumstance (the Egyptian hegemony over Canaan during the Late Bronze Age) that is mixed together with mythic elements. Unlike Davies who emphasizes the discontinuities that cultural memory can have from historical reality, Hendel works within an understanding that cultural memory is, at its core, a cultural issue and thus does not spring purely from elite invention. Rather, cultural memory grows out of and crystallizes into an unpredictable combination of historical circumstance, self-understanding, mythological knowledge, and a poetics, all of which shift as they are repeated. The resulting cultural memory has resemblances to and resonances with all of these but does not map precisely onto any one category alone.

In his work, Hendel engages with the pervasive questions in the field about the relationship between memory and history, but he does so in a fresh way that puts the theory of cultural memory to work in the analysis of biblical texts and contexts. In particular, his combination of synchrony and diachrony with an attention to poetics is likewise characteristic of my own approach. I differ from Hendel, however, in that I am not asking questions related to history (in a modern, critical sense), but am focusing primarily on the culture functions of literature. How are cultural texts emerging from the past remembered in various presents? Given the explicit literary angle of this study, I also adopt theories and insights from the Tel Aviv School of Poetics in order to think about what these literary interventions *do* in their context. Hendel’s addition of poetics as a category related to bringing cultural memory theories to biblical studies is precisely the entry point that bridges literary and cultural memory studies within the field of Hebrew Bible. This is the bridge I would like to build on as I design a more literary- and reception-focused model of cultural memory in relation to biblical text.

¹⁰⁸ Hendel, “Alchemy of Memory.”

3.5. The Scribal Turn

Biblical studies has benefited of late from a broadly defined “scribal turn” and, in some cases, an accompanying blurring of distinctions between the authorship, editing, copying, redacting, and receiving of biblical texts and traditions by the communities forming them.¹⁰⁹ This trend, on the one hand, has been an outworking of the findings of scholars working on Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple literature, which have destabilized twentieth century ideas of scribes as primarily copyists as well as challenged our sense of the relative crystallization of biblical texts during this period.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, however, it has likewise emerged from an increased attention to scribal practices in the broader ancient Near East, and in particular from studies of scribal schools in this world.¹¹¹ By placing the production of the biblical text within the framework of “scribal culture,” I intend to show how members of that culture recalled their past, not in a historical sense, but in an institutional sense. What I mean by this is to ask how scribes recalled the cultural texts that were handed down to them within the scribal institution. How did they conduct memory work in relation to the materials most relevant to their function as scribes? In doing a study on cultural memory, I am defining the culture according to the recent emphasis on the scribal context of textual production within biblical studies.

¹⁰⁹ Some of the monographs addressing the topic from various angles (comparative, epigraphic, manuscript, compositional, etc.) are William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); David W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archeological Approach* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1991); Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998); Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Raymond Person, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2010).

Articles and essays: Molly M. Zahn, “The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Scribal Culture of Second Temple Judaism,” *JSJPHRP* 40, no. 3 (2015): 285–313; Laura Quick, “Recent Research on Ancient Israelite Education: A Bibliographic Essay,” *CBR* 13, no. 1 (2014): 9–33; André Lemaire, “Schools and Literacy in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism,” in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Leo G. Perdue (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 207–17. A few of the many edited volumes on the topic: Mark Leuchter, ed., *Scribes and Scribalism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2020); Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer, eds., *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism, and Script* (London: Routledge, 2016); Saul M. Olyan and Jacob L. Wright, eds., *Supplementation and the Study of the Hebrew Bible* (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2018).

¹¹⁰ Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Zahn, “Samaritan Pentateuch”; Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

¹¹¹ Niek Veldhuis, *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition of Nané and the Birds, with a Catalogue of Sumerian Bird Names* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Niek Veldhuis, “The Cuneiform Tablet as an Educational Tool,” *DSPN* 2 (1996): 11–26; Carr, *Tablet of the Heart*; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*; Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*.

In many ways, my own study traces its intellectual lineage back to Michael Fishbane's monumental contribution, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*,¹¹² in which he claims that the type of interpretation characteristic of rabbinic exegesis begins within the biblical period itself and is represented in late texts and secondary insertions. Fishbane frames many of the intertextual resonances within the Bible as the result of this exegesis, a process that produced insertions, redactions, and new compositions which were then incorporated into what would become the biblical text. This study establishes some of the secondary insertions into biblical texts as *interpretive* as tradents sought to make their authoritative texts do new work in new contexts.¹¹³ I place this work in a lineage originating with Fishbane's and seek to offer a theorization of the phenomena he recognizes in terms of cultural memory studies.

In order to do so, I enter into conversation with a wave of other scholars who, influenced by many of the above works, have sought to better understand the development of biblical literature and the growing self-consciousness that its authors seem to have gained over time in terms of their relationship with and the relationships between texts that they have inherited.¹¹⁴ What I mean by this, to return to Assmann, is that the biblical texts in many regards "emerged from the spirit of writing itself,"¹¹⁵ as the scribal agents shape the text to become increasingly self-reflexive. This self-reflexivity is evidence of a collection of authoritative texts and a related interpretive practice in which the lines between author and editor, composition and compilation, writing and redacting are so blurred that scribal agents are functionally performing some or all of these roles at once. It is also evidence of the alterity of concepts of textuality in ancient Israel and Judah in comparison to the neatly bound, single-authored, monolithically published books that define textuality in many of our own modern cultures, a difference that can bring new insights into the scholarship on the cultural memory of literature.

¹¹² Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). See also James L. Kugel and Rowan A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1986).

¹¹³ Among others, coming out of this perspective are works such as Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Shimon Gesundheit, *Three Times A Year: Studies on Festival Legislation in the Pentateuch*, 82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). All of these works combine close analysis of the biblical text with concepts (and sometimes theory) of intertextuality showing how those responsible for some of the biblical texts are rewriting, reformulating, adjusting, or adding to their precursors.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Lauren A. S. Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Isabel Crazz, *Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology in the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Laura Carlson Hasler, *Archival Historiography in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Alison L. Joseph, "Redaction as Reception: Genesis 34 as Case Study," in *Reading Other Peoples' Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*, ed. Ken S. Brown, Alison L. Joseph, and Brennan Breed (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), 83–101; Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Jacqueline Vayntrub, *Beyond Orality: Biblical Poetry on Its Own Terms* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

¹¹⁵ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 76.

My study differs from work done so far within the scribal turn in that I analyze a collection of instances of scribal literary interventions into the biblical text as acts of cultural memory. By placing my study in a cultural memory framework, I hope to highlight the biblical texts as cultural texts bound to mnemotechnic paths as they traverse time through processes of continuity and change. I hope to show, in particular, how forgetting functions in this process to form extra-textual cultural symbols which work as hermeneutical lenses by which the text continues to be read. As noted by Olick, “there is good reason from the sociology of collective memory to expect that early periods in discourses are relatively more important for their subsequent development.”¹¹⁶ Indeed, these early periods set out the direction of the mnemotechnic path of cultural objects from which their potentialities emerged and developed over the past few millennia. In this dissertation, I will analyze some of these “early periods in discourse” by looking at literary interventions initiated by scribal agents and thinking about how they change the potentials for their cultural texts and consolidate various mnemotechnic paths into extra-textual cultural symbols. These cultural symbols include synthetic ideas such as canon, the prophet as seer, and divine history, all of which are produced with a collaborative hermeneutic and persist outside of the biblical period and even into later periods when biblical texts have gained more stability. The integration of multiple texts, ideas, and traditions into singular cultural texts is not just dependent on a continual activation of them, but is also dependent on forgetting earlier aspects so that they can integrate over time to form such extra-textual cultural symbols.

4. Method and Chapters

4.1. An Eclectic Methodology

This introduction frames my methodology as eclectic, representing a combination of traditional methods in biblical studies with theoretical approaches at home in the broader humanities. Each of my case studies will require a slightly different combination of tools, but all will follow a similar procedure. I will establish the compositional history of the text under examination, critically reconstructing the boundaries of a specific literary intervention written by a scribal agent. Next, I will analyze that literary intervention utilizing theories from cultural memory as well as literary studies in order to make a claim concerning how that scribal agent remembered the earlier text and what changes he made to it. I will then theorize how those changes can be analyzed under the rubric of “forgetting,” how he caused elements to be forgotten along the mnemotechnic path, and how that which is forgotten allows these paths to converge to form cultural symbols.

Since my methodology requires composition-criticism, I would like to spell out some of my theoretical commitments in this area. The reconstruction of a composition history for each

¹¹⁶ Olick and Robbins, “Social Memory Studies,” 34.

text under question also requires an eclectic method, with an attention to categories such as narrative continuity, metaphor, allusion, text-criticism, source-criticism, redaction-criticism, and the like. I will detail how I am combining these approaches in each chapter. Here, however, I will highlight a theoretical commitment that pulls in two opposing directions. On the one hand, one cannot deny the fact that even the most continuous of sources or pieces of literature within the Bible contain elements that make them, in some way, composite. On the other hand, one cannot deny the other fact that these pieces of literature come to us as just that—continuous pieces of literature with a striking amount of unity and a sophisticated literary artistry. While my interest is in exploring the relationship between these two poles and how singularity emerges from multiplicity, I would like to explicitly state that generally speaking, in approaching questions of composition history, I methodologically favor the historical unity of the text.

This commitment arises for two main reasons. First, we are met with continuity in the form of biblical literature. The burden of proof, therefore, lies in demonstrating discontinuity to the degree that the theoretical reconstruction of a literary intervention is necessary and solves more problems than it creates.¹¹⁷ Second, I have a commitment to the supposition that the narrative and poetic art in the Bible is so sophisticated that to say that it is the result of interventions upon interventions is, in my opinion, untenable; having too many writers would tend to erode literary sophistication. Rather, the poetics of biblical literature can better be explained by a model that prioritizes (but does not dogmatically adhere to) more singular authorship.¹¹⁸ When we prioritize literary unity, then we can utilize categories such as metaphorical landscape, form, alterity, and style (categories within poetics) to recognize compositional seams. I find that all too often, biblical scholars simply posit composition histories, redactional layers, and the like without much explanation. Or, alternatively, they rather uncritically reproduce the compositional theories offered by others. An attention to compositional history has become a suspicious endeavor for too many parts of our field, but I suggest we have not spent enough time theorizing it and have spent more time uncritically inheriting it. Various scholars especially in pentateuchal studies are challenging this kind of “non-method,” and I will follow, offering some critical reflections on how to engage questions of compositional history.

And yet, my commitment to unity is flexible to the extent that my interest lies in analyzing secondary literary interventions. While my fellow American scholars may find some of my source divisions objectionable, our European colleagues might say that I miss too many or

¹¹⁷ This position is formed under the influence of Joel Baden. See Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, vol. 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Joel S. Baden, *The Promise to the Patriarchs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹¹⁸ This position is formed under the influence of Robert Alter. Alter writes: “the religious vision of the Bible is given depth and subtlety precisely by being conveyed through the most sophisticated resources of prose fiction.” Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 23. See also Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 2011).

that I inappropriately take the unity of the text for granted. This divide is not necessarily one I can bridge with this study. However, by offering a way to think about levels of textual composition in terms of cultural memory, I hope to articulate a method that both sides of this oceanic divide can utilize even if they fiercely disagree with the particular compositional lines I have drawn and how I arrived at reconstructing them. In the words of Sara Milstein,

I have tried to approach textual transmission not with the aim of nailing down every verse or line, but instead with the aim of identifying major shifts in perspective that took place in the course of transmission. I have done this with the understanding that these major shifts may well be full of all sorts of other additions and omissions that I could not possibly reconstruct.¹¹⁹

Rather than providing an atomistic reconstruction of every possible layer of the texts at hand, my method is one that pays careful attention to the cultural nature of literature and the tensions between conservative and progressive forces that move these products of culture forward in time. I hope that thinking about the development of biblical texts as a process of cultural memory can offer a new way of thinking about these centuries-old problems.

4.2. Outline of Chapters

This dissertation will proceed with three case studies from three different genres within biblical literature: Pentateuchal law, prophetic poetry, and historical narrative. In chapter 1, I analyze Exodus 34:11-17 (a late insertion into the Pentateuch), and I address the relative dating of this clearly demarcated pericope (which continues through vv 18-26). I argue that the author of this insertion consolidates different bans on various ritual objects that were functionally and/or legally separate in the older law codes, narrativizing their use with the “whoring” metaphor that resembles prophetic discourse. The author remembers the legal codes and the prophets but reads them in terms of one another, which reflects an understanding that the various texts are conceptually connected. In this chapter I argue that forgetting is productive in creating and maintaining the links between texts that ultimately result in the cultural symbol of the canon.

The case studies that follow are composed of two chapters each. The first in each case study is an argument for the boundaries of literary intervention into the biblical text, and the second is an analysis of that literary intervention according to the theoretical approach I have constructed above. In chapter 2, I perform an analysis of the compositional history of Isaiah 2, positing an original Isaianic poem (vv 10, 12-17*) as well as two main secondary layers of the text. The first addition to the poem is composed by a figure whom I call the Expansion Scribe due to the nature of his literary interventions into Isaiah’s poem in which he adds material to the beginning and the end of the poem (vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, 18-21). To do so, he utilizes the last

¹¹⁹ Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, 211.

line of Isaiah's poem (v 17) in the new introduction (vv 9 and 11) and the first line of Isaiah's poem (v 10) in the new conclusion (vv 19 and 21). The second main insertion is an independent text (vv 2-4) that is attached to the Expansion Scribe's composite work via *Stichwort* editing (v 5). Additionally, v 1 is a late attribution to Isaiah, and v 22 is a late addition that sums up the poem with a wisdom saying.

In chapter 3, I analyze the work of this Expansion Scribe. Engaging with Benedict Anderson's distinction between vertical and horizontal temporality, I argue that Isaiah's poem reflected a vertical temporality in which Isaiah, through his use of metaphor, constructs a simultaneity between the mythic world of the Storm God and the pride of humanity. Conversely, the Expansion Scribe shifts the metaphorical landscape of Isaiah's poem to reflect a horizontal temporality characterized by events occurring in temporal sequence, linked by cause and effect. He structures this temporality in terms of a deuteronomistic view of history, and, through his use of metaphor, he defines human pride as idolatry, situating idolatry as the driving force of the events within that temporality. The vertical temporality, I argue, is not eradicated in this move, but instead shifts to the authorial figure of Isaiah himself who now is simultaneous with the reader (the Expansion Scribe, in this case) as Isaiah predicts the Babylonian exile from his position as an eighth century Judahite prophet. This act reflects an understanding of the prophet as a temporally unshackled seer, a figure capable of experiencing simultaneity with events far removed from his own present. In this chapter I argue that forgetting is productive for creating such a figure and therefore keeping the text alive and relevant to new audiences.

In chapter 4, I perform an analysis of the composition history of 1 Samuel 13-15, arguing that 1 Sam 13:7-15a α * and the entirety of 1 Sam 15—the two rejections of Saul by Yahweh—are secondary insertions provided by a figure that I call the Rejection Scribe. In chapter 5, I argue that these insertions reshape the characterization of Saul as a near-tragic figure in the older layer into a figure defined by his tragic rejection. By providing continuity with associations already attached to Saul (such as engagement with Yahwistic pre- and post-battle ritual), but shifting their location in relation to him, the Rejection Scribe is able to present a new iteration of Saul that resolves tensions, clarifies ambiguities, and fills gaps in the older narrative layer. In this act of cultural memory, the Rejection Scribe transforms Saul into a fully tragic figure rejected by Yahweh. By remembering Saul in such a way, the Rejection Scribe causes the next reader of the composite text and the tradition at large to forget Saul as divinely approved, thus clearing the way for a legitimate rise of David. This forgetting, I suggest, is a part of the creation of the cultural symbol of divine history—an organization of human events according to cause and effect, but within which the divine intervenes to create his intended outcome. Divine history is a powerful cultural symbol that allows disparate stories of the past to cohere into a meta-narrative that grants Yahweh power over history.

In each of the chapters dedicated to cultural memory processes (1, 3, and 5), I will bring in further reflections on forgetting and the interplay of remembering and forgetting at work in the literary intervention under consideration. Part of how I will do this is by following Hendel's suggestion to attend to the poetics of each act of cultural memory, and I will integrate insights from literary and metaphor theory in the context of the Tel Aviv School of Poetics and that of Berkeley. This theoretical move will help me better understand how the literary intervention is resonating in its context to create new meaning. As scribal agents add material, they do so not just in light of the literary context, but oftentimes in light of other existing textual collections in the Hebrew Bible. They read Pentateuch and the prophets together, Deuteronomy and Isaiah, narratives celebrating the heroics of the conflicting figures of David and Saul. As scribal agents are reading text in light of other texts, they are producing literary interventions that reflect an interaction with the existing tensions between the contents of these collections.

To understand how they are acting as agents of cultural memory, we must analyze not just the text but the context, which in this study is made up of the literary world in which they are acting, requiring a literary sensibility if we are to say anything productive. If we can see evidence that the scribe is engaging an existing text, then we can analyze how the scribal agent is remembering that text, interpreting it, and changing it for the next agent. I do not take for granted texts that lie in mind of the scribe; I only take for granted the ways in which a scribe activates a text in his act of cultural memory.

1. CANON: INTERTEXTUALITY IN EXODUS 34:11-17

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine Exodus 34:11-17, a relatively late text, the author of which has something of a broad view on various biblical literary traditions as evidenced by the fact that he makes multiple allusions to different cultural texts and text collections. The most striking aspect of this passage, though, is that the author's allusions show that he sees the individual texts as mutually illuminative as he transforms their individual meanings to cohere as a new whole. By analyzing the work of such an author, we can center questions about the relationship between cultural texts and think about the synthesis of their mnemotechnic paths into a conceptual whole that we might begin to think of as a canon. At the same time, in this perception of the relationality between cultural texts, the author specifically integrates existing and distinct concepts of idolatry so that various ritual objects cohere and can all be made taboo under the icon ban in the Decalogue (Exod. 20:4-5//Deut. 5:8-9). This act of making ritual objects signify in relation to one another, I suggest, is an act of cultural memory that reflects a second cultural symbol, which I call pan-idolatry. As I will show, this type of work within the text tradition relies on the forgetting of the individual nature of texts and their subject matter; however, the forgetting involved is particularly productive for the continued memory of texts as they coalesce into the cultural symbol that is the canon, a synthetic category that contains its own momentum that is greater than that of each text individually.

In order to better situate the biblical text in the context of theories of remembering and forgetting, I shall begin by briefly sketching a theory of allusion, a mechanism which I will suggest is representative of an act of cultural memory, requiring both remembering the evoked text and forgetting some of its meanings and individual specificities. This act brings cultural texts and the ideas within into a tighter conceptual integration. In this view, allusion is at its core a diachronic literary phenomena that shapes the possibilities of how these cultural texts can be read moving forward. I will then turn to discuss the relative dating of Exod 34:11-17, after which I will spend the bulk of the chapter examining how each part of this passage alludes to and shifts the possibilities of earlier cultural texts. I will end with a discussion of the implications of my findings for the canon as a cultural symbol, placing my findings in relation to Jan Assmann's theorization of how the Bible became a canon. Throughout this chapter, I will refer to the scribal

agent responsible for this insertion as the Pan-Idolatry Scribe in order to reinforce the agency and personhood of the author of the insertion and to decouple agency from the text itself.

2. Theoretical Considerations: Allusion as an Act of Memory

Allusion is an act of remembering literature. Ziva Ben-Porat of the Tel Aviv School of Poetics defines allusion as “a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts.” This activation:

is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger ‘referent.’ This referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined.¹

Ben-Porat’s model focuses on the reader of the alluding text, and in order to actualize the allusion, the reader goes through a four-step process: (1) Recognition of the marker (or sign), which points to the evoked text; (2) identification of the evoked text; (3) the modification of the initial local interpretation of the signal, meaning that the reader then understands and interprets the alluding text in light of the presence of the evoked text; and (4) activation of the evoked text as a whole, in an attempt to form maximum intertextual patterning.² In other words, step four (which is not always enacted) occurs when the reader can identify not just the initial marker that points back to the evoked text, but can also make additional intertextual connections past that initial marker. The degree to which texts interact depends not only on the presence of the marker, which creates the initial link, but on the presence of commonalities between the two texts, whether those be linguistic, thematic, generic, etc. Once a marker is detected by the reader, the reader is then able to construct further intertextual patterns by recognizing these commonalities and reading the alluding text in light of its multiple connections to the evoked text. Reading intertextually is certainly not a linear movement through each of these steps, but laying out this taxonomy is helpful for understanding the complex dynamics involved.

For Ben-Porat, allusion is a one-way phenomenon recognized by the reader: the presence of the evoked text becomes significant for the reader’s interpretation of the alluding text. However, Chana Kronfeld develops Ben-Porat’s model further by theorizing that the relationship between the interlinked texts is actually bilateral in nature. She argues that the evoked text is also changed in the mind of the reader by what the author of the alluding text does with it. In other words, once the reader reads the alluding text, she can no longer read the evoked text in the same way.³ Whereas Kronfeld develops her theory by analyzing the relationship between the poetry of

¹ Ziva Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” *PTL* 1, no. 1 (1976): 107–8.

² Ben-Porat, “Poetics of Literary Allusion,” 110–11.

³ Chana Kronfeld, *On the Margins of Modernism: Decentering Literary Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 114–40.

Yehudah Amichai and the biblical text that he so often evokes, I find it particularly productive for thinking about the role of allusion in the formation of the Bible.

However, in my work I will flip the emphasis a bit. Whereas I consider allusion to be an act of cultural memory, making a literary text present and thus contributing to its presence and use across time, it also requires forgetting in the bilateral intertextual relationship. The forgotten, I suggest, is that in the evoked text which cannot be taken into account or must be altered in order for the alluding text to make sense. My conceptualization of forgetting has been shaped by Ann Rigney's work, among several others. Writing about the impact of Walter Scott's novel, *The Heart of Midlothian*, on the cultural memory of Scotland's history, Rigney invokes Renan's argument "that national identity is based on collectively remembering certain things and on being able to forget other, more divisive events."⁴ She continues to suggest that "'Forgetting' in this paradoxically active sense is not just a matter of simply ignoring certain things but of *being able* to ignore them despite their troubling character."⁵ I might push this a bit further and say that it is precisely the troubling nature of these parts of cultural memory that makes the agent of memory able to forget it. "Troubling character" in this sense is not necessarily that which transgresses our sensitivities (though it certainly can be), but that which produces an undesirable amount of tension in our ability to make meaning when reading. Thus, when a reader reads multiple texts together, aspects of those texts must be forgotten because they produce an undesirable amount of tension with the meaning that the reader is making, especially as authors of alluding texts may make use of the evoked texts in a transgressive mode, as is particularly true in Amichai's use of the Bible.⁶

With this in mind, I find that when the Pan-Idolatry Scribe alludes to other biblical texts, he is creating cultural symbols that are useful for carrying the texts forward in time. At the same time, however, the creation of these syntheses fundamentally depends on forgetting parts of the evoked texts. In this chapter, I will examine this cultural text (which I consider to be relatively late), and suggest that through allusion the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is bringing together different bans on various ritual objects that were functionally and/or legally separate in the older law codes and is metaphorizing their use with the "whoring" metaphor that most closely resembles its prophetic use.⁷ In order to construct this act of cultural memory, however, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe remembers the legal codes and the prophets, but reads them in terms of one another, which can only be done by forgetting certain distinctions between their subject matter. At the same time, the fact that these texts can be read in terms of one another creates, or at least strengthens, the idea that multiple texts are considered a conceptual whole. Thus, while forgetting is always necessarily related to loss, it is at the same time (and as a result of the loss) extremely productive in creating and maintaining the links between texts within the tradition.

⁴ Rigney cites Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-Ce Qu'une Nation?*, 1882, 284–85.

⁵ Rigney, "Portable Monuments," 382.

⁶ On this topic see Kronfeld, "I Want to Mix up the Bible."

⁷ On my use of the term "whoring," see n 49.

3. Relative Dating of Exodus 34:11-26

It cannot be taken for granted that this is indeed a relatively late insertion, so a brief note in support of this claim is necessary. The larger pericope, Exod 34:11-26 has historically been considered the “Ritual Decalogue” by biblical scholarship,⁸ and in this context dominated by a traditional view of the Documentary Hypothesis, it was generally accepted as J’s sole legal material.⁹ Older generations of scholars have dated this text to a very early date relative to the rest of the Pentateuch based on a progressivist (and anti-Jewish) understanding of religion, namely that religion naturally grows from something more ritual-based to that which is ethically or spiritually focused. Thus, these scholars maintained an earlier date for the Ritual Decalogue in relation to the “Ethical Decalogue” (Exod 20:1-17 and Deut 5:4-21; this is better known as simply the Decalogue).¹⁰ Once one sets aside these problematic views of ancient Israelite religion, we must encounter the pericope on its own terms and decide how to deal with it in terms of relative dating. Likewise, should we maintain the usefulness of the Documentary Hypothesis, we can relinquish the assumption that the sources of the Pentateuch maintain arbitrary resemblances. Therefore, those compelled by the Documentary Hypothesis need not be bothered by the possibility that J has no legal material whatsoever.¹¹

In constructing my argument for the lateness of Exod 34:11-17, I will engage the method for determining relative dating among parallels articulated by David Carr. Carr argues that we can reasonably establish relative lateness if “the given text appears to enrich its parallel (fairly fully preserved) with fragments from various locations in the Bible (incompletely preserved).”¹² In this case, Exod 34:11-26 is our given text and can be broken up into three parts, based on the extant texts that it resembles: (1) vv 11-16, resembling Deut 7:1-5; (2) v 17, resembling Lev 19:4aβ verbatim; and (3) vv 18-26, resembling Exod 23:14-19. Whereas I am considering the

⁸ See George R. Berry, “The Ritual Decalogue,” *JBL* 44, no. 1/2 (1925): 39–43; Walter Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965); Albert C. Knudson, “The So-Called J Decalogue,” *JBL* 28, no. 1 (1909): 82–99; Julian Morgenstern, “The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch,” *HUCA* 4 (1927): 1–138; Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary, Trans* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 260–65; Robert H. Pfeiffer, “The Oldest Decalogue,” *JBL* 43, no. 3/4 (1924): 294–310.

A fundamental problem with this idea is that it is quite difficult to find ten commandments in vv 11-26 (even more difficult than finding ten commandments in the Decalogue).

⁹ Knudson, “The So-Called J Decalogue.” While this theory originated with Ewald, it was popularized by Wellhausen. Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 2 (Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1864), 217; Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1963), 83–86, 329–35.

¹⁰ See analysis of this issue by Bernard M. Levinson, “Goethe’s Analysis of Exodus 34 and Its Influence on Wellhausen: The Pfröpfung of the Documentary Hypothesis,” *ZAW* 114, no. 2 (2002): 212–23.

¹¹ For a representation of this argument, see Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 191–93.

¹² David Carr, “Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34, 11-26 and Its Parallels,” in *Gottes Volk Am Sinai: Untersuchungen Zu Ex 32-34 Und Dtn 9*, ed. Matthias Köckert, vol. 10 (Gütersloher: Gütersloher Verlag, 2001), 124. This principle is stated in a list of several other methodological principles for determining lateness. He does not consider the above principle as the only way to determine relative dating among parallel texts, but it is the one that best applies for my purposes.

first two parts, Gesundheit deals in detail with vv 18-26, and he argues convincingly that the author of this section is updating the corresponding Covenant Code text (in Exod 23:14-19) according to both Priestly and Deuteronomic thought, evidenced by the presence of elements in 34:18-26 that are otherwise only found and play specialized roles in P and D at large.¹³ Given Gesundheit's findings, it is more likely that the author of 34:18-26 had access to P, D, and the Covenant Code than it is that at a relatively early date its author used elements to comment on the Covenant Code which P and D then perfectly split between them without crossover. I therefore favor a slightly less conservative version of Carr's method, which is to say that if a given text reflects elements only contained or playing a specialized role in what we know to be distinct sources, then it is more likely that we are dealing with a late text that is integrating material rather than an early text that happens to contain elements that are not otherwise found together. As we will see, this principle applies to vv 11-17 which have a number of unique combinations that are not replicated elsewhere.

Moving backwards, v 17 is a direct quote from H (Lev 19:4aβ), which most scholars can agree is a late text.¹⁴ However, proponents of an early dating for this whole pericope would argue the reverse, suggesting that H is quoting this Exodus text. The problem with this position is that if we can make a cogent argument for the relative lateness of vv 11-16 and 18-26, then it is unlikely that the theophanic speech in this context is composed of only v 17 and is old relative to the rest.¹⁵ We must then deal with vv 11-16. I suggest that these verses are late based on the

¹³ Gesundheit, *Three Times a Year*, 12–43.

¹⁴ This is a point of broad agreement between both those that adhere to supplementary and documentary models of Pentateuchal composition. See the detailed review of scholarship in the recent dissertation by Julia Rhyder, "The Holiness Legislation and Cult Centralization in the Persian Period" (PhD Thesis, Université de Lausanne, Faculté de théologie et de sciences des religions, 2018), 22–39. The existence of H as a separate and later addition to P has recently been called into question by Liane Feldman who argues that the legislation conventionally assigned to H is central to the overall narrative structure of P. Liane M. Feldman, *The Story of Sacrifice: Ritual and Narrative in the Priestly Source* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). Whether or not H is a separate strata of P is somewhat immaterial to my argument, given the near-universal acceptance of P as the latest-authored main source or redactional layer of the Pentateuch.

¹⁵ The problem of v 10 should be addressed here. If 11-16 and 18-26 are later insertions, the allegedly old material is vv 10 and 17, which would be a very odd theophanic speech composed only of one law. I remain agnostic as to whether v 10 is considered part of the actual J material in vv 5-9, possibly a part of E (which jumps from 34:1-4 to vv 28[b?]), or part of the late insertion. I lean toward the latter based on a constellation of phraseology that is unique to v 10.

The phrase *כל עמך* only appears four times throughout the entirety of the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 8:38, Neh 9:32, and 2 Chr 6:29), all of which are considered late. Additionally, in the Hebrew Bible, one does not ever simply make an indefinite "covenant" without an indirect object. Usually one cuts a covenant "with" (עם or את) someone, "for" (ל) someone, "between" (בין) parties, or "at" (ב) a certain place (Gen 21:32). If a covenant is being made, there is usually an indirect object, and if there is not, the covenant is definite, or there is some way of indicating who the covenant is between (see Gen 21:27 and 1 Sam 23:18). It is odd to have an indefinite occurrence of "covenant" without a preposition (Hos 10:4 is an exception, but it is warning against the general making of bad covenants). However, if we read against the Masoretic accents and suggest that the verse should be, "I am cutting a covenant across from (or against) [נגד] all your people . . .," we again confront a problem: nowhere else does one cut a covenant "across from" (נגד) anyone.

With this in mind, whether or not we read according to masoretic accentuation, "cutting a covenant" followed by "against" is a catachresis of the expected formula (cutting a covenant with), which is a more effective

presence of literary influences from D (Deuteronomy), the Decalogue, and the prophets not otherwise found together anywhere else in the Pentateuch. Demonstrating these influences and dealing with their theoretical implications in terms of intertextuality and cultural memory will make up the rest of this chapter, and it will suffice to say here that I date this text as late relative to the other sources of the Pentateuch as a result of my findings there.

4. D and the Decalogue: Exodus 34:11-14

(11) Guard what I am commanding you today. I am about to drive out before you the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Hivvite, and the Jebusite. (12) Guard yourself lest you cut a covenant with the inhabitant of the land that you are entering, lest he become a snare in your midst.¹⁶ (13) Instead,¹⁷ their altars you shall tear down, and their standing stones you shall shatter, and their¹⁸ Asherim you shall cut. (14) For you shall not bow to another god, for Yahweh, Jealous is his name, he is a jealous god.¹⁹

(11) שמר לך את אשר אנכי מצוך היום הנני גרש מפניך את האמרי והכנעני והחתי והפרזי והחוי והיבוסִי
(12) השמר לך פן יכרת ברית ליושב הארץ אשר אתה בא עליה פן יהיה למוקש בקרבך (13) כי את מזבחם
תתצון ואת מצבתם תשברון ואת אשרי[הם] תכרתון (14) כי לא תשתחוה לאל אחר כי יהוה קנא שמו אל קנא
הוא

The Exod 34:11-14 begins with several allusions to D, and most specifically, Deut 7:1-5, which reads:

rhetoical strategy at a relatively late date once the older phrase becomes a known formula. Based on the late phrasing and odd usage of the statement declaring a covenant is being made, I lean toward including v 10 in the late insertion. However, my argument at large is not contingent upon it.

¹⁶ There is a grammatical ambiguity concerning the subject of the 3ms verb יהיה. Should v 12b be translated, “lest he [the inhabitant]” or “lest it [the covenant] become a snare”? In favor of the first option, the only masculine singular noun in near proximity to the verb is the inhabitant (יֹשֵׁב), making this the obvious option. However, the expression להיות ל is often used with a feminine subject (Exod 12:49, Deut 18:2, Gen 15:17, Jer 50:46), in which case ברית could just as legitimately be the subject. See Joüon, §150k. Of course, both are dangerous in Deuteronomistic ideology, so there is no need to make a hard distinction for our purposes. See also the discussion in Hans Ausloos, “Deuteronomi(sti)c Elements in Exod 23, 20-33? Some Methodological Remarks,” in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne (Leuven: University Press, 1996), 495–99.

¹⁷ In the case of v 13, the כי is used to indicate an adversative clause, which takes place after a negation (see Joüon, §172c.). On a syntactical level, the sense is that while Israel *should not* cut a covenant with the land inhabitants, they *should instead* cut the אֲשֵׁרִים, among other things.

¹⁸ While both MT and 4QPaleoExod^m reflect אֲשֵׁרֵי, the LXX, Targums, and the Syriac all reflect אֲשֵׁרִים. The LXX in this passage does have a tendency to harmonize this passage with the parallel in Deuteronomy 7, which reads אֲשֵׁרִים (Deut 7:5). For example, the LXX in Exod 34:13 adds, “And the images of their gods, you shall burn with fire,” which reflects the parallel in Deut 7:5. But given that the other direct objects have 3pm pronominal suffixes, I think Propp is correct when he tentatively suggests that the 3ms suffix of the “MT may be too difficult to be original.” William Propp, *Exodus 19-40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 592.

¹⁹ All translations are my own unless specified otherwise.

(1) For Yahweh your God will bring you into the land which you are entering in order to inherit it. And he will clear away many nations from before you—the Hittite, the Gerggeshite, the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perezite, the Hivvite, the Jebusite, seven nations more numerous and stronger than you. (2) And Yahweh your God will set them before you and you shall strike them. You must utterly annihilate them. You shall not cut a covenant with them, and you shall not spare them. (3) And you shall not intermarry with them—your daughter you shall not give to his son, and his daughter you shall not take for your son. (4) For it would turn your son away from me, and they would worship other gods, and the anger of Yahweh would burn against them, and it would destroy you quickly. (5) Instead, thus you should do to them: their altars you shall tear down, and their standing stones you shall shatter, and their Asherim you shall hew, and their carved images [פסיליהם] you shall burn with fire.

(1) כי יביאך יהוה אלהיך אל הארץ אשר אתה בא שמה לרשתה ונשל גוים רבים מפניך החתי והגרגישי והאמרי והכנעני והפרזי והחוי והיבوسی שבעה גוים רבים ועצומים ממך (2) ונתנם יהוה אלהיך לפניך והכיתם החרם תחרים אתם לא תכרת להם ברית ולא תחנם (3) ולא תתחתן בם בתך לא תתן לבנו ובתו לא תקח לבנך (4) כי יסיר את בנך מאחרי ועבדו אלהים אחרים וחרה אף יהוה בכם והשמידך מהר (5) כי אם כה תעשו להם מזבחתיים תתצו ומצבתם תשברו ואשיריהם תגדעון ופסיליהם תשרפון באש

Returning to Carr’s rule of thumb for determining the relative dating of similar passages, it does make more sense that the scribal agent in Exod 34:11-14 is alluding to D and not the reverse since, as I shall argue, Exod 34:11-14 “appears to enrich its parallel [Deut 7:1-5] with fragments from various locations in the Bible [Exod 20:4-5//Deut 5:8-9].”²⁰ Both Exod 34:11-14 (and its continuation in vv 15-16) and Deut 7:1-5 contain: the list of the nations that Yahweh will drive out (Deut 7:1/Exod 34:11),²¹ a warning against making a covenant with them (Deut 7:2/Exod 34:12, 15), a warning against intermarriage (Deut 7:3/Exod 34:16) because it will cause the Israelites to stray from Yahweh (Deut 7:4/Exod 34:16), and a command to destroy the Canaanite ritual objects (Deut 7:5/Exod 34:13).²² One of the key differences, however, is that in Deut 7:5 the list of Canaanite objects ends with the command to “burn their carved images [פסיליהם] with fire.” The Pan-Idolatry Scribe instead removes the inclusion of the פסל from the list, and pivots to justifying the destruction of Canaanite objects by providing an allusion to the Decalogue icon ban (which I will argue below) which prohibits the Israelite production of פסילים.²³ Likewise, the

²⁰ Carr, “Method in Determination,” 124.

²¹ A similar list is found in Deut 20:17.

²² See also Deut 12:3. I use the term “Canaanite” here as a categorical label for what the deuteronomistic texts label as a collection of various peoples who occupy the land. The specific historical reality concerning these peoples is of less importance for this study than the way that the biblical texts present these real and imagined peoples. For a treatment of the issue see Mario Liverani, *Israel’s History and the History of Israel* (London: Equinox Pub, 2005), 274–77.

²³ This is alternatively part of the first or second commandment in various traditions. In order to avoid confusion, I am referring to this part of the Decalogue (Exod 20:4-5//Deut 5:8-9) as the Decalogue icon ban.

Quite interestingly, the introduction to the Temple Scroll reflects a text that first quotes Exod 34:10b-13, placing Deut 7:25-26 after it, and continues with Exod 34:14-16. While several parts of Deut 7 have similarities with

reason for destruction that is noted in v 14, “because you shall not bow to another god,” is (almost) perfectly deuteronomic, along with the phrase *הארץ אשר אתה בא עליה*.²⁴ Thus, we can see that the author of our Exodus passage is, in the words of Carr, “enriching its parallel” with extant material from the Decalogue and from deuteronomistic language more broadly.

The deuteronomic ideology is bound to a larger justification, the legal combination of which is unique to this text specifically: “for Yahweh, Jealous is his name, he is a jealous God” (v 14). This language very closely matches that of the Decalogue icon ban (Exod 20:4-5//Deut 5:8-9), which, after warning the Israelites not to make a *פסל* or *תמונה* that resembles anything in nature, reads, “And do not bow to them and do not worship them. For I, Yahweh your God, am a jealous God.” In fact, almost every part of Exod 34:14 corresponds in some way to language in the Decalogue icon ban, except for the quasi-Deuteronomic ban on “another god.” Even the logical arrangement (do not do *x* because Yahweh is *y*) is parallel (bold and underlined below):

Table 1: Exod 20:4-5//Deut 5:8-9 and Exod 34:14

Exod 20:4-5//Deut 5:8-9	Exod 34:14
לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ פֶסֶל וְכָל־תְּמוּנָה . . . לֹא־תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהֶם וְלֹא תַעֲבֹדֵם כִּי אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַנָּא. . .	כִּי לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵל אֲחֵר כִּי יְהוָה קַנָּא שְׁמוֹ אֵל קַנָּא הוּא
You shall not make for yourself a <i>פסל</i> or any <i>תמונה</i> . . . <u>You shall not bow to</u> them, and you shall not worship them, <u>for I, Yahweh</u> your God, am <u>a jealous God</u> .	Because <u>you shall not bow to</u> another God, <u>for Yahweh</u> , Jealous is his name, he is <u>a jealous God</u> .

Though the language shared by these two texts is obviously similar, what is equally striking is the language constructing Yahweh as a “jealous God.” Within the entirety of Pentateuch, this collocation of Yahweh appears only five times:²⁵ here, in Exod 34:14; twice in the two instances of the Decalogue (Exod 20:5//Deut 5:8); once in Deut 4:24, which is a part of what is almost unanimously considered to be late and is an expansion of the meaning and

Exod 34:10-16, Deut 7:25-26 in particular includes a ban on the *פסילים*, commanding that they be burned along with any silver or gold adornments because these objects are abominations. Perhaps the author of the Temple Scroll sensed that a ban on *פסילים* belonged here in Exodus alongside a ban on ritual objects associated with the Canaanite high places, according to both deuteronomistic parallels as well as the decalogue icon ban. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, Andrew D. Gross, and Michael C. Rand, *Temple Scroll and Related Documents*, vol. 7, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 266–69. In addition, the LXX contains *פסילים* in Exod 34:13, harmonizing the list to Deut 7:5. What these texts both show (Temple Scroll and LXX) is that late scribes and tradents sensed that the *פסילים* conceptually belong in the ban set forth in Exod 34:11-16.

²⁴ We should expect the plural. See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 320–22.

²⁵ A very similar construction appears twice: Josh 24:19 and Nah 1:2 (אל קנא)

implications of the Decalogue icon ban;²⁶ and once in Deut 6:15. Based on the relative infrequency of this particular description of Yahweh, we can infer that the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is alluding to the Decalogue.²⁷ He alludes to Deut 7:1-5 in commanding the Israelites to destroy the Canaanites' ritual objects, citing as justification for such an action the commandment not to make or bow to an Israelite a פסל or a תמונה.²⁸ Nowhere else in the Pentateuch do these two ideas (the ban on the Canaanite ritual objects and the Decalogue icon ban) exist in this type of logical or legal arrangement.

4.1. Canaanite Ritual Objects and Images of Gods

What is the difference between these two groups of objects in the world of the text, such that a new organization of their relationship is something to be noticed? According to D, the first group (standing stones, altars, and Asherim) belongs to the Canaanites and are typically associated with the high places, or open-air sanctuaries.²⁹ D does not necessarily construct these objects as images of other gods, but the inclusion of altars in the list suggests that D associated these objects with ritual slaughter in the worship of foreign gods.³⁰ As such, D connects them to the cult and to worship of deities but does not consider them physical representations of the deities. Perhaps better said in the words of Ronald Hendel who is speaking of the historical function of these objects: "These cultic symbols, which are neither anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic, are conventional signifiers of sacred space in the West Semitic world, providing

²⁶ See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 223–30.

²⁷ The metaphor of a "jealous" God also constructs God as a husband, which is a clever foreshadowing and extension of the "whoring" metaphor that the reader confronts in vv 15-16.

²⁸ There is a significant debate concerning what an older version of Exod 20:3-5//Deut 5:7-9 actually was. Hossfeld, for example, argues that Exod 20:4 (the ban on making a פסל or a תמונה) was a secondary addition to the text in the post-exilic period, and that, therefore, the older text went from v 3 straight to v 5. According to Hossfeld's theory, the commandment not to bow "to them," in v 5, refers to the אלהים אחרים in v 3 and not the פסל and תמונה. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1982), 21–26. Weinfeld argues against Hossfeld by suggesting that the "idols" referred to in v 4 are actually equivalent to "other gods" mentioned in v 3. According to Weinfeld, "The prohibition of images in Israelite worship is attested in all of the legal codes of ancient Israel . . . and seems to have roots in the Israelite traditions from its beginning." Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 291. While I agree with Weinfeld's latter statement, I am dubious of the exact conceptual equivalence of "idols" with "other gods" because the Bible reflects an ambivalent attitude toward the agency of images, but unequivocally accepts (at least until a minority opinion at a relatively late date) the agency of other gods.

²⁹ For an overview of the association of the מצבות and אשירים with the cultic high places, see Theodore J. Lewis, "Divine Images and Aniconism in Ancient Israel," *JAOS* 118, no. 1 (1998): 36–53. Of course D and DtrH are highly polemical, and the archaeological record (along with the biblical text) reflects the reality that ancient Israelite cult sites also contained standing stones and altars. In the context of its broader centralization project, D is constructing Israelite cult sites as foreign.

³⁰ The connection of particularly the מצבות to ritual slaughter does bear a resemblance to the available archaeological data. See Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 28–35, 140–91. Graesser describes four main functions of the standing stone: memorial, legal, commemorative, and cultic, all of which would have likely required sacrifice. Carl F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," *BA* 35, no. 2 (May 1972): 33–63.

access to the divine by means of sacrifice, vows, etc.”³¹ In other words, these objects are not meant to physically represent the deity, but are the ritual furniture, so to speak, that the worshipper can utilize for connection with the deity.

The second group, the פסל and תמונה that are banned in the Decalogue, are actually conceptualized as images of gods, usually in anthropomorphic or zoomorphic form. As indicated by the Decalogue, the פסל and תמונה are reflections of that “which is in the heavens above, or which is in the earth below, or which is in the water under the earth” (Exod 20:4, Deut 5:8). Likewise, biblical authors in general juxtapose the פסל as a “carved” image both to the general term for god³² and to the מסכה as a poured or molten image,³³ which itself is often a reference to the golden calf.³⁴ The use of these words reflect an understanding that they are actually anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images meant to stand in for the physical earthly body of the deity. The objects associated with the high places are closely related to those that physically represent the deity in that they both engage the worshipper with the deity. However, their functions are different enough to remain legally distinct throughout pre-exilic legal texts. In other words, the relatively earlier legal codes have different laws that ban these groups of objects for different reasons.³⁵

The Pan-Idolatry Scribe is so far alluding to two different texts: Deut 7:1-5 and the icon ban in the Decalogue. By doing so, he is first of all performing an act of cultural memory, carrying the evoked cultural texts forward in time and allowing them to signify in relation to one another. As such, in reading the alluding text in light of the evoked, the Canaanites’ sacred objects carry the semantic weight of the פסל and the תמונה that are banned by the Decalogue, and if we continue following Kronfeld’s theory of the bilateral relationship between the alluding and evoked texts, that Decalogue ban is likewise expanded so that it can begin to cover a larger swath of sacred objects that are not explicitly dealt with in the Decalogue as it stands. The flip side,

³¹ Ronald Hendel, “Aniconism and Anthropomorphism in Ancient Israel,” in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Karel van der Toorn (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997), 205. In his seminal work on the use of images in ancient Near Eastern cultures, Mettinger suggests that the objects associated with open-air sanctuaries listed above are evidence of a *de facto* aniconistic culture that took a lack of representation of the deity as a norm, but was not troubled by the presence of icons elsewhere. The *programmatic* aniconism that developed, according to Mettinger, sometime between the times of Hezekiah and Josiah, eventually came to see these objects as iconic, and they were therefore banned. Mettinger, *No Graven Image?*, 166–97.

³² Is 44:10, 15, 17, 45:20, Ps 97:7.

³³ Deut 27:15; Is 30:22, 42:17; Nah 1:14; and Hab 2:18.

³⁴ Exod 32:4, 8; Deut 9:12, 16; 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:16; Is 42:17; Hos 13:2, Neh 9:18.

³⁵ For example, the production of *Israelite* images (as opposed to the use of Canaanite ones) is banned in Deut 27:15, whereas the use of Canaanite open air sanctuaries and its ritual furniture is banned in Deut 7:5, and 12:3. In these latter verses, the Canaanite פסל is also listed, but these are Canaanite images of *other* gods, at least as constructed by D. In other words, bans on Canaanite objects and bans on certain Israelite objects exist in different legal categories and must each be specifically addressed. This instance represents one of a few texts in which Canaanite cult items are banned or destroyed because of a separate negative commandment concerning Israel’s own production of cult objects. Interestingly, another example of this crossover is in H, a relatively late layer of the Priestly legislation (Lev 26:1, the only Priestly injunction against a פסל).

however, is that in introducing a bilaterally interactive relationship between Exod 34:11-14, Deut 7:1-5, and the icon ban in the Decalogue, the scribal agent causes parts of the evoked texts to be forgotten by the reader of Exod 34:11-14.

In order to illustrate what may be forgotten by the subsequent reader, I would like to focus on the act of reading *D in terms of* the Decalogue icon ban as an act of metaphorization according to the interactive model of metaphor in which metaphor functions much in the same way that allusion functions in Ben-Porat's model:³⁶ the metaphor contains two parts (the tenor and the vehicle) and when it is read, the metaphoric structure "selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the [tenor] by *implying* statements about it that normally apply to the [vehicle]."³⁷ For example, in the metaphor "argument is war" (to which we will return later), "argument" is the tenor and "war" is the vehicle—the idea of "war," with its violence, hatred, and perhaps both strategy and chaos, can map onto "argument" and make it mean differently than it does on its own. The metaphor as a unit highlights the antagonism in argument and suppresses the productive elements that would otherwise be present. Just as the meaning of the alluding text can change and become differently structured as a result of recognizing the marker, so too the tenor is structured by the ways in which it connects to the vehicle.

Lakoff and Johnson, emphasizing the way that metaphor structures language and human thought as a result, define metaphor as the act of "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."³⁸ In order for the interaction between the tenor and vehicle to work, there must be a degree of structural coherence between them such that, in the words of Black, the metaphor "selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the [tenor]."³⁹ They give the example "argument is war," asserting that this metaphor does not make argument a subsection of war, but instead that "ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR."⁴⁰ It is these structurally coherent aspects of the tenor and the vehicle that allow them to relate productively.⁴¹ In the text at hand, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe reads

³⁶ This model was formulated by I. A. Richards and further developed by Black. See I. A. Richards, "The Philosophy of Rhetoric," in *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor*, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 48–62; Max Black, "Metaphor," in *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor*, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 63–82. Like the interactive theory of metaphor, Ben-Porat's model depends on a semiotic view of meaning making; she was influenced heavily by Richards' work on metaphor. See the review of Ben-Porat's work in Kronfeld, *On the Margins of Modernism*, 114–30.

³⁷ Black, "Metaphor," 78. Instead of using tenor and vehicle, Black uses "principle subject" and "subsidiary subject." The difference in terminology need not derail us here.

³⁸ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 5.

³⁹ They develop the idea of metaphorical coherence in chapter 15, "The Coherent Structuring of Experience," arguing that in order to remember an experience, it has to be organized into categories that give it meaning. Without this organization, an experience is not coherent and thus cannot be remembered. Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 77–86.

⁴⁰ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5.

⁴¹ Instead of tenor and vehicle, Lakoff and Johnson use "target domain" and "source domain." Again, as in the case of Max Black's work, the variation in terminology need not derail us.

the ban on Canaanite shrine objects *in terms of* the Decalogue icon ban. In Lakoff and Johnson's terms, the shrine objects are "partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of" images of gods. Therefore, there must be enough in common between these two groups for their combination to be coherent, and these corresponding structures are that both are used by the worshipper to engage the deity and to make the deity present in the context of ritual.

While metaphor and Ben-Porat's model of intertextuality give us a mode by which we can think about how the evoked text is put to use, it is Kronfeld's contribution that allows us to look back at how the alluding text (Exod 34:11-14) changes the meaning of the evoked (the Decalogue icon ban). However, as allusion reinscribes the tradition, I am suggesting that the change that takes place is fruitfully thought about as the forgotten. It is here that Lakoff and Johnson's idea of the unused parts of the metaphor is useful.⁴² The unused parts of the metaphor are the ways in which the two parts of the metaphor are *not* like each other; they are those features that cannot be taken into account for the metaphor to cohere. Returning to their example, if argument is war then much remains that cannot be taken into account for the metaphor to work. In terms of the vehicle, we cannot think about the loss of limbs, Dear John letters, POW's, or generals in the Situation Room. In terms of the tenor, we cannot think about the productive nature of argument, its collaborative aspects, or its ability to clarify one's position. These unused parts must be forgotten by the reader in order for the metaphor to be coherent.⁴³

According to the metaphorical logic of Exod. 34:11-14, the objects at high places *are* images in the way that each of these groups are similarly structured, and, following the bilateral relationship, the reader understands that the Decalogue covers these objects as well. However, while the similarities of the cult objects are activated by placing the texts side by side, the unused parts of the metaphor are those that are forgotten because they are not coherent when placed next to each other (e.g., an altar is not a physical representation of the deity's body). Thus, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe changes the significance of each of the groups of objects, highlighting their similarities, but by not making use of their differences, he causes them to be forgotten for the future reader of not just his text, but—should his text gain cultural significance—also for readers of other biblical texts. Readers who encounter standing stones in other biblical contexts can now connect those specific mentions to the Decalogue icon ban, creating tensions and contradictions in instances in which such an item was perfectly acceptable to the author.

⁴² The concept of a metaphor containing used and unused parts is theorized in their chapter, "The Partial Nature of Metaphorical Structuring." Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 52–55.

⁴³ Lakoff and Johnson do suggest that if the unused parts are in fact used, then the metaphor "fall[s] outside the domain of normal literal language and are part of what is usually called 'figurative' or 'imaginative' language" (53). Lakoff and Johnson are constructing metaphor as a cognitive process embedded in language that structures the way that people think. Thus, using the unused parts of metaphor may fall into a more conscious use of metaphor rather than what they are suggesting is a feature of everyday language. However, their point still stands. Even if one were to use the typically-unused parts of an everyday metaphor, according to the way that metaphor functions within their model, there will still be unused parts of that "imaginative" use of the metaphor.

The effect of this act of remembering older text is two-fold: first, following Kronfeld's construction of the bilateral nature of intertextuality, by evoking the Decalogue icon ban in the service of condemning Canaanite ritual objects, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe expands the power of the icon ban, allowing it to potentially condemn a broader group of ritual objects. Thus, the synthetic category of idolatry begins (or at least continues) to form. Second, it allows for a synthetic category of a literary collection to form by shrinking the semiotic distance between legal collections. Addressing the first effect first, banning the use of various objects under the authority of the Decalogue is contingent upon the differences between these objects fading into the background as they become the unused parts of metaphor in this legal speech, as discussed above. However, the forgetting of distinctions is not just a loss; rather it is precisely what allows new meanings to flourish. I suggest that this particular rhetorical construction allows for the formation of pan-idolatry, a category by which multiple various ritual objects can be banned by citing the Decalogue icon ban. We can see that the elevation of this law and its use in banning objects expands as we reach the late biblical period.

For example, in Deut 4, the author retells the giving of the Decalogue, but focuses its significance completely onto the icon ban. In this chapter, Yahweh commands that since the Israelites saw no form (תמונה) but only heard a voice (v 12) when he gave them the law, they should therefore not make an image (a תמונה or פסל) of anything (v 16-19). While the Decalogue presents the prohibited images in general terms (that which is in the heavens, on the earth, and under the earth), the author of Deut 4 expands this list, specifying many different examples of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images (male/female, beasts, birds, crawling things, and fish). While the פסל and תמונה in Deut 4 are clearly associated with depicting *Yahweh*, the author then adds a ban on worshipping the heavenly bodies, which are *other* gods (v 19). Yahweh continues by warning Israel if they do make a פסל or a תמונה once they enter the land then Yahweh will exile them to a place where they will actually worship gods made of wood and stone which are inanimate and lack all senses (vv 25-28). In this chapter, the author narrates the giving of the Decalogue, but focuses its entire significance onto the icon ban with the result that if Israel breaks this particular law (with no mention of the others), they will be exiled. The author of Deut 4 effectively elevates the icon ban, using it as a representation of the entire law.⁴⁴ He likewise develops and expands its meaning by explicitly banning the production of images of Yahweh along with worshipping the visible representations of other gods in the natural world.

In constructing the Decalogue icon ban as a broad and powerful category, the author of Deut 4 is able to provide for his audience an explanation for the Babylonian exile which keeps the power of Yahweh and the centrality of the community's cultural texts intact in a world where military defeat meant that one's god had failed; and exile meant that even if theoretically the god had not failed, the person no longer had access to the geographically bound god. The author of

⁴⁴ This attitude is likewise reflected in some rabbinic literature. For example, Sifrei baMidbar 111:1 reflects the theological position that one who acknowledges idolatry denies the entire Decalogue.

this text couches the explanation for exile in terms of idol use in a context in which the Israelites were exposed to an iconically oriented culture (bronze and iron age northwest Semitic culture was largely aniconic).⁴⁵ Thus the forgetting required for the consolidation of images into the Decalogue icon ban and the expansion of its power becomes incredibly useful during the Babylonian exile, among other periods.

Returning to Exod 34:11-14, the synthesis of pan-idolatry also becomes useful at the point in which the multiple cultural texts come together to form a perceived unity. In fact, the creation of pan-idolatry is both a recognition and a strengthening of this perception. Once readers understand cultural texts in terms of one another, not only is each text remembered and therefore brought forward in time, but the position of one in relation to the other shifts so that the semiotic distance between them is reduced. The organization of texts in relation to one another was influentially formulated by T. S. Eliot who, in reference to texts as monuments within a tradition, states:

The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted.⁴⁶

This focus on the “ideal order” is an unnecessary construction of texts that problematically emphasizes hierarchy, but Eliot is helpful for recognizing that literary compositions have semiotic relationships to one another within a culture’s discourse and that new material shifts the structures of that discourse. Renate Lachmann continues in this tradition and formulates intertextual reference in particular as an act of cultural memory that alters the semiotic structure of a literary tradition.⁴⁷ Lachmann suggests that when an author references a pre-existing work, she is drawing on the cultural memory of that text in order to give her text meaning and to pull it into a closer relationship with the older one, while at the same time reinscribing the fact that the older text maintains a presence in the discourse and will therefore continue to be remembered.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See Mettinger, *No Graven Image?*.

⁴⁶ T. S. Eliot, “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” *Perspecta* 19 (1982): 37.

⁴⁷ Renate Lachmann, *Memory and Literature: Intertextuality in Russian Modernism*, trans. Roy Sellars and Anthony Wall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

⁴⁸ Relevant to this discussion within fields closer to biblical studies is Hindy Najman’s explication of Borges’ idea of literary “precursors.” According to Najman’s analysis, a tradition becomes a tradition in retrospect, when one can see which texts an author brings together to make a new synthesis that becomes useful to future readers and writers. In this sense, authors, by reference and use, create their own precursors. And this process is ongoing as later authors can read the tradition in light of still other texts, submitting existing tradition to their own category of precursors. Precursors, then, are constructed by an author when that author brings texts together to be read in light of one another. The resulting synthesis is (or is a contribution to) the tradition. See Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 18–20.

As the process of intertextual connection continues over time, originally disparate texts (such as the Decalogue versus the Deuteronomist's law code) begin to be perceived as a conceptual whole. I will address this idea in more detail later in this chapter, but I bring it up here to say that once texts' semiotic locations shift to the extent that they are literally in the same scroll (as the book of Deuteronomy contains the Decalogue), synthetic categories such as pan-idolatry become helpful for alleviating tensions in a multi-authored text. By bringing the ban on objects at high places under the authority of the Decalogue, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe provides a more robust and integrated legal base from which those objects can be banned instead of having to settle for the fact that they are previously dealt with individually. It also answers questions that might be produced by the tensions between joined texts (e.g. if the Canaanites are so bad, why are they not dealt with in the Decalogue? If the image of another god is banned are the associated ritual objects permitted? What constitutes a פסל or a תמונה? And so on). Pan-idolatry can act as a unifying logic that represents one stitch in the project of knitting texts into deeper relationship with one another so that they can even become physically joined (as the Decalogue is to Deuteronomy).

5. "Whoring"⁴⁹ and Prophetic Influence: Exodus 34:15-16

We can so far infer that the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is reading at least parts of D in light of the Decalogue. However, since Deuteronomy as we have it contains the Decalogue, we need to identify other influences in our Exodus text in order to make a better case for it as relatively late. It is here that we will turn to the metaphor of "whoring" in vv 15-16. The verses read:

(15) Lest you cut a covenant with the inhabitant of the land (and they whore after their gods, and they sacrifice to their gods), and he would call to you and you would eat from his sacrifice. (16) And you would take from his daughters for your sons. And his daughters would whore after their gods, and they would cause your sons to whore after their gods.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ I understand the preferred term to be "sex work" but I am choosing to use a term that captures the pejorative tone of the text since our preferred label does not map onto what the biblical metaphor means. The quotation marks are meant to communicate that this idea is taken from the text and that it is not my own generally preferred term. For a nuanced treatment of women and sex work in the Hebrew Bible along with the reception of the relevant biblical terminology see Jessie DeGrado, "The *qdesha* in Hosea 4: 14: Putting the (Myth of the) Sacred Prostitute to Bed," *Vetus Testamentum* 68, no. 1 (2018): 1–33.

⁵⁰ LXX differs significantly from MT in this verse, and it additionally contains an extra line relative to MT. MT is the preferable reading since it is shorter and since LXX more thoroughly schematizes intermarriage by noting that both sons and daughters are given and taken and that both sons and daughters of the Israelites would whore after the foreign gods as a result. I suggest that a longer and more complete picture of the exchange of sons and daughters in the LXX is an explicating change and should therefore be considered secondary. The Greek reflects the following Hebrew *Vorlage* for this verse:

ולקחת מבנותיהם לבניך ומבנותיך לתן לבניהם וזנו בנותיך אחרי אלהיהם והזנו את בניך אחרי אלהיהם

As Propp notes, the LXX

(15) פן תכרת ברית ליושב הארץ וזנו אחרי אלהיהם וזבחו לאלהיהם וקרא לך ואכלת מזבחן (16) ולקחת מבנותיו לבניך וזנו בנותיו אחרי אלהיהן והזנו את בניך אחרי אלהיהן

This particular use of the “whoring” metaphor is unique in the Pentateuch in its connection to the high places and to images of other gods. These connections, however, are not necessarily obvious, so a word of explanation is necessary.

V 15 begins with an exact repetition of part of v 12 (“Lest you cut a covenant with the inhabitant of the land.”), which leads Propp to suggest that v 15 is a case of resumptive repetition (or *Wiederaufnahme*).⁵¹ This device is “a literary technique that consists of repeating, after an interruption, one or more of the words that immediately preceded the digression or addition, so that the reader may continue from the point of the interruption,”⁵² the point of interruption being the first instance of the repeated word or phrase. While it is often a redaction technique which later editors employ in order to add to an existing text,⁵³ scribes also use it for several literary purposes, one of which is “when they want to introduce a digression or describe two similar, simultaneous scenes.”⁵⁴ In an effort to clarify Propp’s correct recognition of resumptive repetition,⁵⁵ I suggest that something like the latter function is happening in this text, which is to say that vv 12-14 and 15-16 are logically parallel statements which deal with the same anxiety about making covenants with the Canaanites. Therefore, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe places the making of the covenant and the resulting sacrificing, eating, “whoring,” and exchange of women to be at the high places they should destroy according to the first statement.

Thus, vv 15-16 are a second warning about what will happen should the Israelites make a covenant with the Canaanites: in the first case (vv 12-14), a positive command is given in contrast to the warning against the covenant (instead of making a covenant, Israel should break their things because Yahweh does not like idolatry).⁵⁶ However, in the second case (vv 15-16), the Pan-Idolatry Scribe supplies a narrativization of what will occur should the Israelites make

may be expanding to make the law more comprehensive, influenced by Deut 7:3-4, “Do not intermarry with them; your daughter do not give to his son, and his daughter do not take for your son. For he will divert your son from (following) after me and he/they will serve other gods.” (Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 593).

⁵¹Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 615. Propp cites Curt Kuhl, “Die ‘Wiederaufnahme’ – ein literarkritisches Prinzip?,” *ZAW* 64, no. 1 (January 1952): 1–11.

⁵² Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, trans. Pascale Dominique (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 77–78.

⁵³ Ska clarifies that in these cases, “the first text was original and the resumption — that is, the repetition of one or several words — was inserted by the editor, who wanted to ‘sew up’ his addition to the original text in this way.” Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 78. This technique is also used in cuneiform texts for similar purposes. See David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 27–28; Levinson, *Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 17–20.

⁵⁴ Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 78.

⁵⁵ He is somewhat agnostic, stating that the literary feature is “marking the intervening material as a digression or even possibly an interpolation.” Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 615.

⁵⁶ The Pan-Idolatry Scribe includes a nice word play in v 13, in which Yahweh commands that the Israelites should “cut” the Canaanites’ אֲשֵׁרִים. This particular verb is not in the evoked text, Deut 7:5, suggesting that there is a play with the command not to “cut” a covenant.

the covenant (Israel will intermarry with the Canaanites and worship their gods).⁵⁷ Given that the allusion works to equate objects at Canaanite high places with images of gods, and given that this is an insertion into the Pentateuch, we might expect to find “whoring” connected to the high places, the objects located there, and/or images of gods in the Pentateuch. But we cannot. This use of the “whoring” metaphor is confined to the prophets.

In the Pentateuch, “whoring” as a theological metaphor appears mostly in Priestly literature, but P is concerned with a general distrust of Yahweh (Num 14:33; 15:39), and H uses it in connection to necromancy (Lev 17:7; 20:5-6). D uses it once as a general warning against worshipping foreign gods (Deut 31:16).⁵⁸ My point is that nowhere else in these texts is “whoring” connected either with the high places, the Canaanite cultic objects located there, or images of any gods. In terms of pentateuchal texts, these metonymic connections are a development of the Pan-Idolatry Scribe, seemingly under the influence of prophetic literature which metaphorizes the use of these very things as “whoring.” Jeremiah connects the metaphor to the high places (3:1-3), using it in his famous idol taunts (2:20-37), and in depicting the use of objects made of wood and stone (3:8-9). Likewise, Hosea connects “whoring” to the high places and to consulting “wood and stone” (4:12-15). Micah accuses Jerusalem of becoming like one of the high places, stating that her עֲצָבִים (fashioned things) will turn into the wages of a “whore” (1:5-7). And Ezekiel collapses the metaphor and depicts an actual sex worker as “whoring,” or having sex, with the “images of a male” she has formed (16:17). Though this in no way exhausts the list of prophetic uses of this metaphor, these examples suggest that the connection of “whoring” to high places, the cultic objects found there, and images of any god originated in the written prophets, and that this particular use of the metaphor is bound to the genre of prophetic poetry until this scribe brings it into the Pentateuch. Particularly convincing is that texts as early as Hosea use the metaphor in this way, theoretically making it available to those who would have known his text.⁵⁹ Thus, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is not just alluding to Deuteronomy and the Decalogue. Given the particular use of the “whoring” metaphor, he is alluding to that which was until this moment genre-specific, thus bringing the prophetic corpus into closer proximity with the Pentateuch.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Lurking in the background of these verses is Num 25:1-2, in which the people “whore” with Moabite women, and the Moabite women “called the [Israelites] to the sacrifices to their gods. And the people ate and they worshipped their gods.” “*Whoring*,” *calling*, *sacrificing*, *eating*, and *worshipping* other gods are all connections between these texts. Further, later in the chapter, the root קנא (which is used in Exod 34:14 in reference to Yahweh’s jealousy) is used to describe Phinehas’ action in killing the offending Israelites which effectively held Yahweh back from acting even more violently with his own jealousy (also from the root קנא).

⁵⁸ Even in DtrH, it is restricted to a handful of usages in Judges, mostly at the end of the Gideon story in reference to the ephod (which is a Yahwistic cult object; Judg 8:27) and the Baalim (though the location is notably *not* a high place; Judg 8:33). This is the only place that “whoring” is connected with any specific ritual object at all, and it is a normative Yahwistic one at that.

⁵⁹ It is commonly accepted that D drew on and developed many parts of Hosean ideology and theology, and yet D did not use this version of the “whoring” metaphor. See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, 366–70.

⁶⁰ It is difficult to pinpoint exactly to which prophet or text this scribe may have had access. Though it is more favorable to argue in specific terms concerning allusion, it is impossible to do so in this particular situation. However, the fact that this use of the metaphor does not otherwise extend past the prophetic genre lends credence to

Yet while we can see the influence of the prophets in this metaphor, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is responsible for additional innovation, which is to say that Exod 34:15-16 represents the only location in the entire Bible in which a *Canaanite* “whores.” In all other uses of this metaphor, the Israelites are “whoring” by worshipping other gods, using idols, or in some way disobeying Yahweh. In this context though, the Canaanites “whore” after *their own* gods, which contradicts the metaphorical use of “whoring” as something one does “after” illicit gods or objects; in all other usages, it represents someone being unfaithful to the person or god to whom one is joined. “Whoring” after one’s own god transgresses the logic of the metaphor since that is the god to whom that person belongs, to whom they are “married” within the vehicle. Therefore, by showing that the Canaanites “whore” after their own gods, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe uses the metaphor in such a way that the reader cannot take into account the unused parts in order for the passage to make sense. The reader must forget that “whoring” is a transgression of a people against their god and must instead conceive of “whoring” as a lexicalized metaphor that simply means “idol worship,” constructing Canaanite practice as inherently false.⁶¹ Thus, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe has drawn the Canaanites as so categorically transgressive that their own use of their shrines and objects (even unrelated to Israelite relationship with them), their worship of their own gods, and their very existence is an affront to Yahwistic worship. This forgetting is a development and a strengthening of Deuteronomy’s idealized centralization of Israelite worship by painting the continued use of Israelite shrines as the result of having failed to eradicate an already-disappeared indigenous population.⁶²

The Pan-Idolatry Scribe is therefore integrating and synthesizing the disparate themes in the literary collections to which he has access. In D, the high places are attached to the Canaanites and banned, along with the accoutrement present there. For example, Deut 12:2-3 commands the Israelites to utterly destroy the Canaanite sites of worship “on the high mountains, and on the hills, and under every green tree,” and continues with the command to destroy the altars, standing stones, אֲשֵׁרִים, and פְּסִלִים. However, these authors utilize neither the “whoring” metaphor nor the Decalogue icon ban to be productive to this end even though both are present in the larger text of Deuteronomy and in other locations in the Pentateuch. At the same time, many of the prophets are similarly concerned about the high places and connect it with the “whoring” of the Israelites, leaving the Canaanites largely out of the equation. Jeremiah 2:20, for example, accuses Israel of rebelling against Yahweh, stating, “For on every high hill and under

my assertion, and we will have to be satisfied with the generalized “prophets” since I am unable to further narrow the literary influences.

⁶¹ The use of “whoring” as a lexicalized metaphor lends support to my contention that this is a late text since metaphors become such by continued use over time. It is more likely that a lexicalized metaphor is the result of continued use in biblical literature rather than a lexicalized metaphor being available from a relatively early period but only becoming exposed as such in this one location.

⁶² This construction by the Deuteronomist in the seventh century was a polemic against Israelites worshipping in what was until then perfectly acceptable local Israelite cult sites. The author of Deuteronomy is not advocating literal genocide because the Canaanites were already gone when he was composing his work. Rather, he is using a fantastical construction of genocide to paint Israelite practices as foreign and to therefore centralize worship to Jerusalem.

every green tree you bend over, whoring.” While Jeremiah may be working from an assumption that connects Canaanites to high places, his major concern is the Israelite actions taking place there. For Jeremiah, the problem is not the Canaanite luring the Israelite into illicit action, but is instead Israel’s active rejection of Yahweh and seeking out of foreign alternatives.

The structures that existed in the Pentateuch (references to and the relationships between the ban on images, polemics against the Canaanites, “whoring” as a spiritual metaphor) allow for Exod 34:11-16 as a composition to become incorporated into and be productive as a part of the Sinai pericope. In order to do so, however, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is reading parts of the Pentateuch in terms of the prophetic use of the “whoring” metaphor, which has its own relationships to illicit cult objects and the high places. Thus, he draws on the existing structures in both collections, but simultaneously shifts the semiotic distances and relationships between ritual objects, images, and the worship of Yahweh in the Pentateuch so that these themes become more integrated.

6. The Golden Calf: Exodus 34:17

(17) Molten gods, you shall not make for yourself.

(17) אלהי מסכה לא תעשה לך

Shifting to Exod 34:17, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe further extends his project of synthesizing objects and texts by quoting H. He uses a ban from Lev 19:4a⁶³ verbatim and warns against the production of molten gods by stating, “Molten gods you shall not make for yourself” (the full text of Lev 19:4 reads, “Do not turn to idols and molten gods you shall not make for yourself. I am Yahweh your God”). Throughout the Bible, the molten image, or the *מסכה*, is another way of describing the golden calf (Exod 32:4),⁶³ which rather than being a depiction of *another god* instead was historically associated with Yahweh himself as part of the “empty throne” iconography in which a depicted object (in this case a bull or calf) represented the standing or sitting place of the god without depicting the god’s form.⁶⁴ Many biblical authors work to polemicize the golden calf as illicit and anti-Yahwistic, but the character of Aaron in Exod 32 gives away the historical connection by addressing the problem rather directly. After making the golden calf, he presents it saying, “These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt” (Exod 32:4), subsequently declaring, “A festival to Yahweh tomorrow” (32:5). Of

⁶³ See also Exod 32:8; Deut 9:12, 16; 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:16; Is 42:17; Hos 13:2; Neh 9:18.

⁶⁴ Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, “The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel,” *SIDA* 10 (1979): 21. The other biblical example of this type of iconography is the Ark of the Covenant which likewise represented Yahweh’s sitting place. We should note that this is not an unproblematic category, as noted by Doak who states that “in the case of the empty throne, the aniconism is not exactly an ‘empty space’—since the throne shapes and constrains the appearance of the deity on it—and even the throne itself could be an object of veneration in its own right.” Brian R. Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism in Its Mediterranean and Ancient Near Eastern Contexts* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 34.

course, in the rest of the narration of the tale the golden calf is then harshly denounced, which doubly affirms that for pious Yahwists at a certain period in biblical history, the connection of the calf to Yahweh is a real problem to be dealt with and severely rejected. Thus, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe (whether knowingly or not) is invoking a third category of sacred objects: those that signify the presence of the deity without necessarily depicting its form.⁶⁵

Moving to the second half of the verse, the command against making these objects (“... do not make for yourself”) similarly calls to mind the Decalogue icon ban, having already been activated by v 14, which has an exact verbal correspondence (“... do not make for yourself,” in reference to the *תמונה* and *פסל*; Exod 20:4//Deut 5:8). Therefore, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe also draws the golden calf into the ban in the previous verses, the implication of which is that it is not just objects associated with Canaanite open-air sanctuaries, or images of other gods that are banned, but certain images associated with Yahweh himself.⁶⁶ In any case, if we read vv 11-16 along with v 17, then we strengthen the assertion that this text bans various previously unassociated objects under the authority of the Decalogue icon ban. It is particularly striking because in no other text do these objects (those associated with high places, the Israelites’ own images, and the golden calf or images directly associated with Yahweh) sit side-by-side in the same legal pericope. This reading of the multiple law codes effectively broadens the Decalogue icon ban so that it can apply to many more types of ritual objects.

Besides activating this portion of Leviticus, the allusion to this specific text in this context simultaneously activates the immediate past within the world of the Exodus narrative in which the people made and worshipped an *עגל מסכה* (Exod 32:4) and in response to which Moses smashed the original tablets of the law (32:19). By placing this insertion into the last moment of Sinaitic legal instruction, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is taking advantage of Moses’ last moments on the mountain which previously had no covenantal or legal content (except for the reference back to “what was on the first tablets that you smashed,” [34:1] which was supposed to be perfectly reproduced on these new tablets) in order to correct an omission in the first instantiation of the covenant, the absence of which got the Israelites into trouble: making a *מסכה* is explicitly banned. Further, by utilizing language that is associated with the Decalogue and the Covenant Code (in vv 18-26),⁶⁷ the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is able to frame his new addition as an updating of the earlier authoritative text, all the while bringing a rather late layer of Leviticus into contact with

⁶⁵ While space does not permit the analysis in the present chapter, the dynamics of cultural memory at work in the biblical commemoration of the calf is its own subject that deserves attention. See, for example, Gary N. Knoppers, “Aaron’s Calf and Jeroboam’s Calves,” in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1995), 92–104.

⁶⁶ The Bible’s general acceptance of the Ark of the Covenant remains a tension in the text that post-biblical interpretation has to deal with. For example, the author in Midrash Aggadah Exod 25:18:1 senses that the making of the cherubim for the ark might encroach on the Decalogue icon ban. But he alleviates this tension by saying it is permissible to make a *תמונה* or *פסל* “for me [God]” but not “for yourself.”

⁶⁷ Here I depend on the work of Gesundheit, *Three Times a Year*.

the earliest legal collections. While this act brings these texts forward in time, the presentation of a piece of legislation that is *not* either one draws the reader's attention away from the earlier legal material and consolidates her memory of the covenant onto these sixteen verses, thereby shifting the momentum of the Sinaitic covenant tradition as it proceeds on its mnemotechnic path.⁶⁸

The inclusion of the golden calf and H in this composition only works to further support what I have been arguing throughout this chapter. First, the inclusion of H (along with other Pentateuchal texts) should point us in the direction of understanding the whole pericope as a late insertion (Exod 34:11-17, as I am addressing it, but also vv 18-26 as others have addressed them). Second, the inclusion of the golden calf extends the uses and applications of the Decalogue icon ban, thereby contributing to the synthetic category of pan-idolatry, as I have argued above. Third, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe alludes to H, thereby incorporating it into the synthetic category of texts that are perceived to be related to one another, creating yet another intertextual link between distinct collections within the Pentateuch.

7. Canon and the Symbolic Object

Shifting toward the implications for the interlinking of literature specifically, the fact that the Pan-Idolatry Scribe can even read the distinct cultural texts in terms of one another tells us something important about the dynamics of memory at play. In alluding to these texts within the same composition, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe draws them together for future readers. This act shrinks the semiotic distance between the collections, moving them closer in terms of what they signify, and thereby requiring that the reader who recognizes the allusions forget in some way that the prophets and the Pentateuch (and the various parts of the Pentateuch) are conceptually separate. By bridging these cultural texts in terms of mutual illumination, he strengthens the relationships between them such that later readers can draw on this relationship in order to make new connections, new meanings, new syntheses, and therefore productive theological categories for the continued memory of biblical text over time. The Pan-Idolatry Scribe, while making rhetorical moves toward the synthetic category of pan-idolatry, is dependent on another synthetic category: that of canon in the sense of the canon as the perceived relationality between existing cultural texts. The canon can therefore act as a stronger container for the cultural memory of literature than any individual piece alone can.⁶⁹ Likewise, the more diverse cultural texts the canon contains, the more potential there is for new readers to find intertextual patterning and to create new syntheses.

⁶⁸ We can see that even scholars get drawn into the gravitational pull of this insertion when we analyze past scholars' insistence on finding "ten commandments" within it. See page 46n8 of this dissertation.

⁶⁹ For more on the relationship between canon and memory storage, see Assmann, "Canon and Archive."

At the same time, however, there must be enough in common between cultural texts such that they can be, to return to Lakoff and Johnson, “partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of” one another, otherwise, the perceived relationality between them crumbles.⁷⁰ Halbwachs likewise emphasizes the need for a degree of coherence in the relationships between cultural materials. While he recognizes the tensions and diversities within cultural systems, he suggests that “society can live only if there is a sufficient unity of outlooks among the individuals and groups comprising it.”⁷¹ There must therefore be a continual tension between the diversity of views in any literary canon and enough unity and coherence such that readers continue to strengthen the frames that allow cultural texts to be read together. But in order to make meaning of variant cultural texts within the system in light of one another, oftentimes the individual aspects of each that are not coherent when read together must be suppressed in their recall or interpretation.

By bringing together a variety of cultural texts while interpreting them in a synthetic and mutually illuminating mode, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe contributes toward the formation of the cultural symbol of canon. Jan Assmann has theorized the formation of the canon in terms of cultural memory. In doing so, he sets up two poles in terms of text tradition: the “stream of tradition”⁷² and the “canon.” The stream of tradition in early civilization, he suggests, is composed of the “normative and formative texts that came into being that were not just written versions of the oral traditions but that emerged from the spirit of writing itself,”⁷³ meaning that texts were not “just written versions of the oral traditions,”⁷⁴ but were produced as people continuously read and reread text. This stream functions to bring cultural texts forward in time, but in forms that are not yet stabilized. Instead, the stream of tradition is

an organic flow that cuts its course and then carries greater or lesser quantities of material along with it; as some texts disappear, some enter the flood, and others are extended, shortened, revised, or anthologized in ever changing combinations.⁷⁵

Assmann suggests that within the stream of tradition, the cultural organization of the texts change as some texts “are copied or quoted more often than others; thus they eventually become classics that embody normative and formative values.”⁷⁶ At this point the stream of tradition is dammed, creating the canon (the opposite pole of the spectrum), which is a text collection that cannot be changed but “must be handed down word for word.”⁷⁷ According to Assmann, since

⁷⁰ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 5.

⁷¹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 182.

⁷² He borrows this phrase from Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*.

⁷³ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 76.

⁷⁴ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 76.

⁷⁵ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 76.

⁷⁶ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 77.

⁷⁷ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 78. As most biblical scholars will posit, this step is a relatively late phenomenon in the life of the Bible, and we can easily observe that Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and

its *content* cannot be changed, this formation gives rise to a hermeneutic culture which allows its *meaning* to change in various time periods and communities. Once the texts are dammed into a canon, their static nature requires an interpretive tradition to develop in order to allow the canonical texts to be remembered and therefore present over time within a community.

However, what I am suggesting is that the intertextual linkages that the Pan-Idolatry Scribe has created is part of what Assmann calls “the damming of the stream of tradition,” though he taxonomizes the distinction in a way that my findings would problematize as more fluid (to continue with the water metaphors).⁷⁸ What I am suggesting is that the hermeneutic community that Assmann convincingly speaks about must form within the stream of tradition because as agents in the tradition read, they *have to* interpret. It just happens to be the case that the earliest interpretations of biblical text are baked directly into the biblical text itself. Therefore, it is precisely the rewriting, additions, and intertextual linking performed by the hermeneutic community that creates the eventual dammed canon and the increased stability of its content.⁷⁹

In his writings, Assmann does theorize the canonization of the Bible specifically, and it is worth spending some time parsing out and critiquing his approach in order to clarify how my own assertion challenges his model.⁸⁰ Assmann’s central question in this context has to do with the reason for the emergence of writing and its relationship to the lived traditions of the larger community. For Assmann, communicative memory, tradition, and writing exist in some amount of tension. Whereas communicative memory relates to spontaneous, disorganized, and organic memory of the recent past, tradition is “the antithesis of what is lived, embodied, and communicated, and [i]s the summation of knowledge laid out in symbolic forms and administered by institutions.”⁸¹ At the same time, however, the concept of tradition when set against writing is “the antithesis of what has been fixed in writing and [i]s the quintessence of

other Christian sects have different content in each of their canons. Assmann does suggest, based on the work of C. Colpe, that in fact the Hebrew Bible was a canon early on and that, therefore, the various Christian canons are second orders of canon on the same primary canon.

⁷⁸ Assmann does problematize the stability of canons, theorizing that in moments of social upheaval, canons are reexamined and reformed as a culture questions the normative and formative values of society. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 106–10. He goes on to conclude that “the task of the historian can no longer be seen as deconstructing . . . the barriers of the canon; instead it analyzes their structure and brings the processes to light that have put them in place” (110). It is not my wish to examine the barriers of the canon, but to examine the processes by which texts are drawn together within a tradition in the first place.

⁷⁹ The issue of the stability of the biblical text is a problem since all manuscripts contain differences ranging from minute to significant (the LXX David and Goliath story in 1 Sam 17-18, for example, is markedly different from MT in that it lacks large sections of text). The result is that the canonical text has never been fully stabilized as different reading communities prioritize different collections of texts as well as different manuscript traditions.

⁸⁰ Jan Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon: Tradition and Written Culture in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism,” in *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 63–80.

⁸¹ Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon,” 62.

knowledge bound to and incarnate in living agents.”⁸² Writing, on the other hand, is externalized and fixed. “To exaggerate only slightly,” Assmann claims, “we might say that living, embodied memory and communication find their death in tradition, and living, embodied tradition finds its death in the normative written word.”⁸³ Moving along this line of tensions, Assmann theorizes the emergence of biblical writing and the process of how it shifts, over time, into a canon of literature. His study, however, is flawed on a number of levels, which necessitates a new theorization.

In terms of the content of his argument, Assmann begins with a comparison between the emergence of writing in ancient Mesopotamia and that in ancient Israel. While I cannot assess the legitimacy of his presentation of the former, I have major critiques regarding how he deals with the latter. Assmann sets out a trajectory of five “stimuli” that lead from the “excarnation of laws” to a “canon” of biblical literature.⁸⁴ Rather than rehash these, I will deal with a more basic and faulty assumption regarding the formation of the Bible on which he builds his whole argument. This assumption is that biblical writing begins with the law set in the period of the Josianic reform and that something called a Torah is invented in this moment. Beginning with the first part of the claim, the idea that writing began with legal materials at the time of Josiah is not available within biblical scholarship. Assmann does not consider, for example, what legal traditions existed prior to the composition of the book of Deuteronomy—most obviously, the Covenant Code that Deuteronomy reworks, which reflects that the author of Deuteronomy considered the Covenant Code to be authoritative in some capacity—⁸⁵ and therefore how the Josianic movement recast existing written legal traditions. He additionally ignores the conventional claim in biblical scholarship that the oldest compositions in the Hebrew Bible are actually mythic poems about (divine) warfare (e.g. Judg 5, Exod 15, etc.), and that it is quite likely that a fair amount of other literary compositions preceded the time of Josiah.⁸⁶ Assmann simply proceeds as if Deuteronomy is the first instance of writing, even as he grants in an aside that this is not the case.⁸⁷

⁸² Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon,” 62. Jan Assmann draws his definitions here in conversation with Aleida Assmann’s concept of “excarnation.” Aleida Assmann, “Exkarnation: Über die Grenze zwischen Körper und Schrift,” in *Interventionen*, ed. Alois M. Müller and J. Huber (Basel, 1993), 159–81.

⁸³ Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon,” 63.

⁸⁴ “Taking Israel as an example,” Assmann “single[s] out five tendencies or stimuli to canonization that occur partly in other cultures as well, but are in some ways specific to the ancient Israelite or early Jewish situation.” Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon,” 65. These are: 1) the excarnation of laws and the invention of a normative past, 2) the excarnation of tradition, 3) the “Imperial Authorization” of laws in Persia, 4) the development of text communities and core libraries, and 5) the anathematizing of idolatry and the process of linguistic narrowing.

⁸⁵ See Levinson, *Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*.

⁸⁶ These would be, among others, pre-P and D (J/E) pentateuchal materials, Elijah/Elisha narratives, narratives about pre-monarchic Judges, materials about Saul (and David), various Psalms, a collection of Proverbs, Hosea, Amos, etc. Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 355–490.

⁸⁷ Assmann states that “the writing of the texts of the law was spread over a much lengthier period of Israelite history,” and the “Josiah’s reign signifies here merely a breakthrough and a climax.” Assmann, “Five Stages on the Road to the Canon,” 68. However, he continues to theorize writing as if it began in this period, and he does not incorporate the existence of older legal and literary compositions into his model.

On the issue of “Torah,” Assmann adopts a post-biblical conception of Torah as an authoritative law code to which the broader cultural milieu must relate and places it back onto the time of Josiah. In the design of this study, he conflates issues that need to be considered somewhat separately in order for the study to cohere. These are: 1) identifying the oldest detectable Israelite law codes; 2) analyzing about how independent sources (even granting solely P and D) incorporate the older law codes; 3) positing specifically what the Josianic revolution does in relation to older law codes; 4) analyzing how redactors dealt with the combination of the various law codes and their embeddedness in historical narrative; and 5) analyzing how readers understood the whole thing once the Pentateuch becomes the Torah at a relatively late date. Assmann is attempting to set the emergence and consolidation of writing against lived tradition, but he does so in a way that overly flattens the production of biblical texts as he places them in relation to the broader ancient Israelite and Judahite cultures at large.

Regarding his conceptual outline, Assmann dichotomizes communicative memory and writing, with the lived tradition lying somewhere as a mid-way point between the two. In doing so, he does not consider the interplay between the three nor does he account for their relationship outside of an elitist idea of the institutionalization of cultural memory in which writing immediately gains status. This kind of rigid conceptual outline is a point of difficulty in his work more broadly (see my critique in “Introduction” above), but here Assmann does not consider the possibility that those producing these texts have their own text-oriented culture that is somewhat (or perhaps significantly) disconnected from the non-text-oriented culture in which they are operating.⁸⁸ In other words, Assmann does not consider cultural memory as a process within *scribal* culture.

Within scribal culture, the practice of text-production is what Assmann would call a lived tradition,⁸⁹ and we have access to this practice as we analyze the diachronic development of texts that would eventually make up the Hebrew Bible. By analyzing a secondary addition, for example, we can look at one specific instance of text production and see to some degree which texts that scribal agent is reading, how he is understanding the meaning of these texts, and how he is integrating these meanings to push the written tradition at large forward. In doing so, that scribal agent is recognizing the cultural significance of the composition he is reworking as he activates it, reorganizes it, and passes it on to the next scribal agent. Assmann seems not to grant cultural weight to texts until they are organized or codified into something recognizable to us—he does not recognize the significance of textual traditions to scribal culture as evidenced by the

⁸⁸ It is probably the case that the scribes are connected to the larger culture as they write in response to it, but we have little to no evidence that those in the larger culture were aware of or interested in these texts, their authorship, or development. Assmann does think about a text-oriented culture (what he calls “text communities,” using terminology borrowed from Brian Stock), but he suggests that these arise as a result of canon formation. I find that he does not spend enough time in his writings addressing the role of the scribal school or the relationship of the scribal institution to other institutions within ancient Israel and Judah. Though little is known about this group and its makeup, we have texts that were certainly produced by and maintained in these institutions.

⁸⁹ Here I mean text preservation, text writing, text editing, copying, explication, etc.

fact that they are read, reproduced, and edited to varying degrees over a long span of time. In scribal culture, text-reception is inseparable from text-production, and hermeneutics are inseparable from the process of canonization. Once we gain access to these specific acts of cultural memory represented in literary interventions within the written tradition, then we can move on to think about the interplay of remembering and forgetting toward the formation of cultural symbols—hermeneutical assumptions that arise from the meeting place of multiple written traditions.

In reorienting ourselves to a more integrated relationship between culture and text (as I outlined in the introduction), we can see that literary interventions (such as Exod 34:11-17) are an integral part of what Assmann calls “the damming of the stream of tradition,”⁹⁰ and distinguishing this action on the part of scribes from a hermeneutical culture does not do justice to the characteristically collaborative hermeneutics reflected in the formation of biblical texts. What I mean is that as scribes insert material into the cultural texts that they inherit, we can see that they are reading them very carefully. They are explicating meaning and integrating conflicting traditions through a hermeneutic that is drawing out dynamic meanings from cultural texts and updating both the content of the text *and* its meaning to make it do new work in their communities. Hermeneutics are, in fact, inseparable from the stream of tradition and are certainly not tied to a fixed cultural text or canon. The scribes performing literary interventions are offering a more collaborative hermeneutical model in which they bring texts forward by writing their hermeneutic into them, changing their content and thus their potentials for meaning in the future. It is precisely the rewriting, additions, and intertextual linkages performed by the hermeneutic community that creates the eventual dammed canon and the increased stability of its content, and at the same time burying, as it were, more “original” versions of these within the canonical words themselves. And yet, I want to continue to push back on Assmann’s conceptualization of canon as characterized by fixity and instead define it by the cultural perception of relationality.

In the case of Exod 34:11-17, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is reading older texts within the stream of tradition, and by creating intertextual linkages via allusion, he is signalling to the next reader that these cultural texts belong together. This collaboration and fluidity between authors, readers, and the tradition is what creates and sustains the existence of a hermeneutic community over time. The Pan-Idolatry Scribe does not establish the canon as a closed object, but his reading of cultural texts that precede him is part of the larger project of damming the stream that the hermeneutic community does as it brings texts forward in time and into closer relationship

⁹⁰ Assmann in other places problematizes the stability of canons, theorizing that in moments of social upheaval, canons are reexamined and reformed as a culture questions the normative and formative values of society (see *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 106-110). He goes on to conclude that “the task of the historian can no longer be seen as deconstructing . . . the barriers of the canon; instead it analyzes their structure and brings the processes to light that have put them in place” (110). It is not my wish to examine the barriers of the canon, but to examine the processes by which texts are drawn together within a tradition in the first place.

with one another. We can call this the beginning of the formation of the canon, but for my project it is most helpful to think about canon not in the sense that Assmann thinks of it (as closed and fixed), but as perceived relationality, the creation and maintenance of which collapses the distinctions between cultural texts into a singular cultural symbol. Whereas Assmann is emphasizing *boundaries* and crystallization in reference to the canon, I am suggesting we think of intertextual linkages as binding texts diachronically more and more tightly together. From this perspective, boundaries, while porous, may be a natural outworking of an extremely integrated cultural symbol. In other words, conceptual integration draws the initial boundaries, not the other way around.⁹¹

The cultural symbol that is the canon is formed as such by scribal agents who read one text in light of another, bringing the mnemotechnic paths of cultural texts into contact with one another and making them collide in such a way that cultural texts subsequently become mutually illuminative for readers in the tradition. The joining of mnemotechnic paths by way of intertextual reference creates and diachronically reinforces the perceived relationality between cultural texts. This shift requires a collaborative hermeneutic between the written tradition preceding scribal agents, scribal agents as readers, scribal agents as writers, and the tradition as it persists into the relative future. Over time, scribal agents inherit cultural texts, change them, and leave them transformed for the next reader, thus blurring the lines between cultural texts' production and reception, between the stream of tradition and the hermeneutical communities associated with a stabilized canon.

As noted in the introduction, a cultural symbol is a powerful carrier of cultural memory because as such, it represents the condensing of the mnemotechnic paths of multiple ideas, uses, and meanings onto a singular, referenceable entity. To requote Erll from the introduction,

condensation has come to mean . . . the compression of several complex ideas, feelings or images into a single, fused or composite object. The result is over-determination: many different associations about the past can converge in one condensed mnemonic object; and therefore the object will lend itself to different interpretations.⁹²

Once a cultural text becomes established within a culture, it has to be continuously activated in order to survive. The more that it is activated, the more meanings it accrues along its mnemotechnic path. Eventually, a cultural text, as it is referenced and alluded to within other cultural text, integrates its mnemotechnic path with other cultural texts. As this perception of relationality between cultural texts is more firmly established within the cultural structures, this forms the cultural symbol of the canon—a conceptual acceptance of the integrated network of

⁹¹ Though of course once boundaries are drawn, the relationship is bilateral. Boundaries cement conceptual integration and conceptual integration solidifies boundaries.

⁹² Erll, *Memory in Culture*, 45–46.

relationality that is compact enough to be transportable across time and space, and is multivalent enough to entice agents of memory to activate it over and over again across time.

Since a cultural symbol is so overdetermined and its meaning so multiple and contested, it is able to bring forward in time whatever is attached to it with a momentum that is greater than the sum of its parts. For example, if someone wished to eradicate a single text from within the Bible, they would not only have to destroy its contents, but that person would also have to destroy its perceived relationships to the other texts that make up the cultural symbol along with the overlaid meanings that result from those relationships—an impossible task barring some cataclysmic event in global history. On the other hand, the cultural symbol allows for that which is inherently connected to and part of it to be forgotten by agents in any act of remembrance in which the agent of memory interprets the symbol or parts of its content. But the forgotten in this sense, in the sense I have been constructing, will continue to be present within the symbol (the words and meanings that cannot be taken into account in any reading always still exist) and there is always the potential to revivify the forgotten with an alternative remembering of the cultural symbol. It is therefore precisely the overdetermined nature of symbolic objects which give them such a powerful presence within a culture's discursive space. Writing about literary texts, Ann Rigney states that

“memory sites”⁹³ or symbols], while they come into being as points where many acts of remembrance converge, only stay alive as long as people consider it worthwhile to argue about their meaning. One of the paradoxes of collective remembrance may be that consensus (‘we all recollect the same way’) is ultimately the road to amnesia and that it is ironically a lack of unanimity that keeps some memory sites alive.”⁹⁴

The forgotten that is wrapped into the very fabric of the symbol is therefore a central part of what keeps the symbol active in the memorial practices of a community as different agents remember and forget differently. Since the cultural symbol can never be activated in its entirety by any one agent of memory, the cultural symbol persists. Forgetting, in terms of leaving aspects unactivated, is part of the fertile ground sustaining the mnemotechnic paths of cultural texts as they integrate into cultural symbols.

The Pan-Idolatry Scribe is therefore an early participant in the process of constructing the Bible as a symbolic object. He remembers texts by alluding to them. However, by placing the evoked texts side by side, he makes them mean in terms of one another, which can only be done by forgetting aspects of the evoked texts. Highlighting this forgetting is not to incite a romantic

⁹³ This term was coined by Pierre Nora who has been enormously influential in studies of cultural memory. See Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*. In English see Nora, *Realms of Memory*. See also Indra Sengupta, ed., *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts* (London: German Historical Institute London, 2009).

⁹⁴ Rigney, “The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing,” 346.

mourning of that which is lost. It is instead to construct forgetting as that which allows cultural texts and ideas to be synthesized with one another so that they can be brought forward not just as individuals, but in relationship to one another. By interlinking them and creating synthetic theological categories such as pan-idolatry, the Pan-Idolatry Scribe is a participant in the process of forming the synthetic category of canon, which is itself a symbolic object that is overdetermined and therefore portable and powerful across time. It is precisely the forgetting he employs that allows these syntheses to occur, and therefore it is forgetting that allows the cultural significance of these texts to persist with an increasingly reduced existential threat.

2. TEXT-CRITICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND COMPOSITION HISTORY OF ISAIAH 2

Looming loudly over the scholarly literature on Isaiah 2 is Duhm's contention that this chapter is extraordinarily poorly preserved,¹ and many scholars follow this assertion, claiming that the chapter contains mistaken repetitions, making any number of similar negative evaluative statements meant to account for (but not necessarily explain the function of) the presence of a complex interweaving of texts, themes, and styles.² The evidence in the literary text suggests that it was not written by one person or in one moment. Therefore, in order to reach the form in which we read it today somebody) read the text and added material that was either original to them or that they knew of and viewed as somehow relevant.³ By analyzing the composition history of the text, we can reconstruct a history of reading and the development of various hermeneutical frames for understanding the text.⁴

¹ "Dies Stück ist das schlechtest erhaltene des ganzen Buches." Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 17.

² To choose but one example, Blenkinsopp's analysis of this chapter in his commentary begins, "Picking our way through the editorial debris that has gradually accumulated in this passage..." Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 19, The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2000).

³ Admittedly, this may have been multiple people, but since the additions cohere and reflect the same strategy of using language from the Isaiah poem, I find no reason to assert multiple scribal interventions. Alternatively, Roberts posits that it was Isaiah himself who updated his own poem. To make this claim, Roberts cites the work of Holladay who argued that Isaiah sometimes recycled and reused his oracles to apply to new audiences in new situations (Holladay saw this at work in Isa 28). Working from Holladay's assertion, Roberts argues that this tendency of Isaiah is more pervasive, stating that "many of the internal anomalies that have been taken as signs of Josianic, exilic, or post-exilic editing are in fact anomalies left by Isaiah's own imperfect adaptation of realier oracles to new situations." J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah 2 and the Prophet's Message to the North," *JQR* 75, no. 3 (January 1985): 292. See William L. Holladay, *Isaiah, Scroll of a Prophetic Heritage* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1978), 59–60; J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah and His Children," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 193–203. I do not discount the possibility that Isaiah may have updated his own poems in other sections of Isaiah, but I do not think that a secondary layer from Isaiah's hand is the simplest solution to the issues at stake in this chapter since I detect hints of the exile in the secondary additions (see discussion in the next chapter).

⁴ Though I disagree with part of his compositional analysis, this approach was employed by Joseph Blenkinsopp who argues that secondary insertions in the chapter show "a high level of exegetical activity covering a considerable period of time," and that these activities "transform the poem into an announcement of a universal, final judgment from which only the elect, those in other words addressed by the anonymous seer(s), will be exempt." Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Fragments of Exegesis in an Isaian Poem (Jes 2,6-22)," *ZAW* 93, no. 1 (January 1, 1981): 51.

1. Introduction

In approaching source and redaction criticism (or what I more loosely refer to as “composition criticism”), I take as my starting point the *Literarkritik* advocated by Ronald Hendel in which literary criticism must meet with philological criticism in any question of the composition of the biblical text.⁵ Hendel notes the tendency of the field since the 1960s and 70s to set literary criticism and philological or historical criticism in opposition to one another. Composition criticism belongs to the latter category and has not yet fully reaped the benefits of the integration of literary theory into the field. I suggest, in line with Hendel, that integrating literary theoretical perspectives—or even a self-conscious literary sensibility—into composition criticism provides us with a defined and incisive method for detecting the gaps and fissures in these works. Regarding composition criticism in the prophetic corpus, Clements posits that “we may start our investigation . . . with a prior assumption that the redactional elements will show themselves in regard to the way in which prophecy was believed to have been fulfilled, or to be awaiting fulfillment.”⁶ In essence, his interest in redaction criticism is aimed at understanding how the meaning of a text has changed within its history of interpretation, which is itself baked into the older layer(s) of the text. His method starts with an acute attention to these shifts of meaning in the text. In this analysis, I will be paying attention to things like the author’s use of motifs as they exist in various historical moments, disjunction in the use of metaphor, evidence of *Stichwort* editing, phrases that are associated with insertions in the text of Isaiah at large, the use and breakdown of poetic parallelism, the use of language specific to other corpi, as well as poetic structures and their relationship with derived repetition.

I will begin my discussion of the composition history of Isaiah 2 by laying out the reconstruction of this text by Ronald Clements, with whom I basically agree (though I will refine his presentation and add a new suggestion of my own), supplementing the methodological approach to the text with insights from Williamson.⁷ The following is a summary of Clements’ reconstruction of the compositional layers of Isa 2: Isa 2:1 is a second superscription that was put into the text historically prior to the first superscription in 1:1. The bulk of the poem is made up of two major sections: vv 2-4, which are a late insertion, and vv 6-22. V 5 “represents a concluding appeal *by the redactor* to the reader.”⁸ This reading suggests that Clements, like many others, sees this verse as the transitional verse inserted in the *Stichwort* style to make the

⁵ This perspective was revived from Wellhausen’s own formulation of the same term. Ronald Hendel, “Abram’s Journey as Nexus: *Literarkritik* and Literary Criticism,” *VT* 69 (2019).

⁶ Ronald E. Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 82.

⁷ Clements is an excellent and perceptive redaction critic, but his work reflects an older style of scholarship in that he frequently makes assertions about redactional seams but does not always show the work or incorporate the citations that demonstrate to his reader the thinking and reasoning behind his conclusions. On Isa 2, see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980), 39–46. Clements is working in large part from Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 222ff.

⁸ Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 42. Emphasis mine.

two major sections flow together. Next, he finds several groups of insertions that are relatively earlier (7-8a, 9a) and later (6, 8b, 9b), with some other verses that he variously labels as “an addition to the original prophecy” (vv 20-22), an addition (v 11), “a mistaken repetition” (v 13aβ), a “glossator” (v 18), and a “further addition” (v 19). I agree that all of these verses and verse fragments are secondary, but I hope to offer a cleaner model that more clearly groups these insertions into logical constellations. In any case, for Clements, the “original Isaianic saying” is made up of the remainder of vv 10, 12-17.⁹ I agree with these basic divisions (vv 10, 12-17* as the older poem, and vv 1-9, 11, 13aβ, 18-22 as in some way secondary,¹⁰ and like Clements I will make some distinctions between parts of the secondary material), but will make the case that we should add 12b to the category of “secondary.”

My own approach to detecting the composition history of this chapter will be closer to what Williamson does in his essay, “The Formation of Isaiah 2:6-22.” In this essay he critiques the usual approaches to this chapter which he lays out as three basic assumptions scholars bring to questions of the composition history: 1) those who argue the chapter is a unity,¹¹ 2) those who side with Duhm and consider this a damaged work and then seek to reconstruct the lost, dislocated, or rewritten material,¹² and 3) those who argue that there is an old historical Isaianic core that has been developed into its present form.¹³ Williamson suggests that all of these approaches start “from an *a priori* assumption which effectively predetermines the final outcome,” arguing instead that “it is preferable to start from an internal literary analysis of the text,” and secondarily that “the diachronic conclusions . . . may then be aligned with ‘external’ points of reference (such as what Isaiah himself could or could not have written).”¹⁴ I agree with Williamson that whatever compositional or redactional reconstruction a scholar draws should begin with an internal literary analysis, but my interest in doing so is not to place the oracles into their period of authorship, but instead to focus my attention on the internal relative dating of the texts that make up the chapter in order to analyze what the secondary additions do to meaning and poetics of the older text.¹⁵

⁹ Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 42–46. This would be 10, 12, 13aα, 13b, 14-17. Various others do more or less agree with Clements. See, for example, Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 65–66.

¹⁰ To be clear, in this chapter the collocation “vv 10, 12-17*” represents all of those verses except 12b and 13aβ.

¹¹ See Kevin J. Cathcart, “Kingship and the ‘Day of YHWH’ in Isaiah 2:6-22,” *Hermathena* 125 (Winter 1978): 48–59; Roberts, “Prophet’s Message.”

¹² Blenkinsopp does this to some extent, though he also posits an older core around which editorial glosses accumulated. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:193–96.

¹³ For the bibliography Williamson cites within these three categories, see H. G. M. Williamson, “The Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22,” in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, ed. Carmel McCarthy and John F. Healey (London: T & T International, 2004), 57-58n2-4.

¹⁴ Williamson, “Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22,” 57–58.

¹⁵ There are likewise those who see the redaction of several separate Isaianic units. Duhm suggested three such units (2:6-10, 18-21; 2:11-17; 5:15-16). Wildberger argues for four such units (2:6; 2:7-9a and 18; 2:12-17; 2:19). Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

While Williamson's literary analysis of the text is sharp and perceptive, his characterization of his approach versus what everyone else has done is somewhat misleading. If a scholar begins with an internal analysis of the text, she may still reach a conclusion that aligns with one of his three "*a priori* assumptions." He himself does just this in his article when he posits an older text that has been reworked and added to by a redactor, placing him mostly into his own third category. The difference he is highlighting, however, is that one should not just assume that an Isaianic text is lurking beneath the surface of a given chapter of Isaiah as we have it. It just happens that his literary analysis led him to an old core (or possibly two cores) which he then links most probably to Isaiah. I follow Williamson in beginning with the text.

As stated above, my interest is in the hermeneutics at work in the diachronic development of the text. Williamson's observations about the structure of the work based on his literary analysis is worth rehashing in order to carve out space for my own. In what I would consider a problematic move, he begins by sectioning off vv 20-21 and 22 as secondary to the rest of the passage based on the broad consensus of scholarship.¹⁶ In his notes he draws a contrast only to Neveu who argues that v 20 is part of the oldest layer.¹⁷ While v 22 is set apart from the rest of the chapter based on its absence from the LXX and its content that is generally disconnected from the rest of the work, I contend that there is a middle option in which vv 20-21 could be part of a secondary layer that cannot be adequately separated from the other secondary material in vv 6-19.

Williamson begins his analysis by observing that there are two clear sections in the chapter identifiable by their use of repeated phrasing: vv 7-8 which repeat ותמלא ארצו and vv 12-16 which repeat ועל כל. He further follows Sweeney in recognizing that vv 6-9 are bound by their use of 2ms verbs addressing Yahweh directly.¹⁸ Likewise, Williamson notes that vv 12-16 are bound by two envelope patterns: vv 11 and 17 which he is careful to point out are almost identical, and vv 10 and 19 which are likewise very similar so that "the whole passage thus reflect[s] an 'ABCB' pattern."¹⁹ He takes this structure and the near-identical wording as evidence that vv 10-17, 19 were the original unit. Next, given that vv 7-8 are a unit (and he argues that 6 is a part of this unit) and that vv 10-17, 19 are a unit, he views v 9 as a redactional insertion used to point both backward and forward, thereby linking the two major units. The 2ms verb in v 9b (ואל תשא) points back to the 2ms verb in v 6 (נטשתה), both of which are directed at

¹⁶ The consensus of scholarship does support 20-21 as secondary: Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 65. Sweeney notes that vv 20-21 "are parallel to the enigmatic vv. 18-19 and appear to be designed to clarify their meaning." Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 1996), 103.

¹⁷ Lauranne Neveu, "Isaïe 2, 6-22: le Jour de YHWH," in *La vie de la parole: de l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament: études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Pierre Grelot professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, ed. Henri Cazelles (Paris: Desclée, 1987), 129-38.

¹⁸ Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 103.

¹⁹ Williamson, "Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22," 58-59.

Yahweh, and the similarity of wording in v 9a points forward to vv 11 and 17. He then finds more evidence of this redactor in v 18 and possibly also in 8b.

Williamson's method is refreshing in his insistence on starting with the literature itself rather than an assumed compositional model. He starts, as I do, by finding poetic units and then determining how these are related to one another. His focus on repetition is key to his analysis, but it hampers him from actually *reading* the poem and instead causes him to regard structure as the main (if not the only) way of determining compositional activity. His identification of the double-envelope structure in vv 11,17 and vv 10,19, for example, and its originary nature to the old poem is based solely on their identical wording and the resultant ABCBA pattern in the poem. Following this biblicist draw to chiasm is fairly standard practice, but nowhere does he consider what *meaning* is produced or how the imagery or metaphors are at work and adhere in this old poem. Likewise, he critiques Berges for his attempt to place vv 6-8 and 20 within the bounds of the old poem,²⁰ saying: "Whereas the verses included above [i.e. Williamson's own argument] are virtually identical with one another, vv. 6-8 and v. 20 are not; they have only certain elements in common, and even these are not related to one another in the same way in the two passages."²¹ Implicit in Williamson's analysis is the prioritizing of identical or near-identical wording as opposed to mere commonalities as the key to determining which texts belong to which layer.

As I have noted in my text-critical portion of this chapter, there is evidence of a scholarly tendency toward correcting the repeating elements in Is 2 to be more identical with one another than they are, to the detriment of actually reading the work and considering what these slight changes do to the meaning of the poem. This approach seems to me a ham-handed way of making a difficult text with irregularly repeating elements cooperate with our expectations for repetition and structure rather than an open-minded attempt to read the chapter with the assumption that someone might have put all of these words here for a literary and in some cases hermeneutical reason.²² Williamson's starting place is correct and his identification of redactional activity is astute; though I do agree with some of his compositional labels of various sections, I think his analysis as a whole suffers as a result of his implicit orientation toward chiasm and near-identical repetition.²³ In what follows, I will take a similar starting place, but put much more energy into the art of reading. I shall now turn to reconstruct a critical edition of the text of Isa 2.

²⁰ Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Gestalt* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998), 77.

²¹ Williamson, "Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22," 59n6.

²² My critique here does not negate the need for an eclectic text-critical reconstruction in which certain elements of the text as it is represented in the MT may change due to the nature of manuscript evidence. See Ronald S. Hendel, *Steps to a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2016). Of particular relevance are the first two chapters, "Prologue to The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition (HBCE)" and "A Response to Criticisms," 15-63.

²³ Put differently, he favors a structuralist privileging of symmetry of form over meaning. My thanks to Chana Kronfeld who made this observation to me in a private communication.

2. Translation and Text Criticism

The following is my translation and text critical analysis of Isaiah 2, to which the reader should refer throughout the next chapter. The original Isaianic composition is in standard font, the work of the Expansion Scribe is in italics, the independent insertion is bold (with the *Stichwort* verse in bold italics), and, lastly, the appended beginning and end of the chapter (vv 1 and 22) are underlined.

(1) The word that Isaiah son of Amoz envisioned concerning Judah and Jerusalem:

(2) **And at the end of days**
the mountain of Yahweh's temple will be established
at the top of the mountains
and it will be lifted above the hills.
And all the nations²⁴ will stream²⁵ to it

(3) **And many peoples will go, and they will say,**
"Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh
to the house of the God of Jacob
That he may train us²⁶ in his ways

²⁴ The parallel text in Mic 4:1-3 often reads עמים where Isa. 2:2-4 reads גוים (and vice versa). The difference between the versions in this case is insignificant to my analysis.

²⁵ The verb from the root נהר, meaning "to stream to" (or some other verb from the noun denoting a stream) is contested. The LXX reads ὁσσεύσας, reflecting the Hebrew מהרו. Since verbs from מהר are more frequently used with a human subject, we should favor the verb from נהר following the principle of *lectio difficilior*. Many commentators, however, prefer the second meaning of נהר meaning, "to shine." This position is taken up by Baruch Schwartz, for example, who further extrapolates that the verb should be understood from this definition to mean "see." Baruch J. Schwartz, "Torah from Zion: Isaiah's Temple Vision (Isaiah 2: 1-4)," in *Sanctity of Time and Space in Tradition and Modernity*, ed. A. Houtman, M. J. H. M. Poorthuis, and J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 14–15. The parallel verb from הלך in v 3 gives weight to the first meaning of נהר which captures the movement of the nations with a metaphor. See discussion in H. G. M. Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 169. Likewise, Muraoka points out that the other three uses of the first definition of נהר outside of Isa. 2:2 (Mic 4:1; Jer 31:12 and 51:44) are all used "in the sense of massive population movement," which jibes nicely with its use here. Takamitsu Muraoka, "Isaiah 2 in the Septuagint," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van Der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael N. ver der Meer et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 320–21.

²⁶ Translation note: while ירנו is better translated on its own as "and he will teach us," in this context (as with תורה from the same root later in the verse), I choose to translate it as "train" based on two aspects of wordplay the Hebrew may have had based on other meanings of this root. First, the root ירה also means "to throw" or "to shoot," which resonates with the military context of the Divine Warrior themes present in this passage (as I shall argue below), and particularly the reversal of the militaristic learning war (v 4) to learning Torah. The verb "train" resonates with this secondary meaning better than "teach," which highlights the potential wordplay. Second, I chose "train" because it rhymes with "rain," a phenomenon deeply connected to the Storm God. Below, I discuss the connections between vv 2-4 and the cosmic mountain and Storm God motifs, both of which often feature rain. The root ירה can also mean "to rain" (i.e. water thrown to earth, e.g. Hos 6:3). I choose to translate these words here as "train" in order to capture the play on words that may be present with both the expected military and rain imagery.

1QIsa^a lacks a partial verset (אל הר יהוה), and contains a plural verb in place of MT's singular (*they* will teach versus *he* will teach): לכו ונעלה אל בית אלוהי יעקוב וירנו. This reading is secondary; see 79n32 below for a

so that we may walk in his paths”
For from Zion training comes forth
And the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem

- (4) And he will govern between the nations
And he will adjudicate for many peoples²⁷
And they will beat their swords into plowshares
And their spears into pruning hooks
And nation will not lift sword against nation
And they will never learn war again²⁸
- (5) *O House of Jacob, come and let us walk in the light of Yahweh*
- (6) *But you have rejected your people,
the House of Jacob²⁹
for they were full of diviners from the east
and soothsayers like the Philistines
and they teemed with the children of foreigners.*
- (7) *And his land was full of silver and gold
And there was no end to his storehouses
And his land was full of horses
And there was no end to his chariots*

summary of Sweeney’s argument. While Sweeney’s argument is compelling, it is difficult to ignore the ease by which this verse may have been altered by the scribe writing 1QIsa^a. First, the loss of *אל הר יהוה* could have easily been the result of haplography by homoioarkton. Secondly, the addition of a *ו* to make *וירינו* a plural subject is an easy mistake to make (especially if a *מ* *mater lectionis* had first appeared, causing a *ו/י* confusion; i.e. *וירינו*).

²⁷ The text in Mic 4:3aβ varies from its parallel verset here by stating that Yahweh will “adjudicate for strong nations far away.”

²⁸ Here, the parallel in Mic 4:4-5 contains a longer text describing this situation.

²⁹ Manuscripts and commentators are split as to whether the subject of the verb is Yahweh, rendering the “House of Jacob” as the object in apposition to “your people,” or whether the subject of the verb is in fact the “House of Jacob” which is written in the vocative at the end of the verset. See discussion in Roberts, who favors the latter. J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 37. Sweeney, on the other hand, is correct in noting that if the “House of Jacob” in v 6 were vocative, the switch from second to third person in referring to the same group is awkward. Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), 140. Following Gesenius, Williamson additionally points that “outside of purely secular contexts, *נש* is far more commonly used with God as subject.” Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 190.

LXX has changed the subject of the verb as well as the possessive pronominal suffix on the direct object to 3ms. We should consider this a secondary change because it smoothes out the differences of person vv 6ff. According to Muraoka, “the translator makes the prophet adduce a theological argument for his call to the nation instead of turning to his God in despair: the nation had sunk so low that they were abandoned and left to their own lot by their God.” Muraoka, “Isaiah 2,” 324.

(8) *And his land was full of idols*
To the work of his hands they bowed³⁰
To that which his fingers have made

(9) *And humankind was bowed down*
And man was brought low
You shall not forgive them!³¹

(10) *Go into the rock!*
Be hidden in dust!³²

³⁰ On the oddity of the plural verb here, see note 42 below.

³¹ 4QIsa^a and 4QIsa^b both have אלו, supported by LXX, Syr, and Vg. LXX additionally has a first (rather than second) person singular verb (“I will not forgive them”). We cannot tell which person the Qumran texts reflected since 4QIsa^b has a lacuna directly after אלו, and 4QIsa^a has a lacuna where the subject prefix of the verb would be. These variations, along with the lack of parallel verset for 9b and an abrupt change in verb subject, have left commentators at a loss for what to do with this verset. Roberts suggests that perhaps a deeper textual corruption is at play and remains unconvinced of any explanation. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 38. Ulrich suggests that 1QIsa^a, which is missing 9b-10, may reflect an earlier stage of composition. Ulrich notes that there is no trigger for haplography, the second person command to God followed by a second person command to the humans is awkward, and that the command in v 10a reflects an apocalyptic worldview. Ulrich therefore suggests that vv 9b and 10 were added at different stages in the compositional process. It should be noted that Ulrich, generally, argues that 1QIsa^a reflects an earlier text from which MT may have descended. Eugene Ulrich, “The Developmental Composition of the Book of Isaiah: Light from 1QIsa^a on Additions in the MT,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8, no. 3 (2001): 290–92. However, Williamson rejects this stating that “it is difficult to believe that any earlier form of the text went straight from 9a to 11, since it would be (and in 1QIsa^a is) so jarringly repetitive.” Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 196–97.

From my perspective, the MT should be preferred in this instance. For this chapter of Isaiah, LXX reflects a situation in which a scribe has cleaned up the difficulties of person that the MT contains. For example, in the MT, v 6-7 is generally referring to a 3ms person (his land, his storehouses, etc.). However, in v 8, the verbs ישתחוּ and עשו have 3mp subjects. The LXX reflects a text that renders all of these as 3mp (or, as suggested by Sweeney, “LXX presupposes the consonantal text found in MT, but reinterprets it”). Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 140. See also Muraoka, “Isaiah 2,” 328; Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 38. Likewise, where MT has a 2ms verb in v 6a (which creates some problems, as discussed above in n 31), LXX has a 3ms subject for that verb which clarifies the position of the House of Jacob in relation to the verb. Considering this evidence, I would suggest that LXX in v 9b reflects a similar cleaning up of difficult verb subjects that MT tends to maintain.

The difficulty that remains is to determine which negation is to be preferred, but this is a very slight difference in meaning. And it should also be noted that the graphic, consonantal difference between לא and אל is a matter of inverted letters. Therefore, I cannot make a determination as to which negation (and therefore whether the verb is a jussive or imperfect) should be preferred. I therefore default to the MT.

³² 1QIsa^a is lacking 9b-10, and there is nothing present to trigger a haplography. Sweeney has a careful and creative solution to this problem, the central thrust of which is based on the sectarian nature of the Qumran community. Sweeney suggests that this omission should be understood with the variant reading in v 3 of 1QIsa^a, which reads ירונו (they [i.e. Israel] will teach us) in place of MT’s ירונו (he [i.e. God] will teach us). By removing vv 9b and 10, the community is removing any condemnation of the House of Jacob since these two verses respectively ask God not to forgive them and command Jacob (ostensibly) to hide. With these changes, the “House of Jacob” in v 6 can be read as a vocative, and therefore be understood as Jacob rejecting the people that want to learn from him because their land is full of idols and divination. As Sweeney points out, “Such a conception of the mission of Jacob (Israel) and its subsequent failure corresponds well with the beliefs of the Qumran sect.” Once these changes are made and v 6 is understood in the vocative, the oracle then is “directed against ^anāšîm/’ādām which the Qumran sect would have identified with the nations.” Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 141. MT is therefore to be preferred, but we can observe a possible instance of textual reception in 1QIsa^a.

Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty³³

- (11) *Humankind's haughty eyes will be brought low³⁴*
And the height of men will be bowed down
And Yahweh alone will be exalted on that day

- (12) Indeed, Yahweh צבאות has a day
Upon everything proud and lofty
And upon everything lifted and bowed down³⁵

- (13) And upon all the cedars of Lebanon
The lofty and the lifted
And upon all the oaks of Bashan

- (14) And upon all the lofty mountains
And upon all the lifted hills

Ulrich, though not referencing Sweeney's study, may disagree, stating, "the assumption that 1QIsa^a was copied at Qumran and/or reflects issues of that covenant community, is only an assumption; it seems to be a widespread assumption, but it remains unproved and, to my mind, unwarranted." Ulrich, "Developmental Composition," 289–90.

³³ LXX contains a plus harmonizing it to the parallel statements made in vv 19 and 21. MT (supported by 4QIsa^b) is therefore the preferable text.

³⁴ Not only does the gender and number of the verb שפל not agree with the apparent subject (eyes, which are fp), but the aspect of the verb conflicts with its parallel line reflecting an imperfective verb. The versions are varied in regard to this problem.

1QIsa^a contains the fp verb תשפלנה, and this is supported by Syr and Tg. The following verb וישח in 1QIsa^a does differ from MT (ושח), but it must be vocalized *wəyīšṣah* (rather than as a vav consecutive). LXX, on the other hand, inserts *Yahweh* in between "eyes" and "haughty" so that it reads, "The eyes of Yahweh are haughty; humanity is brought low." There is a problem in LXX as a result, as Muraoka points out, "the notion of raised, lofty eyes carries a negative connotation" that the scribe probably does not want to attribute to Yahweh. Muraoka, "Isaiah 2," 331. Likewise, the tense of the verb of which now "humanity" is the subject is still not correct.

Though some prefer MT based on the principle of *lectio difficilior* (see Williamson who tentatively accepts MT), the verb is too difficult to be correct, and we should prefer the correct conjugation attested in the manuscript evidence. Thus, 1QIsa^a contains the preferred reading. See also Isa 5:15, which contains a parallel text with the 3fp verb.

³⁵ For v 12b, MT is supported by 1QIsa^a. In this case, וישל seems not to fit the poetic context nor does it make grammatical or syntactical sense. LXX does contain an appropriate parallel to וישל (καὶ μετέωρον), which may reflect a *Vorlage* which read וישל כל נשא וגבה, suggesting that this may be the preferred reading. However, following this construction, LXX also contains a verb, ταπεινωθήσονται (reflecting וישפלו), not paralleled in MT. Most commentators are quick to delete this addition without an adequate explanation as to how it got there in the first place. See Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 38; Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 198.

However, we may consider that MT is to be preferred given that 12b is a secondary insertion (see redaction critical section of this chapter). It could be the case that the scribe inserting this material realized that the House of Jacob had already humiliated themselves with their idol worship (v 9) and wanted to provide a harmonizing plus that would aim the Day of Yahweh both against the high (as v 12a states) *as well as* those who have humiliated themselves via idol worship. Given that LXX does tend to synchronize difficulties and that the MT reading is likewise attested in 1QIsa^a, I hesitantly consider MT to be the preferred reading.

- (15) And upon every high tower
And upon every fortified³⁶ wall
- (16) And upon all the ships of Tarshish
And upon all the crafts³⁷ of Arabia³⁸
- (17) And the haughtiness of humankind is bowed down
And the height of men is brought low
And Yahweh alone is exalted on that day
- (18) *And the worthless gods will entirely vanish*³⁹

³⁶ Beginning from v 10, where height versus lowliness is introduced as the key metaphor, this is the first adjectival word not having to do with height, although a fortified wall is obviously relatively high as part of its function (see Deut 3:5 and 28:52). LXX describes the wall not as fortified, but as ὑψηλὸν (high), which Muraoka suggests “is probably due to the translator’s desire to underline the opposition between ὑψηλός and ταπεινός, an important theme which runs through this pericope.” Muraoka, “Isaiah 2,” 334.

³⁷ Whereas previous to “the discovery of Ugaritic and the recognition of the Egyptian background to the word, it [שכיית] was normally derived from שכה/סכה, ‘to look out, view’” (Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 38), the discovery of the Ugaritic cognate *ikt* meaning “ship” (which is itself an Egyptian loan word) has shed new light on this *Hapax*, allowing us to understand it as a better parallel to “ship” in the first verset of v 16. However, the initial understanding that it had to do with the Hebrew root שכה/סכה is so old that words for sight are in the early translations (LXX, Vg, and Syr). Now that we can be relatively confident about the meaning of this word, it should be corrected to שכיית since Ugaritic *ikt* corresponds to Hebrew *š*, not *ś*. See Cohen, Harold R. (Chaim) Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1977), 71n135. See also “*שכיה,” HALOT.

³⁸ The MT as it stands reads, “crafts of desire” but, as many have noted, the parallelism calls for a place name. For example, Driver argues it should be vocalized הַתְּהַדִּי, and that it is a name for Arabia. Godfrey Rolles Driver, “Difficult Words in the Hebrew Bible Prophets,” in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy: Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson by the Society for Old Testament Study on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, August 9, 1946*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1950), 52–53. Though there is no manuscript evidence for an emendation, Barré has introduced a different emendation. He suggests that הַתְּהַדִּי is a garbled form of *Ma’hādu*, a place name that is attested in the Ugaritic corpus, and is even conceptually connected with the *ikt* ship in the previous footnote. See KTU 4.81, lines 1-5; Michael L. Barré, “A Rhetorical-Critical Study of Isaiah 2: 12-17,” *CBQ* 65, no. 4 (2003): 528–31. *Ma’hādu* was a harbor town that otherwise has הַתְּהַדִּי as its Hebrew cognate. The other occurrences of this rare word are in Ps 107:30 and Isa 23:10, though the latter requires a text-critical correction from הַתְּהַדִּי (which is relatively simply explained by a metathesis of ת and ה). Once corrected, however, it is also parallel to Tarshish in Isa 23:10.

Having been written in 2003, it is surprising that his argument is not more seriously dealt with in the relevant commentaries. Williamson is the only commentator that I know of to address Barré’s argument, and though he admits its acuity, he dismisses it saying it is “highly conjectural and unsupported and it falls foul of the principles that one should not normally both emend and introduce a new *hapax* for a text which in itself is possible and that in comparative philology one should keep with attested consonantal equivalents if possible.” Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 200. Besides the fact that Barré’s argument stretches the guidelines of text criticism, *Ma’hādu* is already attested in Hebrew, but with a different root. It is therefore difficult to accept a conjectural reconstruction for the town name deriving from a different root altogether. I do agree that “desire” in this context is ill-fitting, and I therefore accept Driver’s conjecture.

³⁹ 1QIsa^a contains a 3mp verb where MT has a 3ms. The final *vav* could have easily dropped from MT by haplography (or a word misdivision; see the beginning of v 19 along with note 44 below), though the discrepancy of number is not all that disturbing in the first place especially since כָּלִיל may very well be the subject ([as for] the worthless gods, the whole lot will entirely vanish) (see Judg 20:40 and Ezek 16:14 in which כָּלִיל is clearly the subject). Reading כָּלִיל as a nominative comes from Roberts who cites a personal communication with Peter

- (19) *And they will go into⁴⁰ caves in the rocks
And into holes⁴¹ in the dust
Before Yahweh's terror
And before of the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread*
- (20) *On that day, humankind will fling his idols of silver and his idols of gold (that
they had made⁴² for him to bow to) to the moles⁴³ and to the bats.*

Machinist. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 39. The reading is, however, more natural if we posit a haplography between this verse and the beginning of v 19.

⁴⁰ The verb in MT is וּבָאוּ, which is a converted perfect and thus its implied subject must be the “worthless gods” from the previous verse. The suggestion in *BHS* that the verb should be יִבְאוּ should not be followed because it is the desire of the editor of the volume that the verb in v 19 match the imperative in v 10 without manuscript evidence or poetic necessity. The LXX (though the meaning of the verb is significantly different) contains a future, and likewise, 1QIsa^a contains וּבָאוּ, and though it is not pointed and thus could theoretically go in either direction, the scribe has shown a preference for *matres lectionis* which would suggest that if the scribe understood it as an imperative he would have written וּבָאוּ. The suggestion of the editor of *BHS* is therefore not to be preferred.

Williamson suggests that the oddity of saying the worthless gods (i.e. idols) will go into the caves was the result of a word misdivision between the last word of v 18 and the first of v 19 (from an original יִהְיוּ בָאוּ or יִהְיוּ בָאוּ [reflecting an imperative] to יִהְיוּ בָאוּ), but that once the verb became fixed as a plural converted perfect it became a trigger for the addition of vv 21-22 in order to explain how the idols could be entering the caves at all. This “misdivided” reading of v 19 and subsequent addition of vv 21-22 would have occurred relatively early since the presence of vv 21-22 are reflected in all the manuscripts. Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 201. This conjecture is certainly a reasonable suggestion (and the conjecture about exegetical activity need not be dependent on a word misdivision), but it stems from a resistance to accepting that vv 10 and 19 could possibly be different and be doing different things. In other words, it stems from a preference to seeing repetition when the manuscript evidence points toward a shift of meaning between vv 10 and 19. It is doubly an unnecessary conjecture given that the text as it stands is perfectly grammatical (see previous note). Of course, all of this discussion is a heavy burden for a potentially-misplaced *vav* to bear, but it is worth hashing out the possibilities because real meaning in the poetic work is a stake.

⁴¹ Again, the editor of *BHS* wants to correct this verse toward v 10 by adding וְהָטְמוּ from v 10 (adjusting here for number) before the word for “holes.” Williamson’s objection to this suggestion captures my own: “if the text as we have it makes perfect sense (and it does), and if the textual witnesses are agreed (and they are) and if there is no possible way in which scribal error could account for the proposed corruption (and there is not), then we must surely keep to the text we have.” Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 202.

⁴² The number of the subject of the verb is oddly plural here (though it is a repetition from v 8 which lacks the indirect object לוֹ that is present here), whereas the rest of the verse contains a singular. LXX also reflects a plural verb, but since it is not reflexive, the *Vorlage* would seem to be missing לוֹ. Many commentators have preferred the reading in 1QIsa^a which might read [עָשׂוּ אֵצֶל] בְּעִתְּוֵי. Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 334. However, Williamson is hesitant to adopt this reading since, in his view, “we have already seen that the scroll sometimes accommodates the reading of one passage to that of another similar one [v 8 in this instance].” Williamson prefers the suggestion of Gesenius: the subject of עָשׂוּ “could be הָאֱדָם, taken as a collective, with לוֹ following as a distributive, hence ‘which they made (each one) for himself.’” Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 202. See also Gesenius, §145m. On the other hand, Roberts, argues that 1QIsa^a should be preferred and that אֲבָעֵתוֹי may have dropped by a haplography with לוֹ. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 39.

I think that either of these solutions is totally reasonable, but I would like to point out that this verse, matching v 8 in terms of subject matter, also matches v 8 in the tensions between singular and plural referents (the appearance of יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ in the plural in v 8 of MT and 1QIsa^a where one might expect a singular). These tensions in v 8 continue from vv 6-7 in which the house of Jacob is singular in v 6aα (though the House of Jacob may just be a collective singular here), plural in the rest of v 6, singular in 7, then again mixed in 8 (mostly singular with the exception of the verb just discussed). More specifically, the oddity of the plural v in v 8 is exactly the same location of the oddity of the plural in v 20 (the question of the number of people “bowing”). Might it be the case that Williamson is correct and that the author of v 20 is addressing the problem of plurality in v 8 by splitting the

- (21) *To go into⁴⁴ the rocky crevices
And into the crags in the cliffs
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread*
- (22) Give up on humankind who has breath in his nose, for what is his worth?⁴⁵

3. Composition History

3.1. Isaiah 2:6-22

Since vv 1, 2-4, and 5 are generally agreed upon to be of a different origin than the more complicated vv 6-22, I will begin with the latter section, doing a detailed analysis of the redactional layers within the text. The first step in my redaction method is to describe the chapter and the thematics that will be relevant to constructing my analysis.⁴⁶

difference, so to speak? In other words, the author of v 20 read v 8, was struck by the odd plural verb and sought to explain it by stating that a singular subject could be “bowing” in the plural because each person made his own worthless gods for himself, and collectively, all these individuals bowed. This suggestion is highly conjectural, but I find it plausible based on my understanding of the historical development of this text, and I am hesitant to assume that these number problems, occurring precisely in these parallel statements, are simply happenstance.

⁴³ There is a word misdivision in MT as represented in *BHS*, which is correctly preserved in 1QIsa^a but with a mp ending (יִם) or alternatively in other MT manuscripts with the fp (יִת) ending. It is difficult to know which of these endings is preferred since, once correctly reunified, the word is still a *Hapax*. Though the Hebrew manuscripts overall have correctly preserved the word, the LXX translator apparently did not know its meaning, translating it as *ματαιοίς*, which is otherwise mostly used to translate the Hebrew word *שוא*.

⁴⁴ It is not clear what the subject of this infinitive is. The options are *הָאָדָם* from the previous verse (humankind throws down its idols *in order* to enter the crevices) or, as Williamson suggests, the *אֱלִילִים* from the previous verse (“So that is how they will enter...”). Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 203. The first makes more sense grammatically, and it is difficult (though not impossible) to understand how the worthless gods could be the subject without being restated in some way. See the section on infinitive constructs in *IBHS*, 608-611 (especially §36.2.3e, §36.3.1a, and §36.3.2a).

Williamson’s argument is connected with his proposal that v 19 had earlier matched v 10 more closely and that 20-21 are then an explanation for how the worthless gods would be entering caves once vv 18-19 reached their current form (see note 40). The problem with this solution is that if vv 20-21 are an explanation for how idols are going into caves, the scribe phrased an explanatory gloss quite poorly. Although Williamson’s argument is possible, the multiple difficulties associated with it make it unlikely. More likely is that humankind has abandoned its worthless gods in order to quickly find hiding places. If Williamson is correct that this is an explanatory gloss on vv 18-19, I think it is more likely that the scribe reading 18-19 sees a problem with worthless gods becoming animate to the degree that they wish to escape the impending day of Yahweh by entering caves, and he corrects the subject of “entering caves” back to “humankind.”

⁴⁵ This verse is missing from LXX. For a possible explanation, see Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 2:22 and 36:7,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. Vanderkam, VTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 377–82. Noting the shift to second person imperative verbs, Ulrich argues that this verse is a secondary expansion that LXX does not reflect. According to Ulrich, LXX contains the older text. Ulrich, “Developmental Composition,” 292–93. I agree with this conjecture.

⁴⁶ By starting from this position, I am rejecting the possibility that vv 2-22 or even 6-22 was ever a single composition. Though it is a minority of scholarship, some do take this position. Roberts, for example, contends that

Table 2: Outline of Isaiah 2:6-22

Verses:	Comments:
6-8	Poetic unit: complaint against the House of Jacob for negative acts which build into a complaint about idolatry.
9	Maps onto vv 11 and 17 in terms of content, theme, and specific vocabulary
10	Maps onto vv 19 and 21 in terms of content, theme, and verbatim repetition of lines
12-16	Poetic unit demarcated by integrated poetic parallelism: description of the Day of Yahweh with Yahweh alone remaining exalted.
17	Triple verset; maps onto 9 and 11 in terms of content, theme, verbatim repetition
18-21	Loose unit: vv 18 and 20 connect to idolatry in v 8 with some vocabulary and phrase repetition. Vv 19 and 21 map onto v 10
22	Wisdom saying

From this chart, we can see that there is an intact poetic unit (vv 12-16) sitting in the middle of this section.⁴⁷ I will begin from there and work my way outward, suggesting that the old poem is in vv 10, 12-17*, and most reasonably attributed to Isaiah. I will argue that vv 9, 11, 12b and 13a β are what I will label as *derived repetitions* variously from v 17 and from the body of the old poem; vv 19 and 21 are likewise derived repetitions from v 10. On both bookends of the old poem, the derived repetitions relate to the concern with idolatry (vv 6-8, 18, and 20), which is an idea more closely related to themes in Deutero-Isaiah (and Deuteronomy, as I shall discuss in chapter 3) than it is to the Day of Yahweh or Divine Warrior motifs that are active in

“Isa. 2:2-22 was originally composed by Isaiah as a unified composition in the context of the Syro-Ephraimite War.” Roberts, “Prophet’s Message,” 308. Roberts elsewhere eschews redaction criticism as too speculative, saying “I have deep reservations about many of the underlying assumptions undergirding [redaction criticism];” he continues, “[t]he confidence with which many scholars, who lack any datable manuscripts earlier than the final form of Isaiah, reconstruct hypothetical redactors living at particular periods, who make particular editorial changes in the service of some equally hypothetically reconstructed theological interest, strikes me as extreme hubris.” Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 2–3. While I share his reluctance to accept such detailed particularities that many scholars offer without adequate argumentation, I cannot accept such a sweeping statement regarding the value of redaction or compositional criticism. If there is evidence of a literary intervention at the local level, then we should be able to analyze it as such. In addition, the “lack [of] datable manuscripts” is, to my mind, not a problem worthy of dismissing the method as a whole. We have evidence from datable manuscripts (e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls) that editorial activity was standard practice in the scribal reception of these manuscripts. Roberts is not suggesting that editorial activity did not occur, he is arguing, however, that we have no way of recovering it. I suggest that since we know it was occurring, if we see evidence that it has occurred (e.g. presence of the influence of a totally separate text collection) then it follows that in these instances we can reasonably posit and reconstruct it.

⁴⁷ That vv 12-16 constitute a unit is virtually undisputed, though the inclusion of v 17 is less certain.

the old poem. Thus, I suggest that the secondary layer is vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, and 18-21. Throughout, I will refer to this as the “expansion layer” composed by a scribal agent whom I will label as the “Expansion Scribe.” Lastly, I will argue that v 22 stands on its own as a late addition disconnected from the images, themes, and motifs active in either of the two layers.

3.1.1. Isaiah’s Poem: Isaiah 2:10, 12-17*

Vv 12-16 represents a poetic unit held together by poetic parallelism, movement from the natural (mountains and hills) to the specific and human-made (walls, ships, etc.), and the pounding repetition of “And upon all” throughout. The verses further hang together as they represent an image of the “Day of Yahweh” introduced in v 12 which is historically connected with the Divine Warrior motif as the day of theophany when Yahweh will present himself in all of his terror against Israel’s enemy.⁴⁸ The images of the poem flesh out the high, lofty, and powerful things that Yahweh will easily defeat “on that day.” While many commentators agree that 12-16, at the very least, constitutes a unit,⁴⁹ those who would restrict the unit to these verses are not bothered by the fact that the poem does not have an ending because many of them would view the unit as an excerpt from elsewhere that was placed here and expanded.⁵⁰ In my reading, vv 12-16 amounts to not much more than a list of high things Yahweh will target on his day. However, v 17 contains a triple verset which has been recognized by Alter as a technique that frequently marks the conclusion of a poetic unit (And the haughtiness of humanity will be bowed down / And the height of men will be brought low / And Yahweh alone will be exalted, on that day).⁵¹ Considering v 17 as the conclusion to the poem allows the author to reverse the imagery of height that runs through vv 12-16, indicating that on the Day of Yahweh, only Yahweh will remain elevated while all of those things that are currently elevated will be brought low. We do not have evidence that this poem was taken from elsewhere (such as a repetition of it somewhere else in biblical literature) and clipped of its original ending. Given the choice between viewing v 17 as secondary and seeing it as original to the old poem, I contend that if it can be made sense of as original and it reflects a poetic similarity to the old poem, it is preferable to see v 17 as continuous with the unit in vv 12-16.

This crescendo of the poem in v 17 follows on the theme of height, but it is largely directed at the hubris of humanity. Given the focus on the human, I suggest that we view v 10 as

⁴⁸ See Frank Moore Cross, “The Divine Warrior,” in *CMHE* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 91–111. It is generally accepted that the “Day of Yahweh” underwent conceptual revision over time under the influence of Amos, who shifted it into a day in which Israel would experience the wrath of Yahweh rather than their enemies. This “Day” later turns into an eschatological motif. See Yair Hoffmann, “The Day of the Lord as a Concept and a Term in the Prophetic Literature,” *ZAW* 93, no. 1 (1981): 37–50.

⁴⁹ Wildberger and Barré favor vv 12-17 as the unit. Kaiser and Oswalt include v 10 in the unit. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 119; Barré, “A Rhetorical-Critical Study of Isaiah 2,” 522; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 65–66; John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1986), 125.

⁵⁰ Blenkinsopp, “Fragments of Exegesis,” 51–62.

⁵¹ Alter states, “the triadic line is used, as we have seen repeatedly elsewhere in poems where dyadic lines predominate, to mark the end of a segment.” Alter, *Biblical Poetry*, 229.

the opening verse to the old poem. V 10 calls the prudent human to action, commanding them to lower themselves in preparation for “the presence of Yahweh’s terror / and . . . the splendor of his majesty.” Here, the word for “majesty,” is גָּאון from the root גָּאָה which is related to height, and when we juxtapose it to a word from the same root in v 12 (גָּאָה), we can recognize גָּאָה as a *Leitwort* connected to the larger *Leitmotif* of the high/low dichotomy that runs throughout the poem. With the use of this wordplay in v 10, the reader gets a foreshadowing of the result in v 17: the humans should lower themselves because only Yahweh remains high on his Day, and any human remaining high will be a target along with the mountains, towers, ships, and trees. Additionally, we know from elsewhere that the action of the Divine Warrior on the Day of Yahweh is in fact quite destructive and terrifying, as described in v 10.⁵² Therefore, v 10 acts as a warning to the human about the terror associated with the Day of Yahweh, which is picked up again at the end of the poem.

Once the reader reaches the end of the poem, they can see that the author is not primarily confronting *literal* height, but that he is utilizing images of height that dare to rival Yahweh’s in order to illustrate the deeper concern of the *figurative* height of humans. Yahweh is not just bringing down the actual heights on his Day; he is most importantly bringing down the figurative heights of the human self-conception. While I will explore this metaphor more fully in the next chapter, I would like to make explicit here that I am in part relying on an analysis of metaphor in order to posit a theory of composition history. Vv 10, 12-16 present a literal description of the destruction of heights on the Day of Yahweh, but as the poem concludes with v 17, the literal heights in the previous verses become the vehicle to which the tenor of human pride relates. Since the metaphor in vv 10, 12-17 is working in such a sophisticated way, I contend that this is by design. Vv 10, 12-17 represents the old poem embedded in a series of expansions. The framing of vv 10 and 17 turn a description of the Day of Yahweh in poetic form (in vv 12-16) into a poem with a structure, a complex metaphor, and a message directed to prompt action from an audience. While we cannot be certain as to the source of this poem, given that it is embedded in the book of Isaiah, and given that it gains a later layer of text that reflects hermeneutical activity (as I shall argue later), I contend that this poem is most reasonably attributed to the prophet Isaiah himself. Though the possibilities for authorship abound, the likelihood of Isaianic authorship should be preferred as the simplest solution.

⁵² This point is summed up well by Kaiser, who states that on the Day of Yahweh, All are summoned to seek security in rocks and caves (cf. Jer. 4.29; Isa 29:4), in view of the imminence of the terrifying appearance of the powerful majesty of God, the moment when he rises to judge the peoples of the earth [here he cites Ps. 3:8; 7:7; 35:2; 17:15; 44:27; 82:8] so that the earth recoils in horror (cf. Ps. 76.9f.; 10.12, 18; Zeph. 3.8). Then the pride of man is finally broken (Ps. 18.28; Isa. 13.11), and it becomes manifest that Yahweh alone is exalted (33.5; 12.4; Ps. 148.13).

Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 61.

3.1.2. The Expansion Scribe: Isaiah 2:6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, 18-21

Once we recognize that vv 10 and 17 are part of the old poem, then we can see that each of these bookends have verses with what I am calling “derived repetition” on the opposite end of the poem. The derived repetitions of v 10 are at the end in vv 19 and 21, and the derived repetitions of v 17 are at the beginning in vv 9 and 11. As I shall attempt to make clear, I consider derived repetition to be a repetition of part of the old poem in a later layer of the text, the author of which uses the content of the old poem for a literary purpose different from its more original use.

Addressing v 9 first, I see it as a derived repetition, originating from a later author, for three main reasons. First, the waw consecutive verbs reflect a perfective aspect, suggesting that v 9 is a continuation of vv 6-8 which describes a situation set in the past,⁵³ and which I shall argue later is secondary to the old poem. Conversely, v 10, 12-17* are set in the present (more on this in my analysis). The poem moves from the past to the present via the imperative in v 9b (“you shall not forgive them!”), bringing the reader up into the present moment that v 10 takes as its starting point (“go into the rock!”).⁵⁴ V 9, therefore, is reasonably explained as an addition that links vv 6-8 with Isaiah’s poem.

Secondly, while the temporal aspects from v 6 through v 10 are continuous, the contextual meaning of v 9 stands in contrast to the internal logic of the old poem, leading me to understand it to be a secondary derived repetition. V 9 indicates that the humans have humiliated themselves as a result of their use of idolatry, which is described in vv 6-8. Whereas the lowness of the human in v 9 is a self-inflicted result of idolatry, in v 10, the human is commanded to lower themselves in an effort to avoid Yahweh’s wrath, hinting that the imagery in the old poem describes a “humbling” of the human rather than the “humiliation” that is active in v 9. Continuing into v 17, the lowness of the human there is a result of Yahweh’s striking everything that is high. Therefore, following v 9 to 10, the human has become low in v 9 as a result of sin,

⁵³ In the context of poetry, the waw consecutive does not always signify the past tense as it does in narrative, but its use does still signify the perfective aspect. See *IBHS*, §33.1.2g, “In sum, *wayyqtl* subjectively represents a situation according to the perfective aspect and subordinates it to a preceding statement.” In this case the preceding statement is the entire situation that arose in the past as described in vv 6-8. Thus, this verse is in fact cast in the past.

The tense/aspect problem in this specific verse is complicated by the fact that both of the vav consecutives are stative, which “inherently denotes a situation with an extended internal structure, while a perfective form conceptualizes a situation from without, as a single whole.” *IBHS*, §30.5.3a. Therefore, with stative verbs that are perfective, viewing the action from without requires not that the action is punctual, but that however long the duration of the action, it is closed. In other words, following Joüon, “stative verbs [in the vav consecutive] do not necessarily mark a continuing state which prevailed in the past, but the emergence of a state.” Joüon, §118b. Whether or not the emergence of the state occurred in the past or in the future is determined by noting that this statement is subordinate to the entire situation that arose in the past as described in vv 6-8.

⁵⁴ The temporal concordance is not mirrored in the addressee of these verbs since it is Yahweh being commanded in v 9 and the human in v 10. Williamson likewise comments on v 9 as dually pointing both forward and backward, but he does not discuss it in terms of temporality. Williamson, “Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22,” 60–61.

after which they are commanded to go low to avoid Yahweh's wrath. I will argue later that the scribe authoring this insertion weaves it into the old poem in a subtle way that enriches the old metaphor, but in terms of detecting redactional seams, we can see that the metaphor undergoes an explicit shift between the section in vv 6-9 versus that in vv 10-17. It is not that the metaphor in the two parts are at odds; I simply want to emphasize that they are two different metaphors doing two different things in the detectable sections but using the same vehicle (relative human lowness) to do so.⁵⁵ What they do when put together will be addressed in chapter 3.

The third reason bolstering the claim that v 9 is part of the secondary additions is the continued derived repetition that is present in vv 11. The phrase "on that day" in v 11 anticipates the introduction of the "day" in v 12.⁵⁶ Likewise, in repeating v 17, the reader reaches the conclusion of the poem and the key to its metaphor before the problem the poem is addressing is introduced. In other words, the problem in vv 10, 12-17 is that Yahweh is facing off against everything high; for humans with remaining hubris to be brought low prior to the introduction of the problem exposes the redactional seams so that we can see that the author of the second layer is completely reworking the old metaphor for his own purposes. The presence of vv 9 and 11 give away the key to the active metaphor within the poem a bit early.⁵⁷ Likewise, I will argue below that v 11 is the key to the new metaphorical landscape through the composite poem since it paints idol use as making a human both figuratively and literally high—there is a literal height as their eyes raise to look up at the idols to which they bow, and a figurative height associated with the phrase "haughty eyes."⁵⁸ In the absence of v 11, vv 6-9 reflect that idol use makes humans figuratively and literally low. However, in order for vv 6-9 to be coherent with Isaiah's old poem and the literal and figurative heights that Yahweh will confront on his day, idol use must be connected to a sense of height so that Yahweh, in attacking the heights in vv 12-16, also

⁵⁵ Cheryl Exum approaches the possibility of using analysis of metaphor for redactional analysis. She analyzes the disjunction in the metaphorical landscape in Isa 31:4-5, noting that some see a redactional seam here, but she stops short of connecting metaphorical analysis to a redactional method. J. Cheryl Exum, "Of Broken Pots, Fluttering Birds and Visions in the Night: Extended Simile and Poetic Technique in Isaiah," *CBQ* 43, no. 3 (1981): 336-38.

⁵⁶ The phrase "on that day" is often but not always associated with insertions into Isaiah. Blenkinsopp states that prose passages in Isaiah beginning with "on that day" "recapitulate certain eschatological themes as found in writings which are explicitly apocalyptic: the destruction of idolatry (2:20, 17:7-8, 30:19-26, 31:6-7), the coming of a ruler bearing a mysterious title (4:2-6), destruction and purification in Judah as a prelude to salvation, the ingathering of a dispersed Israel (4:2-6, 17:9), the slaying of hostile forces represented as mythological monsters (27:1), miraculous fertility (30:19-26), the divine presence and rule in Jerusalem (4:2-6, 25:9)." Blenkinsopp, "Fragments of Exegesis," 60. In various other instances, the Expansion Scribe reuses content from Isaiah's poem in his additions. It follows, therefore, that he likewise repeats the phrase "on that day" from Isaiah's v 17 in vv 11 and 20.

⁵⁷ Aster argues against Kaiser, who likewise sees v 11 as an insertion, by saying that v 11 should be considered primary because, "its declaration . . . serves to make explicit a point which is implicit in the transition from v 10 to vv 12-16: By bringing low those who falsely claim highness, the objectives of the 'sovereign's day of conquest' are achieved." Shawn Zelig Aster, "The Image of Assyria in Isaiah 2:5-22: The Campaign Motif Reversed," *JAOS* 127, no. 3 (2007): 261. However, the act of making explicit what is already implicit is in fact a frequent practice of late scribes who are seeking to explicate the text.

⁵⁸ See pp. 125-128 of this dissertation.

attacks idol use. It follows that v 11 is a part of the Expansion Scribe's work as he integrates his additions into Isaiah's poem.

Whereas the old poem was relatively easy to reconstruct, confidence (not to mention scholarly consensus) takes a nosedive in the reconstruction of the diachronic layers within vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13a β , 18-21. Williamson suggests that vv 6-8a is a separate poem which the redactor integrated into vv 10-17, 19, writing v 9 as a transition between the two and adding vv 18 and possibly 8b.⁵⁹ In regard to the section after vv 18-19, scholars such as Sweeney and Wildberger suggest that vv 20-21 were inserted later in order to clarify vv 18-19 with reference back to v 8 (v 8 and 20 both contain similar language about idolatry; see discussion in chapter 3).⁶⁰ There are any number of other proposals that multiply the scribal hands integrating material into this chapter. Oftentimes (as with Sweeney and Williamson), scholars propose that these editorial activities represent attempts to clarify obscurities in the proposed earlier layer. However, by proposing a singular editorial hand appending material to an Isaianic poem, I suggest that these secondary verses are organized in a coherent way and in response to the old poem. Therefore, I propose that the secondary material within 6-21 should be approached as a singular layer.

There is some debate as to the relationship of vv 6 and 8b to vv 7-8a. As stated above, I propose that all of these verses are most economically dealt with when we consider them to be from the same hand. Looking at v 6 first, Wildberger, for example, considers it a later insertion that originated elsewhere into the poetic unit in Isa 2. He claims that the content of v 6 "has been removed from a much larger section to provide what follows with an introduction which would forcefully get one's attention,"⁶¹ basing this claim in part on the textual difficulties present here, the thematic transition from divination to idolatry in v 7, as well as the difficulty in determining what *kî* means in this context and how it links with v 5. These criticisms are fair especially given that divination is not taken up later in the poem.

I, however, would rather read vv 6-8 as progressively zeroing in on the problem of idolatry that continues to be the main focus of the insertions. The scribe introduces a problem inside of the House of Jacob, which is in essence the presence of foreign divinatory practices, moving on to a criticism of wealth hoarding (silver/gold, horses/chariots in v 7), ultimately landing on the presence of idols and naming their worship as the biggest problem of all (v 8). The fear of divination, the accumulation of wealth, and idolatry are all conceptually linked, and these connections are especially true in the figure of Solomon as represented in 1 Kgs 10:26-11:13 in which Solomon is criticized for marrying foreign women, setting up altars to foreign gods (particularly relevant here is Molech who is associated in Deut 18:9-14 with forbidden

⁵⁹ This is the argument of Williamson, "Formation of Isaiah 2.6-22."

⁶⁰ This is a fairly common assertion based in part on the prose style of v 20 and the assumption that these verses represent an attempt to clarify vv 18-19 with an appeal back to the language of v 8. See Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 103; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 120.

⁶¹ See Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 102.

divinatory practices), and accumulating extreme wealth in the form of silver, gold, horses, and chariots (all of which are present in Isa 2:7-8).⁶² Though Wildberger does admit that the combined anxiety toward divination and idolatry “corresponds to the thought-world of Deuteronomy,” he does not allow v 6 to have originated from the same layer as vv 7-8.⁶³

The second frequently cited issue in vv 6-8 is 8b. Since Duhm, many have argued that, in the words of Blenkinsopp, “the parallel stitch [to 8a] seems to have fallen out,”⁶⁴ and that in its place, the editor has inserted “a conventional phrase from the stock vocabulary of anti-idolatry polemic particularly in evidence during the exilic period.”⁶⁵ This idea has been popular because it accounts for the shift in poetic parallelism in v 8, which they propose should read, “and there is no end to [a parallel to אֱלִילִים],” while at the same time explaining the presence of supposed boilerplate language in v 8b. However, I find myself resisting these solutions that require rewriting unless absolutely necessary,⁶⁶ and I also find it true that in text-critical treatment of this passage scholars tend to favor flattening the differences in repetition that are pervasive.⁶⁷ Conversely, I favor a method that centers the question of poetics in a more serious way, allowing for scribes from different periods to wield the language and the techniques in ways that may vary widely.

With this in mind, we may legitimately sense that from a technical perspective 8b is unsophisticated if the litmus test for such is linguistic creativity; it basically lifts language from elsewhere and places it here with no resemblance to the other B versets in v 7 ([x] וְאֵין קֶצֶה). In contrast, I will analyze the relationship between vv 7 and 8 from a poetics perspective. V 8a

⁶² This observation is likewise made by Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 60. Blenkinsopp further explores the connections between the themes of divination, wealth, and idolatry in noting: “The roughly parallel passage in Mic 5:9-14[10-15], which foresees the destruction of horses and chariots, cities and strongholds, sorcerers, soothsayers and idolatrous objects, represents a somewhat eschatologized version of the Isaian passage.” In continuing, he also notes that the “triadic and climactic denunciation of horses, chariots and idols that follows is reminiscent of the kind of enumerative saying found in Prov (30:15-31) and Amos (1:3-2:8).” He states, “In the prophetic tradition horses and chariots were symbolic of pride and power . . . and were also very expensive import items . . . Bullion and essential war equipment came with foreign trade, and foreign trade brought with it foreign cults.” Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:195–96. We can see, therefore, that the separation of v 6 from vv 7-8 on the basis of themes of divination versus themes of idolatry is unfounded.

⁶³ A critique of Wildberger is particularly pertinent when it comes to the formation of the text since he cannot seem to provide a model for this process without resorting to describing verses as “mistakenly inserted” and “fragmentary.” Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 102–3. A model that can provide hermeneutical logic to the insertions is a better option.

⁶⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:193. He suggests the reconstruction, וְאֵין קֶצֶה לְאַצְבָּתָיו, though the last word should be corrected to עֲצָבָיו.

⁶⁵ Blenkinsopp, “Fragments of Exegesis,” 54.

⁶⁶ For example, I do accept a similar strategy of text rearrangement in my chapter five in 1 Sam 13:3 (which is not as radical as reconstructing a clipped B line), but that instance does interact to some degree with text-critical support for the solution.

⁶⁷ See text-critical section above in this chapter. I suspect that this is because the repetitions in this chapter have mostly been characterized as “refrains,” which connotes the necessity of verbatim repetition. See Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 39–40; George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1912), 48; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 102.

recalls the silver and gold of v 7; they have made the silver and gold they accumulated into idols. However, instead of delivering the expected B verset (and there is no end to [x]), 8b pivots to deuteronomistic language describing the act of worshipping idols.⁶⁸ This is where the accumulation of wealth has led the House of Jacob. As a reference to the deuteronomistic corpus, vv 6-8 call to mind both Solomon's folly (as I argued above) and the Deuteronomic explanation for the exile (as I will argue in the next chapter). This choice on the part of the Expansion Scribe incorporates the deuteronomistic tradition as a way to understand the Day of Yahweh. In addition, the fact that the poetry breaks with what precedes it sharpens the reader's focus onto 8b as the main issue that the Expansion Scribe wants to bring to the fore. Therefore, I read vv 6-8 as a purposefully constructed piece of the secondary layer, not a rolling accumulation of conflicting form and content.

Next, vv 12b and 13a β add an element of difference to what would otherwise be standard poetic parallelism with language that is partially derived from vv 14 and 17, but perhaps also from vv 2-4.⁶⁹ I will return to vv 2-4 in more detail later, but it suffices to say that one of the points of connection between the two main sections (2-4 and 6-21) is the theme of height, and in particular the language in v 2 describing the "lifting" in regard to the hills: "The mountain of the house of Yahweh will be established at the top of the mountains, and it will be lifted (ג.ש.א) above the hills."

Table 3: Comparison between Isa 2:14, 17a β , 12b, 13a β , and 2

Old Poem	Addition to v 12	Addition to v 13	V 2a
14. And upon the lofty mountains and upon the lifted hills. 17a β . And the height of men is brought low	12b. And upon everything lifted and bowed down	13a β . The lofty and the lifted	. . . The mountain of the house of Yahweh will be established at the top of the mountains, and it will be lifted above the hills
14. ועל כל ההרים הרמים ועל כל הגבעות הנשאות 17a β . ושפל רום אנשים	12b. ועל כל נשא ושפל	13a β . הרמים והנשאים	נכון יהיה הר בית יהוה בראש ההרים ונשא מגבעות ונהרו אליו

⁶⁸ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomic School*, 324.

⁶⁹ We should also note that these two verse fragments add no substantive or new content to the text. They do not resignify anything in the older text but instead reinforce existing descriptions of images already listed.

Besides the other images of movement up and down in vv 2-4 (which I will illuminate below), the theme of “lifting” in particular is likewise active in v 4, which promises that in the future, a nation will not “lift” a sword against another nation. That these repetitions make contact with both main sections of Isa 2 leads me to suggest that this may not be limited to the term “derived repetition,” but may be something like an echo repetition: repetition that is produced by the intratextual connections and reverberations between texts that have been placed side-by-side. I find this especially appealing because these verse fragments in vv 12b and 13aβ do not necessarily add to or shift the metaphorical landscape of the poem (as the other secondary sections do), but they echo the dominant theme and terminology in what interrupts an otherwise very regular poetic form. We can see that the parallel structures are restored once these echo versets are removed:

- 12: Indeed, Yahweh **צבאות** has a day
 Against everything proud and lofty
- 13: And against all the cedars of Lebanon
 And against all the oaks of Bashan

Just as the Expansion Scribe inserted material at the beginning of the poem that is derived from the end of the old poem (v 17), he likewise incorporated derived repetitions of the beginning of the old poem (v 10) after its end (vv 19 and 21).

Table 4: Comparison between Isa 2:10, 19, and 21

V 10	V 19	V 21
(a) <u>Go into the rock!</u> <u>And</u> be hidden <u>in the</u> <u>dust!</u>	(a) And they will <u>go into</u> caves in the <u>rocks</u> <u>And into</u> holes in <u>the</u> <u>dust</u>	(a) To <u>go into the rocky</u> crevices <u>And into</u> the crags in the cliffs
(b) <u>Before Yahweh’s terror</u> <u>And before the</u> <u>splendor of his</u> <u>majesty</u>	(b) <u>Before Yahweh’s terror</u> <u>And before the splendor</u> <u>of his majesty</u> When he rises to strike the earth with dread	(b) <u>Before Yahweh’s terror</u> <u>And before the splendor</u> <u>of his majesty</u> When he rises to strike the earth with dread

(a) <u>בוא בצור</u> <u>והטמן בעפר</u> (b) <u>מפני פחד יהוה</u> <u>ומהדר גאון</u>	(a) <u>ובאו במערות צרים</u> <u>ובמחלות עפר</u> (b) <u>מפני פחד יהוה</u> <u>ומהדר גאון</u> בקומו לערץ הארץ	(a) <u>לבוא בנקרות הצרים</u> <u>ובסעפי הסלעים</u> (b) <u>מפני פחד יהוה</u> <u>ומהדר גאון</u> בקומו לערץ הארץ
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These repetitions contain variations on the first set of parallel versets in each verse, but maintain a verbatim repetition of 10b, adding “when he rises to strike the earth with dread” to the ends of the verses.⁷⁰

Just as the derived repetition in v 9 was a continuation of the narrative about the House of Jacob falling into idolatry, the derived repetitions in 19 and 21 are likewise incorporated into the concern about idolatry as the humans and the idols they made will go down into the ground where the idols will be defiled by the shrews and bats.⁷¹ I argue that these are derived repetitions based partially on my analysis above in which I suggest that v 9 and 11 are derived repetitions of v 17—it follows that this might happen at the end as well. The practice of expanding an existing text by adding a new introduction to its beginning is a well-known scribal technique in antiquity. In her book, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, Sara Milstein documents and analyzes multiple instances in which scribes revise texts by adding material to their beginning.⁷² She also details that in some cases, the introductions can be accompanied by material appended to the end as well.⁷³ Though she does not address the strategy of the particular type of chiasmic addition I am suggesting is present in Isa 2, the technique here in some ways resembles that which Milstein is describing.

I additionally see vv 19 and 21 as derived repetition based on the presence of themes that are generally not associated with the Divine Warrior motif, which is active in texts describing the Day of Yahweh.⁷⁴ In biblical texts, the Divine Warrior was a depiction of Yahweh as the leader of the heavenly armies descending his mountain in order to fight on behalf of Israel.⁷⁵ Since this motif and Yahweh himself have ancient roots in the pre-Israelite West Semitic Storm God,

⁷⁰ In LXX manuscripts, the phrase “when he rises to strike the earth with dread” is added to the end of v 10 as a harmonizing plus.

⁷¹ On the impurity of bats, see Lev 11:19 and Deut 14:18. Concerning shrews, once the word misdivision yields חפרפרות, it should be noted that this is still a *Hapax*, though it would still be unclean given that it neither chews its cud nor has a cloven hoof (see Deut 14:4-8).

⁷² She deems these “master scribes” for their “authority to compose a text or to introduce substantial changes to it.” Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, 2n4.

⁷³ On this point, she surmises that the technology of writing a scroll or tablet could have easily allowed one to append more text to the front or back. Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, 73–74.

⁷⁴ See Amos 5:18-20

⁷⁵ See Num 10:35; Deut 33:2-3; Judg 5:20; Hab 3:3-6; Ps 24:7-10, 68:7-14.

oftentimes Yahweh is associated with thunderbolts, storm-clouds, and violent winds, along with an ability to defeat the tallest and strongest rivals, whether natural, human, or human-made.⁷⁶ The defeat of Israel's historical enemy is connected with the classical imagery of the Storm God defeating watery chaos in primordial times. Nature is often devastated, but once Yahweh is victorious, nature is once again fruitful, returning to life, and producing crops, as Israel enjoys a peace produced by this victory. The motif of the Divine Warrior is connected in many ways to the Zion tradition which is active in Isa 2:2-4. In vv 6-21, we can see that there are many images associated with the Divine Warrior,⁷⁷ but the one theme present here that is otherwise not connected to this motif is the condemnation of idolatry as a practice (and divination reflected in v 6 is likewise foreign to the Divine Warrior).⁷⁸

While idolatry is not a concern in other texts describing the Divine Warrior, it is a major concern of Deutero-Isaiah, and thus its inclusion here helps to integrate this early moment in the book of Isaiah with a major concern of the work at large. In addition, much of the language used in these verses is comparable to other verses that are considered to be secondary in the section of text generally referred to as First Isaiah (Isa 1-39).⁷⁹ For example, close correlatives to phrases in v 8b ("to the work of his hands they bow, to that which his fingers have made") and v 20 ("On that day, humankind will throw down his idols of silver and his idols of gold that they had made for him to bow to") appear in Isa 17:8 and 31:7 (texts generally considered to be secondary additions to First Isaiah) and also in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (37:19; 60:21). Therefore, not only do the idolatry additions not correspond with the Divine Warrior motif, but they also are echoes of language that is associated with late Isaianic material and the deuteronomistic tradition.⁸⁰ From this perspective, v 18 functions as a transition verse back into the idolatry content introduced in vv 6-8.

⁷⁶ Judg 5:4-5; Ps. 29, 68

⁷⁷ These are the total devastation of humanity so that only Yahweh remains exalted (vv 9, 11, 17), the call to hide from Yahweh's terror (v 10, 19, 21), and Yahweh's desired attack on and demolition of everything high or powerful (vv 12-16).

⁷⁸ A few references to Divine Warrior passages that contain information about idolatry are worth highlighting here. Ps 97:7 reads "every worshipper of an idol (פסל) will be ashamed, anyone boasting in idols (אלילים). All of the gods bow to [Yahweh]," suggesting that the Divine Warrior is not punishing idolatry specifically, but instead that the gods of other peoples—represented in the physical form of an idol—are powerless against Yahweh.

Following this theme, Nahum 1:14 warns the king of Nineveh that Yahweh will destroy his images of his gods—again, this represents an attack on foreign gods. Additionally, the Ark narrative in 1 Sam 4-6 depicts the Divine Warrior attacking the divine images of the Philistines. These references do not necessarily connect *idolatry* as a practice to the Divine Warrior, but instead show Yahweh going to war with and defeating other nations' gods in the form of their images. The expansion layer of Isa 2 is quite different in that the Divine Warrior, or the Stormgod, is attacking the House of Jacob for their own illicit cultic actions.

⁷⁹ Blenkinsopp argues that of the words for idolatry in First Isaiah, "most of the occurrences are acknowledged to belong to late editorial strata." Joseph Blenkinsopp, ed., *Isaiah 40-55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 19A (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 240.

⁸⁰ Seybold likewise highlights the secondary insertions in Isa 2 as oriented toward the sin of idolatry (though he adds v 19 to the older layer):

Die sekundäre Schicht, die sich über 2, 10, 12-17, 19 gelegt hat, die in Terminologie, Tendenz und Charakter einheitlich ist und darum wohl ein und derselben Bearbeitungsphase zugerechnet werden kann,

3.2. Aphoristic Addition: Isaiah 2:22

Given the tight integration of secondary material confronting idolatry with the content of the old poem, v 22 seems unintegrated, to say the least. It does not correspond in terms of content, it contains no poetic parallelism, and it is a statement that would be much more at home in a wisdom collection (though no wisdom saying that we have corresponds to it). The fact that it is missing in LXX (though it is present in 1QIsa^a) indicates, according to Sweeney, that it “must be considered as a late addition to the text whose place was not completely secure by the time of LXX and 1QIsa^a.”⁸¹ Again, in the words of Sweeney, “its purpose is to draw out the lesson of v. 6-22, that one should not rely on the works of man, but on God.”⁸² Due to its lack of connection with any of the material in Isa 2, I see no other option than to consider it an insertion that is separate from and responding to what is otherwise an integrated secondary layer (vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, 18-21).

3.3. Superscription and Zion Addition: Isaiah 2:1, and 2-4 (and 5)

Moving to the material in vv 1-5 of Isa 2, I join the scholarly consensus in viewing v 1 as a superscription added to some earlier arrangement of chapter 2 or perhaps a larger section of text. This assignment is obvious enough and I think we would be hard-pressed to find disagreement, except regarding its diachronic relationship to the first superscription (1:1) as well as what text collection this was meant to introduce,⁸³ an issue that has no bearing on my argument.⁸⁴

Next, vv 2-4 is an independent unit; this is broadly agreed upon and relatively clear based on a few factors.⁸⁵ First, these verses are found almost verbatim in Micah 4:1-3, suggesting that they likely had a life independent of both texts and then eventually landed in both, after which each experienced some amount of development and/or incorporation into their present context.⁸⁶

ist durch zwei Merkmale gekennzeichnet: durch die Verwendung der spöttischen Bezeichnung ^ālilīm »Götzen, Göttchen« und durch ihre sowohl im Arrangement wie in einzelnen Formulierungen erkennbare Vorlagenabhängigkeit.

Klaus Seybold, “Die anthropologischen Beiträge aus Jesaja 2,” *ZTK* 74, no. 4 (1977): 411.

⁸¹ Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 175.

⁸² Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 175.

⁸³ See Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5*, 163. for a review of the scholarship on these questions.

⁸⁴ Blenkinsopp sees 2:1 as an earlier introduction to a redacted Isa 2-12; Sweeney argues it was the opening of a redacted chs 2-4; Kaiser and Ackroyd attach it solely to the pilgrimage to Zion depicted in Isa 2:2-4. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:189; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 97; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 48; Peter R. Ackroyd, “A Note on Isaiah 2,1,” *ZAW* 34, no. 3 (1963): 75. See also Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 38–39. For more on the text of the superscription, see Muraoka, “Isaiah 2,” 317–18.

⁸⁵ See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:190–91; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 83–85.

⁸⁶ Sweeney discusses the possible diachronic relationship between the parallel texts, eventually defending the idea that this is a late composition that was inserted into both prophetic works, and that the text as represented in Micah seems to be a later-developed version since it has added material (Mic 4:4-5). Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 164–74. Other options are that: (1) It originated in the Micah text, based on its superior integration into the poetry present

Second, these verses reflect the motif of the Zion tradition, but with a universalizing twist that belongs in the post-exilic period. It is well-known that one of Isaiah's central theological commitments is to Zion theologies,⁸⁷ which have their ancient pre-Israelite roots in the cosmic mountain motif. As it relates to our study, in pre-Israelite literatures cosmic mountains were the homes of both El (the high god responsible for historical war) and Baal (the Storm God responsible for defeating chaos in the form of the Sea), and they were the places of the gods' celebration after victory in war, the sources of the rivers or waters of creation, and points of contact the divine and human realms.⁸⁸ As a descendant of the cosmic mountain motif, central to Zion theology is the (re)enthronement of Yahweh, the Divine Warrior, after his defeat of an enemy, either natural or historical.⁸⁹

Against certain scholars who would claim that these verses are simply a variation of the Zion tradition as the cosmic mountain and may therefore be from the time of Isaiah (or earlier),⁹⁰ Isa 2:2-4 more likely represents a later development of the Zion tradition. Blenkinsopp speaks of this passage as "a collage of Zion themes that we encounter in all sections of the book . . . Similar passages in early Second Temple texts (e.g. Hag 2:9-7; Zech 2:14-16; 8:20-23)," he

there. See Reinhard Müller, "Doubled Prophecy: The Pilgrimage of the Nations in Mic 4: 1-5 and Isa 2: 1-5," in *Changes in Scripture. Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala, and Marko Marttila (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 177-91; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 83. (2) It is an independent liturgical oracle composed prior to Micah or Isaiah. See Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 36ff; Gerhard von Rad, "City on the Hill," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 232ff. (3) The text was composed in, or by, Isaiah. See John Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms," *VT* 11, no. 1 (1961): 14ff; Arvid S. Kapelrud, "Eschatology in the Book of Micah," *VT* 11, no. 1 (1961): 395ff.

If this text did originate in the Micah text, it would have to be as a late addition because the universalizing focus on Yahweh's teaching is an exilic or post-exilic idea. To connect this teaching to the Divine Warrior trope in a monarchic context would be unusual. If it came secondarily to the Micah text, it accumulated further additions over time. For example, 4:5 seems to be controlling for the oddity that all the nations of the world are seeking Yahweh by saying that at least they will come in the name of their own God. Therefore, since it is secondary to both Isaiah and Micah, I think it is most reasonable to posit that it was an independent composition joined to both, particularly since there is no evidence that the scribe inserting either is reacting to the larger context of the opposite (e.g. the text in shows no reaction to its context in Micah and vice versa).

⁸⁷ Zion theology is derived mostly from certain Psalms (2, 46, 48, 65, 76, 84, 87, 95-99, 110, 122, 125, 128, and 132) as well as from Isaiah (8:5-10; 17:12-14; 24:21-23; 25:6-12; 26:1-7; 30:27-33; 33:5-6, 14-24; 37:33-38, 60-62; and 65:17-25), and it centers on themes of "the kingship, might, justice, and faithfulness of YHWH and the security and beatitude of those privileged to lodge in his sacred mountain in humility and faith and to witness his (re)enthronement upon it." Jon D. Levenson, "Zion Traditions," *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1099. See the fuller study by Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).

⁸⁸ See the classic study by Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

⁸⁹ As noted by Cross, the figure of Yahweh represents a combination of aspects of El who fights historical battles with Baal who defeats chaos. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 163.

⁹⁰ Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms," 14ff; Schwartz, "Torah from Zion"; von Rad, "City on the Hill," 232ff; Hans Wildberger, "Die Völkerwallfahrt Zum Zion Jes. li 1-5," *VT* 7, no. 1 (1957): 75-81. For a more comprehensive list, see Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 52n14. He lists both scholars who support the authorship of Isaiah as well as those who favor a post-exilic date. Taking a different approach to a post-exilic dating, Kaiser sees this hymn as reflective of the Korahite levitical ideology, which he dates to the beginning of the fourth century BCE.

continues, “help us to locate this kind of exalted ‘Zionist’ mythopoesis, which seems to have crystallized in the prophetic propaganda and cult of Judeo-Babylonian repatriates in the first half-century of Persian rule.”⁹¹ The passage utilizes several themes native to the Zion tradition, even reaching back to the larger ancient Near Eastern Cosmic Mountain motif. Mount Zion is higher than any of the mountains,⁹² the nations “flow” to it (echoing the cosmic waters associated with the cosmic mountain),⁹³ the weapons of war are broken,⁹⁴ Yahweh successfully continues his powerful reign as the Divine Warrior, and peace is instituted. However, there are crucial differences between the classical Zion tradition and the Zion tradition as it is reflected here that make more sense in a post-exilic *Sitz im Leben*. These differences are related in particular to the conceptualization of war and the role of the divine warrior therein.

Authors committed to Zion theology often compare the invading nations to the watery chaos of creation,⁹⁵ and likewise in the case of Isa 2:2, the nations “flow” to Zion. However, it is a crucial difference that the nations are not “flowing” as a torrential military threat but are instead coming to submit to the justice and rule of Yahweh, voluntarily destroying their own weapons. Because the Zion theology and the Cosmic Mountain motif are so closely associated with the Divine Warrior whose job it is to instantiate peace by defeating both primordial chaos and the historical nations, the peaceful orientation of the nations and their desire to submit to Yahweh is strikingly odd. Without a battle, the Israelite storm/war god can hardly do the job central to his existential purpose.

While a change in this direction makes little sense in a pre-exilic moment of independent nationhood in which Israel’s deity is absolutely tasked with defending them and himself against foreign threats, the progression does map very well onto an exilic or post-exilic moment in which defeat by a foreign power had already historically occurred. Though he does not note the shift in the role of the divine warrior, Clements recognizes the hope reflected in this passage and suggests it was placed in the beginning of a mostly gloomy collection of oracles in order to give a positive future to those who had received the punishment promised in Isaiah’s oracles.⁹⁶ During the exile, there develops a concern for Yahweh’s global, absolute power and for the international realization that Yahweh is the only deity in existence, resulting in some cases in a

⁹¹ Blenkinsopp offers the caveat that this “exalted ‘Zionist’ mythopoesis” is by no means confined to that time.” Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 19:191.

⁹² See Ps 48:3.

⁹³ Ps 48:9-12.

⁹⁴ Ps. 46:9-10.

⁹⁵ This imagery can be seen in the Song of Sea with the overlap of the primordial waters of chaos with the human enemies. See also Hab 3:8-15; Ps 65:7-8, 68:22-23; 89:10-11.

⁹⁶ Clements argues that the passage “has been placed here at the very beginning of the collection of Isaianic prophecies contained in 2-32* in order to provide a thematic message of hope concerning Jerusalem to show that this lies firmly and positively in the future, beyond the words of threat and judgment contained in the book . . . The authors of the prophecy clearly regarded this judgment as having been fulfilled through the catastrophe of 587.” Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 40.

universal pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁹⁷ Thus, in Isa 2:2-4, the old themes of the Divine Warrior and the cosmic mountain as they relate to Zion theology are transformed from Yahweh's martial power to defeat historical nations into a future moment (v 2) in which the very logic and nature of war, international relations, and humanity will be reversed by a realization that Yahweh is the only deity who has the "teaching" that can lead to peace. In this case, it is the words and teaching of Yahweh that have power and markedly *not* his martial abilities, which is wholly concordant with the relatively late biblical development of centering the written word as one of the chief religious symbols.⁹⁸ Once the Divine Warrior is removed from his role of defending the nation against military invasion, the military might of Yahweh develops into a power over the cosmos that eventually results in the apocalyptic worldview of the Second Temple period. What we find in Isa 2:2-4 is a move away from the national and toward the cosmic.

Third, the unit is demarcated by the transitional v 5, which reflects an abrupt shift in metaphor that does not play on the Zion tradition in a way that is concordant with the previous verses. This verse is a classic example of the *Stichwort* editing technique in which the scribe repeats key words from the two portions he is joining.⁹⁹ In the case of v 5, the editor writes "O House of Jacob" in the vocative, which echoes the presence of the "House of Jacob" as the object of the verb in v 6, thus placing one stitch into the larger section in vv 6-22. Likewise, "come, let us walk" repeats the phrase "come, let us go up" in v 3, bringing the first section in vv 2-4 into closer contact with the latter section. Once we move past the mechanics of *Stichwort*, we can look at the use of metaphor. In the previous unit (vv 2-4), the author uses metaphors of movement toward, around, and away from Zion, which coordinates with the flow of water associated with the cosmic mountain. Nations "stream" to Zion (v 2), the nations' desire to "walk" in Yahweh's paths, after which it is stated that "from Zion, teaching comes forth" (v 3). Though the theme of locomotion is captured in v 5 ("let us walk"), the editor uses it with a metaphor of "light" which is disjunctive with the images of geographical movement at work in vv 2-4. However, the metaphor of Yahweh's teaching as light is much more live in Deutero-Isaiah (42:6, 16; 49:6; 51:4), suggesting that this verse is indeed an editorial gloss influenced by the metaphors and theology of the later Isaianic author.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ See Zech 2:14-16, 8:20-23; Isa 51:4-6, 56:6-8, 60:1-22, 66:18-20; Hag 2:7-9.

⁹⁸ Sweeney (and others) argues along the same line. He sees the motivations of the nations as a key clue to its date. However, he does not make a connection between the Divine Warrior and his pre-exilic function. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-4*, 164-74.

⁹⁹ As Blenkinsopp highlights, this is a technique prominent already in the first chapter of Isaiah (vv 3-4, 9-10, 17-18, 20-21). Blenkinsopp, "Fragments of Exegesis," 52.

¹⁰⁰ Though I am satisfied to settle on a more vague sense of the person of the redactor, it is due to evidence such as this that Williamson asserts that Deutero-Isaiah was actually the redactor of first Isaiah. To be this specific is not only unnecessary for my purposes, but it also may oversimplify a notoriously complex problem. However, his study is useful in illuminating the presence of Deutero-Isaianic theology, phraseology, etc. in First Isaiah, which is an important contribution. H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

3.4. Relative Dating?

Finally, it is difficult to address the question as to the relative dating between the insertion in vv 2-4 versus the expansion layer in vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, 18-21. On the one hand, the expansion author is clearly responding to the old poem, and there is little evidence that the scribe inserting this material is responding at all to vv 2-4.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, vv 2-4 are an independent composition that connects to both the old poem and the expansion layer in terms of issues of time and the *Leitmotif* of height versus lowness. The *Stichwort* editing does suggest, however, that the scribe combining vv 2-4 with vv 6-22 is responding to both the independent text of vv 2-4 and the expanded Isaiah text beginning in v 6. It seems that the simplest model would be to assert that the hand responsible for the *Stichwort* editing in v 5 is likewise the scribe responsible for placing these two main sections in juxtaposition to one another. Therefore, in my analysis of these compositional layers, I will focus primarily on the resonances created by the juxtaposition of vv 2-4 with vv 6-21.

4. Conclusion

In summary, Isa 2 contains an old poem most reasonably attributed to Isaiah (vv 10, 12-17*). Next, I have reconstructed an expansion layer (vv 6-9, 11, 12b, 13aß, 18-21), the author of which is responding to and reshaping Isaiah's poem, with the result that vv 6-21 is a composite composition that will yield a new temporal and metaphorical landscape. Third, I have argued that vv 2-4 is an independent composition that a scribe integrated into vv 6-21 via the *Stichwort* editing present in v 5. Lastly, the manuscript evidence along with the poetics of the rest of the chapter suggest that v 22 is a very late addition to the text, and v 1 was likewise appended to some version of Isa 2, the specifics of which is difficult to detect and has no bearing on my argument in the following pages. It is from this reconstruction of the text that I shall now turn my attention to the mnemotechnic practices reflected in this scribal activity.

¹⁰¹ That is, except for what I suggested might be called "echo repetitions" in vv 12b and 13aß.

3. ISAIAH THE SEER: METAPHOR AND TEMPORALITY IN ISAIAH 2

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the composition history laid out in the previous chapter within the framework of cultural memory I composed in the introduction. Working with three key actions that move cultural texts along their mnemotechnic paths (selection, convergence, and recursivity), I will suggest that the Expansion Scribe *selects* Isaiah's poem for recall and that he does so in a mode in which the poem deuteronomistic concerns about idolatry *converge*. He achieves this convergence by adding expansions to Isaiah's poem that activate elements from the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) as shadow texts. These shadow texts structure the meaning of the new composite work represented in vv 6-21 and make Isaiah's poem relevant in relation to these deuteronomistic concerns. When the composite work is read by a theoretical reader following the Expansion Scribe—when the composite piece of literature experiences *recursivity* as a singular—the inferred author shifts from Isaiah configured as a prophet who makes statements that relate to his own present to Isaiah configured as a seer who makes statements that relate to a community situated in the relatively distant future.¹ The addition of vv 2-5 further establishes Isaiah as a seer, as a figure able to predict distant futures, by moving the terminus of the literary work's temporal horizon into a utopian or mythic future, characterized by a dramatic reversal of the political and cosmic orders. This extension allows the seer to predict both the historical and mythic future. The figure of the seer, therefore, is what powers the continued

¹ The shift from prophet to seer is in line with the post-exilic, proto-apocalyptic reading of pre-exilic prophecy broadly speaking. As Barton notes, "To put it as strikingly as possible, a 'prophet' for many people in our period meant what much modern scholarship would describe as an apocalypticist: someone who had a long-term view of world history, whose details had been revealed to him supernaturally by God." John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 199. Indeed, we can see that beginning in the Second Temple period, figures like Daniel and Enoch are recognized as prophets, both of whom are figures who predict futures temporally distant from the time period in which they are historically placed (e.g. Matt 24:15 and Jude 14 in the New Testament). The shift I am noting is not a new observation. However, I am showing how this shift is occurring in one particular text in Isaiah, and I am arguing that this can be fruitfully understood within the framework of cultural memory. By thinking about the shift in terms of a mnemotechnic process, we can better understand how literature, and particularly multi-authored literature, functions within mnemotechnic practices. See also Hendel who recognizes the roots of the transition from prophet to seer in the redactional layers of the prophets themselves. Ronald Hendel, "Isaiah and the Transition from Prophecy to Apocalyptic," in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Chaim Cohen et al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 261–79.

relevance of Isaiah 2 as a cultural text. At the same time, the configuration and continued mnemotechnic path of Isaiah 2 as a cultural text relies on a certain level of forgetting elements of Isaiah as the inferred author. Isaiah must be a figure more oriented toward distant futures than to his own present; but to that end, he must still be deeply rooted in his eighth century context.

2. Theoretical Considerations

In this section, I will introduce some specific theoretical tools that I engage in this chapter. The first is from Ann Rigney who emphasizes the centrality of change in the travels of cultural memory. I find that some of her conceptual categories are useful for thinking about the path-dependence of cultural memory (Olick) and how cultural texts traverse these paths. In terms of our Isaiah text specifically, one site of change along its mnemotechnic path between Isaiah and the Expansion Scribe is the temporality reflected in the work. In order to discuss this issue, I will engage with Benedict Anderson's distinction between vertical and horizontal temporality.

2.1. Forming the Mnemotechnic Path: Selectivity, Convergence, Recursivity

In his theory of collective memory, Halbwachs emphasizes the importance of social frames for acts of individual memory. "Collective frameworks," he claims, "are . . . precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society."² While he speaks of the sociological concept of frames or structures, we can concretize it a bit in this chapter. As the Expansion Scribe selects Isaiah's poem, he incorporates it into a new literary context in which he quite literally *frames* Isaiah's text with new material at the beginning and end of Isaiah's poem. At the same time, this new literary framework reflects the social structures of the Expansion Scribe in his interest in understanding Isaiah's poem in light of the deuteronomistic assessment of the role of idolatry within Israel and Judah's history. By recognizing the integration of Isaiah's poem into a new literary frame, we can understand something about the Expansion Scribe's own social frames at the same time as we can think about how the Expansion Scribe shifts the meaning of Isaiah's poem and therefore its continued trajectory down its mnemotechnic path. The Expansion Scribe alters, defines, and limits the potential meanings as later readers must now read the composite work in which Isaiah's poem is now embedded.

As a theorist who centers issues of change and forgetting within her model of the cultural memory of literature, Ann Rigney outlines several ways that cultural memory tends to operate (though I would shift the language to ways in which agents of memory tend to engage with cultural materials).³ Rigney suggests that since cultural memory is "collectively constructed and

² Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

³ Rigney, "Plenitude." Rigney, in my reading, gives memories too much agency in this process and does not adequately address the issue of human agency in *placing* cultural products in relation to one another in the present. For example, she talks about how sites of memory "attract geographically unrelated memories" (19) when,

reconstructed in the present rather than resurrected from the past,”⁴ “forgetting precedes remembering rather than vice versa.”⁵ Forgetting cultural materials is the default, but remembering requires an active intervention, powered by the perceived relevance of the memory to agents in the present. Since cultural memory is a reconstructive act done in contact with present interests, there are always changes and elements forgotten, elements that are not useful in the present and are therefore shifted or left unactivated from the previous iteration. Therefore, “shared memories of the past are the product of mediation, textualization and acts of communication” in which the changes involved “are not just regrettable deviations from some spontaneously produced memory . . . but rather a precondition for the operation of memories across generations, for the production of collective memories in the long term.”⁶

From this perspective, changes and forgetting go hand in hand are central to the survival of cultural materials. Change, and therefore forgetting, is, in fact, a mechanism that can account for the trans-temporal persistence of cultural materials that otherwise have no power in and of themselves to transverse time. Without forgetting, cultural materials have no relevance and therefore agents have no reason to activate them in the present. In order to think constructively about changes within cultural memory, Rigney posits five ways that cultural memory tends to operate by the hand of agents of memory, three of which I will highlight (the selectivity of recall, the convergence of memories, and the recursivity in remembrance). These operative principles fit fruitfully into Olick’s path-dependence of cultural memory outlined in the introduction in that they describe ways in which agents tend to engage cultural materials emerging from their cultural past. We can say that these tendencies of agents are what build mnemotechnic paths by making cultural texts mean anew in each present.

Selectivity of recall means that what is remembered is relatively less than the cultural materials available for activation.⁷ In this sense, and linking back to Lachmann,⁸ reference to or reuse of cultural text signals to the critic that the cultural text was worth maintaining in the eyes of the scribal agent. Selection maintains cultural text as such into a new present and represents a stone laid in its mnemotechnic path. In selecting a text, agents make use of it in connection to their present concerns. Therefore, an act of cultural memory is not a retrieval of that which is

in fact, agents of memory are attracted to these sites as firm structures in relation to which they can activate other memories in a powerful way. Even as these processes are in some ways subconscious, it is still *human agents* who put one memory in contact with one existing structure or site of memory rather than another one entirely.

⁴ Rigney, “Plenitude,” 14.

⁵ Rigney, “Plenitude,” 17.

⁶ Rigney, “Plenitude,” 14.

⁷ See links this to Foucault’s description of “scarcity,” in which “the rarity of statements, the incomplete, fragmented form of the enunciative field, the fact that few things, in all, can be said, explain that statements are not . . . an infinite transparency; but things . . . are transmitted and preserved . . . not only by copy or translation, but by exegesis, commentary, and the internal proliferation of meaning.” Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 119–20. However, this is a principle governing semiotic models more generally in which discourse is always selective.

⁸ See my discussion in chapter 1.

stored, but “is an active and constantly shifting relationship to the past, in which the past is changed retrospectively in the sense that its meaning is changed.”⁹ Agents only remember, however, according to what is useful. Thus, the activation of cultural texts is always partial and is selective according to present needs.

This principle leads to convergence, which is the synthesis of cultural materials as agents activate aspects of the past to create meaning in relation to some other present concern (which may or may not also be an activation of the past). This functions to provide “a maximum amount of meaning in a minimum number of signs,”¹⁰ eventually forming “sites of memory” which work according to “a principle of economy . . . helping to reduce the proliferation of disparate memories and providing common frame-works for appropriating the past.”¹¹ Convergence is the result of making cultural products meaningful in relation to the social frames operating in the present. Since these frames have other cultural texts embedded within them, we can analyze the use of cultural texts in relation to the principle of convergence: as we will see, the selection and use of Isaiah’s poem by the Expansion Scribe is an instance of convergence in which the Expansion Scribe makes Isaiah’s poem meaningful in relation to the broader ideological frame of deuteronomistic writings. By connecting a cultural text to other cultural texts in his inherited repertoire, the Expansion Scribe strengthens their mnemotechnic paths so that when future agents activate one, they are more likely to activate the other since their mnemotechnic paths have begun to converge. We can see convergence at work when we recognize that the Expansion Scribe has overwritten Isaiah’s poem with the ideological principles of DtrH so that there is now one composite text (Isa 2:6-21) emerging as a single composition.

Convergence is related to issues of the recursivity of cultural materials. Rigney states that “it is through recursivity — visiting the same places, repeating the same stories — that a cultural memory is constructed as such.”¹² Texts (and images, as she notes) as opposed to physical sites and monuments, “play a particularly important role in this process, both because they themselves are infinitely reproducible and because they are tied down neither to any particular time nor to any particular place.” Texts, in this regard, are easily transferable across temporal and spatial boundaries and are therefore readily available for activation in new spatio-temporal locations and new cultures.¹³ Just as the Expansion Scribe facilitates the recursivity of Isaiah 2 by combining it

⁹ Rigney, “Plenitude,” 17.

¹⁰ Nora, quoted by Rigney, “Plenitude,” 19.

¹¹ Rigney, “Plenitude,” 18.

¹² Rigney, “Plenitude,” 20.

¹³ This claim lies somewhat in contrast to Jan Assmann’s approach to text. Assmann usually places text next to ritual and analyzes the differences between the two in terms of their efficacy in maintaining cultural memories. He claims that when text technology developed, cultures could then shift from repeating and remembering meaning through ritual toward doing so with text. The difference is that *ritual* structures the everyday social practices of cultures and so rituals tend to automatically circulate, even if their meaning in the present changes. *Texts*, on the other hand, do not circulate as naturally because their reading does not structure everyday life as effectively as ritual. He claims: “Texts are simply a riskier form of transmitting meaning. There is always the potential danger that they will be removed from circulation and communication, which is not the case with ritual.” Assmann, *Cultural Memory*

with deuteronomistic ideology, agents in the future must facilitate the recursivity of the composite text and make it meaningful in their own present. The question of how this is to be done relates to the cultural symbol that is formed with the Expansion Scribe's act of cultural memory. That is, as the Expansion Scribe forms the cultural symbol of Isaiah the seer, this symbol can work as a hermeneutic for future agents of memory by which they can project Isaiah's vision further from Isaiah's present and into their own, understanding Isaiah to have predicted their contemporary situation. Given that the addition of vv 2-5 projects Isaiah's ability to foresee future events into a kind of mythic reversal of the cosmos, the cultural symbol of Isaiah the seer can be indefinitely utilized as a hermeneutic for the Isaiah text at large, allowing the mnemotechnic path of the book to persist indefinitely.

Rigney's articulation here helps us understand how the mnemotechnic path of a cultural text is constructed via its recursive activation by agents of memory. Additionally, she highlights the centrality of change in this process. According to this model, the very nature of the act of cultural memory requires that agents select cultural materials for use in the present, and, if the materials are to be effective tools for communication, the agents must connect them to other elements within their social structures, thus giving them new meaning as they make contact with other cultural materials. In this process, elements of the cultural material, its meaning, and its place in the discourse must necessarily change for its existence to persist. The agent always deselects aspects of the earlier product that they inherit. In relation to Isaiah 2, the Expansion Scribe backgrounds and shifts elements of Isaiah's poem in order to make it meaningful in relation to his present via deuteronomistic ideology. This act configures the cultural symbol of Isaiah the seer. Isaiah the seer, formed along the mnemotechnic path of Isaiah 2 and its convergence with DtrH, operates as a hermeneutical assumption as future agents of memory will recurse the now-composite text.

2.2. Vertical and Horizontal Temporality

One way in which the Expansion Scribe relates to and shifts Isaiah's poem is in relation to its temporal structures. In order to think about temporality within Isaiah's poem and how its temporality morphs in the Expansion Scribe's composite work, I will heuristically engage Benedict Anderson's distinction between vertical and horizontal temporality. In his monumental contribution to understanding the rise of nationalism and the role of memory therein, Anderson articulates three cultural shifts in medieval Europe that allowed for the eventual rise of nationalism, one of which is the shift of vertical temporality into the horizontal.¹⁴ Vertical

and *Early Civilization*, 74. Comparison between text and ritual and the relative survival rate of each, however, is not the only way to think about the persistence of cultural meaning. I suggest that paying attention to how texts do transmit meaning over time is a worthwhile endeavor. Additionally (and in support of Rigney's claims), ritual may not travel as easily across spatial, national, and ethnic boundaries as a material such as text might.

¹⁴ The other two are the loss of the holy script and the erosion of faith in the monarchy. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso books, 1991), 9–36.

temporality, he claims, is a “conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable.”¹⁵ Anderson characterizes vertical time by the presence of *simultaneity*, a “juxtaposition of the cosmic-universal and the mundane-particular,” in which a stained-glass window, for example, might depict the Virgin Mary in the garb of the culture that produced it. Following Anderson’s own citation of Auerbach, this overwriting of biblical figures with contemporary signifiers reflects a vertical temporality in which

a connection is established between two events which are linked neither temporally or causally—a connection which it is impossible to establish by reason in the horizontal dimension . . . It can only be established if both occurrences are vertically linked to Divine Providence . . . the here and now is no longer a mere link in an earthly chain of events, it is simultaneously something which has always been.¹⁶

The vertical temporality that Anderson places in the medieval period contrasts with horizontal temporality, which he claims ushers in the “homogenous, empty time” of modernity articulated elsewhere by Benjamin.¹⁷ In this latter temporality, cause and effect are linked in a progression of time, leaving simultaneity significant only “by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar.”¹⁸

Anderson recognizes vertical temporality in medieval Christian art, but he overly dichotomizes the vertical and the horizontal and problematically assigns their perceived existence to the pre-modern and the modern period, respectively, setting the ability to experience vertical time against the ability to think historically and prioritize cause and effect in a view of the past. Rather than following Anderson into such a rigid binary distinction, we should think about horizontal temporality as that which is characterized by cause and effect, a temporality that proceeds chronologically. Conversely, vertical time is that which collapses a distant temporality onto the present of the audience or reader. This distant temporality experienced in the present can be a mythic temporality, as constructed in Isaiah’s poem, or it can be a distant past or future temporality that is not linked causally to the present in terms but is nonetheless overlaid onto the present. Following this critique of Anderson, I will use vertical versus horizontal temporality as a heuristic tool to analyze how issues of time and temporality are constructed in the various layers of the text and what role they play in the continued persistence of Isaiah’s poem as a cultural text. I turn now to the biblical text, beginning with an analysis of temporality and the related role of metaphor in Isaiah’s poem.

¹⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

¹⁶ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard Trask (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957), 64. This passage is cited by Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.

¹⁷ Anderson draws this connection to Benjamin. He cites Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 265. Benjamin opposes homogenous, empty time to Messianic time, which we will return to later in this chapter.

¹⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24.

3. Isaiah's Poem: Isaiah 2:10, 12-17*

I begin with an analysis of Isaiah's poem in order to create a starting point for the analysis of its mnemotechnic path that is extended by the Expansion Scribe. By establishing an internal logic to Isaiah's poem on its own, we can more clearly see how the Expansion Scribe exerts his own agency by interpreting and adding to the poem. Isaiah draws on the Storm God mythos and overlays it onto human action via his use of metaphor. I suggest that this contact, reinforced by the present tense of the poem, is what structures a vertical temporality in which there is a simultaneity between the world of humans and the acts occurring in the divine, or mythic, realm. To make this claim, I will present an analysis of the metaphorical structure, arguing that it establishes a connection between the mythic and human world so that divine action in relation to physical features of height maps onto divine action against the figurative height involved in human pride. The poem begins with a mythic frame of reference in which the heights that Yahweh attacks are depicted literally.¹⁹ However, with v 17 at the end of the text continuum, the reader is confronted with a metaphorical frame of reference, rendering the heights as simultaneously literal and figurative, acting both as the literal target of the Storm God on the level of the text continuum and as vehicles for the tenor of human pride on the reconstructed level. An examination of the reconstructed level of the entire poem shows this figurative meaning foreshadowed throughout. In the world of Isaiah's poem, the mythic is simultaneous with the human.²⁰

Before providing my analysis of the old poem, I find it helpful to reproduce it in isolation for the sake of reference:

10. Go into the rock!
Be hidden in the dust!

¹⁹ The language of "frame of reference" is borrowed from Harshav, who defines it as "any continuum of two or more referents to which parts of a text or its interpretations may relate: either referring directly and describing or simply mentioning, implying or evoking." In other words, a frame of reference is "anything we can talk about, no matter whether and how it exists." Benjamin Harshav, *Explorations in Poetics* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 40. Though perhaps not literally named in the text, it is a construction by the reader by which they can incorporate the elements in a text, allowing them to relate to each other to create meaning.

²⁰ The language of "text continuum" and "reconstructed" levels of reading are likewise borrowed from Harshav (these are originally transliterated by Harshav from the Russian "fabula" and "syuzhet" into פבולה and סוז'ה). In his English language scholarship, Harshav offers the translations of the terms into "text continuum" and "reconstructed"). See Harshav, *Explorations in Poetics*, 178–79. The text continuum is the temporal experience of reading a text and the linear understanding of the text as it unfolds. In this sense, the experience of the text continuum on the part of the reader is diachronic and syntagmatic—the reader must make sense of the elements in the order that they appear. Conversely, the reconstructed level occurs in a synchronic mode as the reader looks back on the text read as a whole. On this level, the reader must link together "[c]haracters, plot, ideas, time, space, style, etc. . . . from *discontinuous* elements in the text" by reorganizing them into their assumed relationships—"e.g., time elements are reorganized in their chronological order, ideas in their logical order, streets or trees in their spatial order, etc" (179). In other words, the text continuum is the meaning made as the reader moves, and the reconstructed level is the meaning made as the reader looks backward onto the whole. While these are two different processes, they occur simultaneously as readers make sense of a text.

Before Yahweh's terror
And before of the splendor of his majesty

...

12. Indeed, Yahweh *šēbā'ôt* has a Day
Upon everything proud and lofty

...

13. And upon all the cedars of Lebanon
...
And upon all the oaks of Bashan

14. And upon all the lofty mountains
And upon all the lifted hills

15. And upon every high tower
And upon every fortified wall

16. And upon all the ships of Tarshish
And upon all the crafts of Arabia

17. And the haughtiness of humanity is bowed down
And the height of men is brought low
And Yahweh alone is exalted on that Day

10. בוא בצור
והטמן בעפר
מפני פחד יהוה
ומהדר גאנו

...

12. כי יום ליהוה צבאות
על כל גאה ורם

...

13. ועל כל ארזי הלבנון

...

14. ועל כל אלוני הבשן
ועל כל ההרים הרמים

ועל כל הגבעות הנשאות	
ועל כל מגדל גבה	15.
ועל כל חומה בצורה	
ועל כל אניות תרשיש	16.
ועל כל שכיות החמדה	
ושח גבהות האדם	17.
ושפל רום אנשים	
ונשגב יהוה לבדו ביום ההוא	

3.1. The Storm God: The Mythic Frame of Reference

Several components of the poem connect this text to the Storm God mythos at home in broader Northwest Semitic culture, and exemplified most fully in the Baal myth.²¹ Two of these themes are the call to enter the earth to hide from the Storm God's terror (v 10)²² and the attack of the Storm God on the natural world (particularly those features that are high or perceived to be strong).²³ Scholars broadly agree that this text is related to the Storm God mythos. For example, Kaiser states that,

Without explicitly mentioning it, [the poet] shows us the force of a violent hurricane which tears through the land from north to south, spreading terror before it and devastation in its wake. The background to this is the description of a storm theophany like that depicted in Ps. 29.²⁴

²¹ So deep behind the biblical text is the Baal Cycle that it leads Mark Smith to posit that "[f]or Ugaritic and biblical studies, the Baal Cycle (CAT 1.1-1.6) may serve as a useful standard for myth." He continues, "If there is one text that all scholars can agree is a myth, it is the Baal Cycle. And if the Baal Cycle is a myth, then biblical narratives about the storm-god Yahweh are mythic." Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23.

²² For example KTU 1.4 VII:35-37, a part of the Baal Cycle, reads, "The enemies of Baal took to the woods / the haters of Hadd to the mountainsides." Translation taken from Mark S. Smith and Wayne T. Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Volume II: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 84. Later during Baal's enthronement Baal tells Anat, "We will plant my foes in the earth / and in the ground those who rise against your brother" (translation taken from Cathcart, "Kingship and the 'Day of Yahweh,'" 54.). Likewise Ps. 68, a Storm God theophany, begins, "God rises, his enemies scatter, his haters flee from his presence" (v 2).

²³ In the Baal Cycle, when Baal's voice goes out from his temple, "His ho[ly (?)] voice covered (?) the earth / [At his] voice . . . the mountains trembled. / The ancient [mountains?] leapt [up?]. / The high places of the ear[th] tottered." KTU 1.4 VII: 31-35. Translation taken from Smith and Pitard, *Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Vol II*, 84. In Ps 29, Yahweh's voice likewise breaks cedars, shakes the wilderness, etc. On the potential Canaanite context of Ps 29, see Harold Louis Ginsberg, "A Phoenician Hymn in the Psalter," in *XIX Congresso Internazionale Degli Orientalisti. Roma ... 1935-Xiii* (Roma, 1938), 472-76.

²⁴ Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 61. Milgrom has argued that rather than a storm or a Storm God theophany, this text reflects the earthquake during the time of Uzziah as its historical context. Milgrom's reasoning for the earthquake as the background of this text is seriously lacking. In essence, he argues that given the broad textual evidence for a major earthquake during the time of Uzziah, earthquakes cause devastation similar to that described in Isa 2:10ff. However, at no point does Milgrom even interact with the possibility of a Storm God theophany (with the exception of one footnote [180, n. 2]), nor does he consider the multiple literary similarities between this text and other texts

The poem reflects this storm theophany as the Day of Yahweh is “upon” various natural and human-produced features, most of which are high, but all of which reflect physical strength.²⁵ As the storm comes up against these features, the scene is depicted in literal language from the call to enter the earth (v 10) to the attack against the ships on the sea (v 16). I do not wish to make any claim regarding the *perceived* nature of this myth and whether or not people believed in a literal Storm God. What I want to highlight is that the imagery throughout vv 10, 12-16 overwhelmingly reflect a literal world under attack.

3.2. The “Haughtiness” of Humanity: The Metaphorical Frame of Reference

Whereas the mythic frame of reference operates in the foreground of vv 10, 12-16*, once the reader reaches v 17, they are confronted with the figurative sense of height in such a way that they must create a new frame of reference that takes this sense into account. This new frame of reference is metaphorical, rather than mythic, and it integrates a figurative sense of height into the reader’s understanding of the poem, rendering the literal images as vehicles for the overarching metaphor, thereby shifting the reader’s understanding of the poem as a whole.

In v 17, two abstract nouns are introduced: the “haughtiness” (גְבוּהוֹת) of humanity and the “height” (רֹם) of men, both of which will be brought low on the Day of Yahweh. The roots of both of these abstract nouns reflect back to words for height in vv 12-16. The first from the root ג.ב.ה. is present in v 15 (“every high [גְבוּהָ] tower”) and the second from the root ר.ו.מ. is in both vv 12 (“everything . . . lofty [רֹם]) and 14 (“all the lofty [הַרְמִיּוֹת] mountains”). Making up the *Leitmotif* of height, the figurative use of these *Leitwörter* in the last verse and in relation to humans flips the entire poem into an extended metaphor: the images of height in vv 12-16 are now vehicles for the tenor of the figurative height involved in human pride. Whereas upon the first reading, the reader understands in v 10 that the human should hide in a literally low place because Yahweh will destroy the literal heights on his day, once v 17 is taken into consideration, more than finding a literal low place to hide, the human would do well to humble themselves—to reduce their figurative height—so as to avoid Yahweh’s attack on the proud. The reader can look backward and map the figurative height of humanity onto the vertical axis of the poem’s imagery: pride is high, humility (or humiliation) is low, and this figurative elevation maps onto the meaning of the verbal roots quite naturally.²⁶

that are undeniably Storm God theophanies. Without dealing with the problem of myth and literary genre, his argument remains unconvincing. Jacob Milgrom, “Did Isaiah Prophesy during the Reign of Uzziah?,” *VT* 14, no. 2 (1964): 164–82.

²⁵ Milgrom notes, “That God’s wrath will be spent on nature’s heights as on man’s is . . . the unique statement of this chapter in Isaiah. This combination occurs only once again, Ezek. xxxviii 20b.” Milgrom, “Did Isaiah Prophesy,” 180.

²⁶ Barton notes, “Everything that is ‘high’, including perfectly innocent trees, mountains, hills and towers, is to be brought low. This surely makes sense most readily if we take these natural eminences to be a metaphor for

Once this metaphor is activated, other backgrounded aspects of the poem can rise into the foreground and do work within the operative metaphor. Throughout the poem, the literal sense of height is foregrounded. The trees (the cedars of Lebanon and the Oaks of Bashan)²⁷ and elevated topography (mountains and hills)²⁸ in vv 13-14* are natural high features, allowing the reader to activate the literal sense of height when they encounter the human-made high towers, fortified walls (v 15), and sea crafts (v 16). However, these human-made objects in vv 15-16 can also be understood as metonymies for human pride: they represent the human impulse to control that which is properly under Yahweh's control, namely, the attacking armies²⁹ and the volatile landscape of the sea.³⁰ The previously backgrounded aspect of these images rise to the foreground on the reconstructed level and take on a new figurative meaning once the metaphor is activated in v 17.

3.3. Vertical Temporality Constructed Via Metaphor and Tense/Aspect/Mood

The event of the Storm God theophany has significance not solely for the maintenance of order in the world, but equally for the maintenance of order within the proper human relationship to Yahweh. This metaphorical structure maps human pride onto the chaos over which the Storm God can properly exert control, connecting the experience of humans in the poetic present to an event taking place on a mythic level. This collapse of the mythic world onto the human plane reflects Anderson's conception of vertical temporality in which there exists a simultaneity between the present and the mythic realms. The event of the Storm God theophany and the destruction of the proud are not linked by linear cause and effect patterns, but instead by "Divine Providence."³¹ Isaiah's activation of a vertical temporality is further established when we recognize the ongoing present reflected in the verbal structures of the poem, thus disconnecting the present of the implied audience from their horizontal temporal experience as a "mere link in an earthly chain of events."³² The only finite verbs present in Isaiah's poem are in the two bookended verses (10 and 17); the rest of the content is a series of verbless clauses (vv 12-16*).³³ In sum, the temporality reflected in the old poem is that of the present with the possibility, but not the inevitability, of the very immediate future.

the 'haughtiness' of human beings, who are similarly to be brought down (cf. v. 11) and abased." John Barton, *Isaiah 1-39* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 50.

²⁷ See also Ps. 29:5

²⁸ See also Jer 4:24; Nah 1:5; Hab 3:6; Ezek 38:20.

²⁹ See also Isa 25:12, 30:25; Ezek 38:20.

³⁰ See also Ps. 48:8.

³¹ Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 64.

³² Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 64.

³³ This specific characteristic within the poetic structure is similar to that described by Jakobson and Jones in their reading of Shakespeare's Sonnet 129. See Roman Jakobson and Lawrence G. Jones, *Shakespeare's Verbal Art in Th'expence of Spirit* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970). Though their analysis is detailed and astute in terms of structure, it is regrettable that they do not theorize their observations nor do they make any suggestions as to what this phenomenon, among others, *does* within the sonnet. This is part of what I shall attempt to do in my analysis of Isaiah 2, though I leave it to others to determine whether or not my insights are helpful for illuminating Shakespeare's sonnet.

The poem begins in v 10 with an imperative verb (“Go into the rock!”), orienting the reader in the present moment and calling him to action.³⁴ Though the imperative implies the existence of a future, on a grammatical level, it more actively reflects a deontic modality than a technical future tense.³⁵ As such, it shows the speaker’s will for action in the present, as noted by Joüon who states, “The imperative is mainly used for an immediate action . . . (here and now); rather rarely for a more or less remote action.”³⁶ After the imperative verbs, the poem continues in vv 12-16 with a series of verbless parallel clauses listing the high things Yahweh is “upon” (*‘al*) on his Day. There is a pounding repetition here in which each line contains the phrase, “and upon every,” followed by parallel images. As the poet brings the reader through the features present in the world and notes their destruction one by one, the reader enters into the world as it is on the Day of Yahweh. The series of images and the absence of a past or future temporal signifier invites the reader to experience a present simultaneity with the mythic realm.

This ongoing present continues to the end of the poem with the only non-imperative, finite verbs in the work. As converted perfects, the verbs in v 17 reflect an aspect that is imperfective, but a tense that could be past (ongoing or iterative), present, or future and must be made more specific by the reader’s understanding of the context.³⁷ This problem is doubly ambiguous because these are all stative verbs, which by definition reflect a continuous action in every tense and within both the perfect and imperfect aspect.³⁸ In reaching v 17, the reader could understand the tense to be present as an extension of the repeating verbless repetition in vv 13-16* (i.e. “the haughtiness of humanity *is* bowed down, etc.”). Likewise, the reader does not know if the emergence of this state began *prior to* the relative tense of the imperative (i.e. “the haughtiness of humanity *has [perpetually] been* bowed down, etc.”) or *after* it (i.e. “the haughtiness of humanity *will be* bowed down, etc.”).

The ambiguity of tense with the built-in ongoing temporality reflected in stative verbs easily maps onto the cyclical and ongoing nature of vertical time. As noted by Auerbach, in this

³⁴ I use “him” for the reader in this moment because the verbal form addresses a 3ms person specifically.

³⁵ Constructing a polysemic model of the relationship between tense, aspect, and mood, Hendel argues that “[t]he use of *Yiqtol* to express ordinary volition (along with the volitional forms) and real wishes or conditions extends the tense contrast with *Qatal* into the modal system.” Ronald Hendel, “TAM in Sam: The Tense-Aspect-Mood System in Classical Biblical Hebrew,” in *Studies on the Hebrew Verbal System*, ed. Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacob Naudé (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, Forthcoming), 5. Here, Hendel suggests that volitional forms (as an extension of the imperfect, or *Yiqtol*) contrast with the perfect (or *Qatal*) in terms of mode, and that this modal contrast is the primarily active contrast with the perfect in these cases—not tense.

³⁶ Joüon, §114 m. Waltke and O’Connor likewise note that, “the positive imperative differs from the regulative or legislative non-perfective in being more urgent or in demanding immediate, specific action on the part of the addressee.” *IBHS*, §34.4a.

³⁷ Though Waltke and O’Connor discuss tense and aspect (458-515), Hendel’s more nuanced contribution on the relationship between tense, aspect, and mood should be noted. His analysis is particular to narrative, but his larger point still stands that tense, aspect, and mood have a polysemic relationship in the Classical Biblical Hebrew verbal system rather than the either/or relationship that is typically ascribed to it. Hendel, “TAM in Sam.”

³⁸ According to Waltke and O’Connor, a stative “inherently denotes a situation with an extended internal structure,” even in the context of a perfect which, “conceptualizes a situation from without, as a single whole.” *IBHS*, §30.5.3a.

temporality “the here and now . . . is simultaneously something which has always been, and which will be fulfilled in the future.”³⁹ With the conclusion of Isaiah’s poem in v 17, “on that day,”⁴⁰ the reader perhaps slips out of this ongoing present as the deictic “that” (ההוא) points to a time that is somewhat temporally distant from the speaker. In prophetic poetry, this phrase virtually always points to a future,⁴¹ but the construction itself reflects a past or future time relative to the main verb,⁴² which, as we have seen, is ambiguous. This open reference to the potential past and the potential future leaves the impression of circularity on the grammatical level even as the phrase ביום ההוא should, in this context, be understood as a deictic marker pointing to a future time. In this sense, it guides the reader or hearer out of the simultaneous present with the mythic realm and places that simultaneity into a near future. Yet on the reconstructed level, that day is near enough so that one should immediately “Go into the rock” (v 10) because “Yahweh צבאות has a day” (v 12). That day may be in the future, but it is simultaneously in the present—it is at once mythic, but of extreme relevance to the implied (human) audience.

In these verbal structures, Isaiah leaves his audience with the present moment, marking it as significant not in relation to events chronologically located on either side, but in relation to the mythic world and the actions of the Storm God. This construction of temporality reflects a simultaneity, sharpened by the metaphorical structures, that maps the human experience in the present onto what is occurring in the divine realm.

4. The Expansion Scribe

In an act of cultural memory, the Expansion Scribe selects Isaiah’s text (Isa. 2:10, 12-17*) and adds material to it at its physical boundaries. With the particular content that he adds, he brings Isaiah’s poem into relationship with deuteronomistic ideology. This convergence of Isaiah’s poem and the deuteronomistic writings, both of which represent cultural texts, is perceptible as the interaction between the two diachronic layers of Isa 2:6-21 produce deuteronomistic shadow texts. These shadow texts then play a role in defining the composite work’s temporality and metaphorical structures. The temporality reflected in the work is a horizontal one, characterized by cause and effect in linear time, and the metaphorical structures shift to be productive in relation to idolatry within that temporality. Before turning to issues of shadow text, metaphor, and temporality, I would like to spend some time thinking about the phenomenon of scribal agents adding materials at the boundaries of earlier compositions. Rather than highlight the fact of these additions (which is the common practice in biblical scholarship), I

³⁹ Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 64.

⁴⁰ I am open to this last phrase being part of the secondary layer, as is typical with the particular phrase ביום ההוא.

⁴¹ This is especially true when they introduce additions to the earlier prophetic work.

⁴² Past tense examples abound mostly in narrative.

would like to highlight the interwoven relationship between textual growth and the hermeneutics involved on the part of the scribal agent.

4.1. “Revision through Introduction”⁴³ (and Conclusion)

The beginning and end of a literary work holds a certain amount of power over its meanings as a whole. In selecting Isaiah’s poem for recall, the Expansion Scribe affixes his work somewhat chiastically to it: he reuses the end of Isaiah’s poem (v 17) to affix new material to its beginning (cf. vv 9, 11), and he reuses the beginning of Isaiah’s poem (v 10) to affix new material to its end (cf. vv 19, 21). This type of bookending within the composition history does not just create a new point of departure for reading; it also allows the metaphorical and temporal landscape in Isaiah’s poem to dissolve into its new literary framing. By rewriting Isaiah’s poem using the actual content of Isaiah’s poem, the Expansion Scribe creates “refrains” that persist throughout the poem and work to incorporate and emphasize his own purposes.⁴⁴ Below, I have highlighted the derived repetitions from the expansion scribe in red. I have likewise bolded v 10 with its derived repetitions and italicized v 17 with its derived repetitions.

- (6) But you have rejected your people,
the House of Jacob
for they were full of diviners from the east
and soothsayers like the Philistines
and they teemed with the children of foreigners.
- (7) And his land was full of silver and gold
And there was no end to his storehouses
And his land was full of horses
And there was no end to his chariots
- (8) And his land was full of idols
To the work of his hands they bowed
To that which his fingers have made
- (9) *And humankind was bowed down*
And man was brought low

⁴³ This terminology is taken from Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*.

⁴⁴ Biblical scholars usually recognize the resultant repetitions in Isa 2 as “refrains,” but the general attitude toward why these refrains are here and what they are doing within the poem is confusion. This bafflement at the refrains is likely the resonance of Duhm who declared this chapter to be of poor compositional quality. However, by considering the repetitions as central to the composition history of the text, they are better explained as a strategy for integrating new material into an existing poem, not dissimilar to the phenomenon of *Wiederaufnahme*. However, rather than simply recognizing it as a strategy for adding new text, I intend to additionally think about what these repetitions do in terms of poetics.

You shall not forgive them!

- (10) **Go into the rock!**
Be hidden in dust!
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
- (11) *Humankind's haughty eyes will be brought low*
And the height of men will be bowed down
And Yahweh alone will be exalted on that day
- (12) Indeed, Yahweh צבאות has a day
Upon everything proud and lofty
And upon everything lifted and bowed down
- (13) And upon all the cedars of Lebanon
The lofty and the lifted
And upon all the oaks of Bashan
- (14) And upon all the lofty mountains
And upon all the lifted hills
- (15) And upon every high tower
And upon every fortified wall
- (16) And upon all the ships of Tarshish
And upon all the crafts of Arabia
- (17) *And the haughtiness of humankind is bowed down*
And the height of men is brought low
And Yahweh alone is exalted on that day
- (18) And the worthless gods will entirely vanish
- (19) **And they will go into caves in the rocks**
And into holes in the dust
Before Yahweh's terror
And before of the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread

- (20) On that day, humankind will fling his idols of silver and his idols of gold (that they had made for him to bow to) to the moles and to the bats.
- (21) **To go into the rocky crevices**
And into the crags in the cliffs
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread

Working from Benjamin Harshav's theory of integrational semantics,⁴⁵ Menakhem Perry theorizes the power of the beginning of the work over the meaning of the whole text in his essay "Literary Dynamics." He argues that the order of the text (what comes earlier versus later in the work) determines its meaning since readers experience it temporally within the text continuum.⁴⁶ During reading, they go through a "process of constructing a system of hypotheses or frames which can create maximal relevancy among the various data of the text." As the reader progresses through the text, "the reading process is one of guessing frames (from 'sign-posts' and conventions) and selecting the one that works in the best way possible."⁴⁷ Since "[t]he reader 'expects' the literary text to be as consistent and as coherent as possible" states Perry, "[t]he tendency is to see this new material as smoothly blending with whatever precedes it."⁴⁸ Readers tend to work to maintain an initial frame of reference in the face of conflicting information, only adjusting or changing it when the text continuum forces them to do so. Thus, the beginnings of the texts are uniquely influential for determining the meaning of an entire text because readers take at the beginning of the work their initial frame which they will adjust in a diachronic chain of reactions as the text continuum progresses.

Though Perry does not theorize endings in the same way, I would suggest that endings likewise have power to shape how the reader reflects back over the whole of the literary text once they have reached the end (as evidenced in my reading of Isaiah's poem above). Endings have the final word and therefore strongly influence the ultimate meaning that the reader comes away with. Thus, in adding material at the boundaries of Isaiah's poem, the Expansion Scribe is able to intervene in the initial creation of readers' frames of reference and at the last moments of finalizing those frames as the potentials for meaning close with the poem's end.

In her book, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, Sara Milstein puts at the center of analysis the common occurrence of what she calls "revision through introduction," in biblical and

⁴⁵ See Harshav, *Explorations in Poetics*, 76–112.

⁴⁶ This, of course, is an argument borrowed from Harshav, though Perry does not cite him.

⁴⁷ Menakhem Perry, "Literary Dynamics: How the Order of a Text Creates Its Meanings [With an Analysis of Faulkner's 'A Rose for Emily']," *PT* 1, no. 1/2 (Autumn 1979): 44.

⁴⁸ Perry, "Literary Dynamics," 49–50.

Mesopotamian literature.⁴⁹ Whereas scholars have known that these texts did accrue additions and reframings over time, Milstein's work has been fruitful for thinking more theoretically about how these additions represent an early hermeneutic of ancient Near Eastern literature, one in which later participants engage readings upon readings as one whole. Milstein follows Perry as she emphasizes the power of the new introductions for the potentials of the text, stating,

First impressions carry weight. As such, attention to revision through introduction allows us to engage afresh with the tradition as a moving target, one that projects the illusion of a monolithic viewpoint but that instead manifested different sets of logic in different contexts. It enables us to perceive the text or the series of available versions as a *conversation* across time, with each voice embodying a singular perspective.⁵⁰

Indeed, we will see that the new introduction to Isaiah's poem carries enormous weight for the interpretation of the text as a new whole and for Isaiah's composition within it as the Expansion Scribe adds to the Isaianic tradition that persists over time. Milstein's metaphorization here of the tradition as a "moving target" and a "*conversation* across time" resonates with the path-dependence of cultural memory in the sense that memories are kept in motion through reuse—in our case through revision by introduction and conclusion. In the text's movement, agents are always navigating what is remembered, what is forgotten, and to what various other structures agents make it relate even as they maintain the presence of the text across time. By changing its literary embeddedness, however, they can make cultural texts mean newly in new presents. We shall keep these thoughts on frames, both literary and social, at the center of the proceeding observations, in order to trace how the Expansion Scribe builds the next stage of the mnemotechnic path of Isaiah's poem.

4.2. Deuteronomistic Shadow Texts

The Expansion Scribe has set Isaiah's poem into a meaningful relationship with deuteronomistic ideology. This convergence becomes apparent as we illuminate the shadow texts in the composite work he produces. As proposed by C. D. Blanton, a shadow text is a poem written previous to the poem under examination and which is necessary for understanding the poem even if it does not explicitly refer to the shadow text. The shadow text "assumes the Poundian burden of including history" even as it "recedes from view."⁵¹ Its presence is activated by way of a negative (in the photographic sense), and in this role it organizes the meaning of the poem for the reader. Chana Kronfeld adapts his concept for her analysis of the "radical allusion" in the poetry of Yehuda Amichai, suggesting that a shadow text is activated when "the crucial

⁴⁹ She deems these scribes doing this work "master scribes" for their "authority to compose a new text or to introduce substantial changes to it." Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, 2n4.

⁵⁰ Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe*, 3–4. Emphasis original.

⁵¹ C. D. Blanton, *Epic Negation: The Dialectical Poetics of Late Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 10.

component of the text that an allusion evokes is omitted, relying on the reader's familiarity with that which is not quoted to do the poem's political work."⁵² The deuteronomistic attitude about the *במות* (high places) is one such structuring shadow text produced by the interaction between the two diachronic layers of the text. Once the deuteronomistic shadow text is illuminated, we can trace the further bilateral exchange between these two layers which produces more deuteronomistic shadow texts, contextualizing Isaiah's poem within this school's presentation and meaning of a horizontal temporality, and, particularly, its attitude toward the *במות* and their relationship to idolatry.

Each of the diachronic layers of the poem has a primary theme, and the key shadow texts are produced by the interactions between these themes. The theme that is present in vv 6-9 is the basic situation of Yahweh's rejection of Israel for their engagement with idolatry, bookended in the second part of the Expansion Scribe's work by a description of the destruction of idol(ator)s in vv 18-21:

(6) But you have rejected your people,
the House of Jacob
for they were full of diviners from the east
and soothsayers like the Philistines
and they teemed with the children of foreigners.

(7) And his land was full of silver and gold
And there was no end to his storehouses
And his land was full of horses
And there was no end to his chariots

(8) And his land was full of idols
To the work of his hands they bowed
To that which his fingers have made

(9) And humankind was bowed down
And man was brought low
You shall not forgive them!

...

(11) Humankind's haughty eyes will be brought low
And the height of men will be bowed down

⁵² Chana Kronfeld, *The Full Severity of Compassion: The Poetry of Yehuda Amichai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 37.

And Yahweh alone will be exalted on that day

. . .

- (18) And the worthless gods will entirely vanish
- (19) And they will go into caves in the rocks
And into holes in the dust
Before Yahweh's terror
And before of the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread
- (20) On that day, humankind will fling his idols of silver and his idols of gold (that they had made for him to bow to) to the moles and to the bats.
- (21) To go into the rocky crevices
And into the crags in the cliffs
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread

The author presents the rejection in v 6, but the reason for it unfolds up through v 8. Beginning in v 7, the work states that the House of Jacob has an excess of silver and gold along with horses and chariots, all of which point to a picture of the amassing of wealth. Next, the outcome of amassing silver and gold is clarified in v 8, noting that the land is full of אֱלִילִים, or idols, after which v 8b reads, “to the work of his hands they bow / to that which his fingers have made.” The term “the work of [his] hands” as a reference to objects of illicit worship is at home in and belongs exclusively to the deuteronomistic tradition.⁵³ The act of using such objects occurs in many geographic locations in the deuteronomistic tradition, one of which is the בָּמוֹת that are characterized as sites of Canaanite worship of other gods.⁵⁴

The revision through introduction performed by the Expansion Scribe provides a new starting point for the reader of the composite text. Initiated by deuteronomistic language in v 8, the reader is now prompted to recognize other deuteronomistic themes, even if they are only produced in contact with this new introduction. Thus, we can more sharply outline the בָּמוֹת as a

⁵³ See Deut 4:28, 27:15, 31:29; 1 Kgs 16:7; 2 Kgs 19:18 (= Isa 37:19), 22:17; Jer 1:16, 10:3, 25:6-7, 32:30, 44:8. See also Hos 14:4 and Mic 5:12. Of these last two references, it can be said that Hosea finds its continuation in the Deuteronomistic literature and Mic 5:9-14 is likely a secondary insertion into the text. The similarities between the latter text and our Isaiah text are highlighted by Blenkinsopp who suggests that the editorial activity reflected in both likely originated from roughly the same period. Blenkinsopp, “Fragments of Exegesis,” 53–54. Additionally we should note that in many of these passages, worship of “the works of” human “hands” precedes destruction.

⁵⁴ 2 Kgs 22:17; Jer 1:16, 32:30.

shadow text by analyzing the expansion layer's interaction with the theme belonging to *Isaiah's* poem, Yahweh attacking high features. Here, Yahweh is depicted as confronting all threats to his height, and several of the images, when put into contact with this deuteronomistic idolatry language in v 8, work to evoke the *במות* (see my reconstruction of Isaiah's poem on pp 106-108). In v 14, Isaiah's poem declares that Yahweh's Day is imminently upon "every high mountain" and "every lifted hill," which echoes the common deuteronomistic fear that the Israelites, like the Canaanites, would worship or are worshipping "on the high mountains, and on the hills, and under every lush tree" (Deut 12:2).⁵⁵ Once the images of hills and mountains call these *במות* into the reader's mind, the frames continue in a bilateral exchange as the reader superimposes "every lush tree" onto the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan in v 13. Additionally, v 15, with its mention of the "high tower [מגדל גבה]" and "fortified [בצורה] wall," might evoke 2 Kgs 17—the fall of Samaria to Assyria—in which the deuteronomistic historian decries the fact that the Israelites have built *במות* in all of their cities, "from watchtower [מגדל נוצרים] to the city fortress [מבצר]" (v 9), setting up for themselves standing stones and Asherim "on every high [גבהה] hill and under every lush tree" (v 10), and worshipping idols (הגללים; v 12). This short passage echoes many of the key words for height and strength used throughout Isaiah's poem:

Table 5: *Isa 2:14b-15 and 2 Kgs 17:9b-10*

Isaiah 2:14b-15	2 Kings 17	Common Roots/words
(14b) And upon all the lifted hills (15) And upon every high tower And upon every fortified wall	(9b) They built for themselves <i>במות</i> in all their towns, from watch tower to the city fortress . (10) They set up for themselves pillars and sacred poles on every high hill and under every lush tree.	
(14b) ועל כל הגבעות הנשאות (15) ועל כל מגדל גבה ועל כל חומה בצורה	(9b) ויבנו להם במות בכל עריהם ממגדל נוצרים עד עיר מבצר (10) ויצבו להם מצבות ואשרים על כל גבעה גבהה ותחת כל עץ רענן	גבה בצר מגדל הגבעות/גבעה

⁵⁵ See the variations of the phrase throughout deuteronomic literature: 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 16:4, 17:10; Jer 2:20, 3:6, 17:2. Hos 4:13 is commonly seen as the origin for this idea. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomic School*, 367.

This evoked deuteronomistic text collection reflects an understanding that idolatry is the reason for the series of destructions visited upon Israel and Judah.⁵⁶ Throughout deuteronomistic literature, Israel's fall into idolatry and syncretism with Canaanite worship associated with the *במות* is framed as the major catalyst for Yahweh's punishment of both Israel and Judah.⁵⁷ The sins of Jeroboam and Manasseh are both framed as catalysts for the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles respectively. In contrast, Sennacherib's campaign during the time Hezekiah failed to capture Jerusalem because of Hezekiah's faithfulness to Yahweh and proper yahwistic worship. While any of these destructions could have inspired the Expansion Scribe to add to Isaiah's poem, the fact that the Expansion Scribe's additions are late relative to Isaiah and the fact that they reflect deuteronomistic language points to the Babylonian exile as the most likely referent for the destruction reflected in the now-composite work. Based on this recognition, I would like to tentatively suggest that the Expansion Scribe is working in the Babylonian exile,⁵⁸ though my argument at large does not depend on it.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ For recent work on the Deuteronomistic History see Stephen McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 2007); Thomas Römer, ed., *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000); Thomas Römer and Albert De Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research*, ed. Albert De Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 24–142; Hans Ausloos, *The Deuteronomist's History: The Role of the Deuteronomist in Historical-Critical Research into Genesis-Numbers* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Erik Eynikel, *The Reform of King Josiah and the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Antony F. Campbell and Mark A. O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History: Origins, Upgrades, Present Text* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000); Gary Knoppers, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings," *CBQ* 63, no. 2 (July 2001): 292–415; Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville, *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000); Gary N. Knoppers, *The Reign of Solomon and the Rise of Jeroboam*, vol. 1 of *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Gary N. Knoppers, *The Reign of Jeroboam, the Fall of Israel, and the Reign of Josiah*, vol. 2 of *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Konrad Schmid and Raymond Person, eds., *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Jeremy M. Hutton, *The Transjordanian Palimpsest: The Overwritten Texts of Personal Exile and Transformation in the Deuteronomistic History* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).

⁵⁷ 2 Kgs 17, 19, 21; see also Deut 4:27–31.

⁵⁸ This conjecture is likewise supported by the indications that the Expansion Scribe is doing some amount of harmonizing the first part of Isaiah (that is, chs 1–39) with Deutero-Isaiah (conventionally considered to be chs 40–55). For an overview of the scholarship on this question and on the question of the relationship between chapters 1–39 and 40–55 (as well as 56–66), see Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*, 1–18. Additionally, this idea is in line with the current understanding of the political nature of apocalyptic literature in which the apocalypticist or apocalyptic interpreter is commenting on their current political predicament via imaginings of the future. See Anthea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011). The work of the Expansion Scribe may better fit into the rubric of "proto-apocalyptic" literature. For more on the relationship between prophetic and apocalyptic literature, see Hendel, Hendel, "Isaiah"; Hindy Najman, "The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 36–48.

⁵⁹ More so, my argument depends on a temporal gap between the layers of the text. This gap must be at least approximately one hundred years between Isaiah in the eighth century and Josiah's reform in the seventh. I simply take it as most likely that the Expansion Scribe is reflecting on his own current situation rather than interjecting deuteronomistic language in order to reflect on an event more temporally proximate to Isaiah himself,

The deuteronomistic concept of the *במות* is recognizable as a shadow text and a metonymic link between the idolatry and the height belonging to the separate diachronic layers respectively.⁶⁰ With this observation, we can see that the Expansion Scribe is structuring the Day of Yahweh in terms of a deuteronomistic view of history which centers divine punishment in historical time toward Israel for transgressing the covenant, the major reason for which is Israel's continuous engagement with idolatry at the *במות*. The *במות*, in deuteronomistic thought, are sites of the religious syncretism, the use of which brings about Yahweh's wrath. As the two layers come into contact with one another via this metonymic link, the high places are the main threat to Yahweh's height as the site for everything "proud and lofty" (the main target in Isaiah's poem; v 12), and they are also the location for idolatry (v 8) and destruction (vv 18-21). In this interaction, the abstract nouns "proud and lofty" (v 12) and "haughtiness and height" (v 17) that are the target on Yahweh's Day in Isaiah's poem are concretized into idol worship on the *במות* by the Expansion Scribe's additions.⁶¹ As a scribal agent, the Expansion Scribe selects Isaiah's poem for recall and inserts his own literary intervention into the text in which he combines Isaiah's poem with a deuteronomistic attitude toward idolatry and the destruction it perpetually brings to Israel and Judah.

The Expansion Scribe, therefore, takes the Day of Yahweh within Isaiah's poem and extends its occurrence into a distant future relative to Isaiah as an eighth century prophet. Though the literary depiction of when that future will occur is ambiguous, the presence of the deuteronomistic shadow texts suggests that the Expansion Scribe is orienting it to the Babylonian exile, temporally distant from Isaiah the prophet, but proximate to himself.⁶² His probable current situation, therefore, fulfills the future that Isaiah predicted.

such as Sennacherib's campaign during the time of Hezekiah. In either case, however, we are met with a temporal gap between Isaiah and the Expansion Scribe.

⁶⁰ The idea that the *במות* function as a metonymic link between the domains reflected in each diachronic layer was suggested to me by Chana Kronfeld in a private communication. The theme of the *במות* is a metonymy for idolatry at the same time as it is a metonymy for literal and figurative height.

⁶¹ Once we recognize the shadow text, the bilateral exchange continues, producing other deuteronomistic shadow texts on the reconstructed level. Returning to the beginning, the contents in vv 6-8 cohere around DtrH's condemnation of King Solomon as he accumulates wealth, silver, gold, chariots, horses, and foreign wives for whom he builds *במות* as sites of the worship of their gods (1 Kgs 10:26-11:13). One of these gods is Molech (1 Kgs 11:7) who, according to Deut 18:9-14, is associated with the banned divinatory practices that the Expansion Scribe indicates are a primary reason that God has rejected the House of Jacob (v 6). The confluence in vv 6-7 of banned divination, concern about foreigners, gold and silver, and horses and chariots calls to mind Solomon's *במות*. We can note that deuteronomistic literature frames the split between the northern and southern kingdoms as a divine punishment for Solomon's idolatry and religious synchronism (1 Kgs 11:11).

⁶² The understanding that prophecy from the monarchic age has predicted relatively later events contemporaneous with the reader is reflective of the burgeoning (proto-)apocalyptic hermeneutic of prophetic texts. Within this hermeneutic lies the assumption that the prophets were written, as Barton suggests, "to foretell precisely the events that were about to take place *now* [relative to the reader]," and that these interpreters "expect the end of the present order to break in upon them soon." Barton, *Oracles of God*, 152. Later in the volume, he notes that it is, "not of any great importance whether one thinks that fulfilment has just happened, is in the process of happening, or is about to happen; what is important is that one should be sufficiently close to the crucial events in which prophecy comes true" (189).

4.3. Horizontal Time and the Metaphorical Structures

Once the deuteronomistic shadow texts are perceptible, the temporality and metaphorical structures of the composite poem are meaningful in relation to these deuteronomistic ideas. Isaiah's poem reflects a vertical temporality, recognizable via the metaphorical structures: when pride is metaphorized as height, the mythos of the Storm God attacking the disorder of a rival height in the world becomes simultaneous with him attacking the disorder of the figurative height involved in human pride. In the composite work of the Expansion Scribe, however, idol use is metaphorized in deuteronomistic terms within the frame of historical time, thus producing a horizontal temporality. The shift into horizontal time is all the more striking given that the transitions from past to present (9b) and from present to future (v 11) are both marked by reuses of Isaiah's conclusion to his own poem in v 17. This shift causes the vertical temporality and the connection to the mythic realm to recede from the foreground of the poem's mnemotechnic path. The poetic present in the composite work functions not as a moment of simultaneity with the mythic, but as a link between past and future. Vertical temporality, however, is not eradicated, but moves places as it makes contact with the continued perception of Isaianic authorship. The Expansion Scribe marks a simultaneity between his own present and that of the authorial figure of Isaiah. This simultaneity produces Isaiah as a seer whose function is to predict events in the distant future relative to himself. Isaiah as the continued authorial figure becomes a transhistorical seer who predicted the Expansion Scribe's likely exilic present from his position as an eighth century prophet.

The verbal structures in the new beginning of the composite work immediately signal that this is a linear progression of events. It begins with two perfect verbs (מלאו and נטשתה), followed by several waw consecutive verbs throughout vv 7-9:⁶³

6. But you have rejected (נטשתה) your people,
the House of Jacob
for they were full (מלאו) of diviners from the east
and soothsayers like the Philistines
and they teemed with the children of foreigners.
7. And his land was full (ותמלא) of silver and gold
And there was no end to his storehouses
And his land was full (ותמלא) of horses
And there was no end to his chariots

⁶³ Of course, waw consecutives in poetry are not as bound to the past tense or perfective aspect as they are when they appear in narrative. However, their presence, along with other perfect verbs and the shift in v 9b into the present does suggest that the whole situation in vv 6-9a is past relative to the command in 9b.

8. And his land was full (וּתְמָלָא) of idols
 To the work of his hands they bowed
 To that which his fingers have made
9. And humankind was bowed down (וַיִּשָּׁח)
 And man was brought low (וַיִּשְׁפַּל)
 You shall not forgive them!⁶⁴

The temporal trajectory of the poem begins in the past relative to the implied audience. However, v 9b contains the negated jussive, “You shall not forgive them,” which brings the timeframe into the same immediate present reflected in the volitives that began Isaiah’s poem (“Go into the rock / be hidden in the dust” in v 10). In the temporal trajectory of the poem, the action in the past described in vv 6-9a has accumulated and is in a causal relationship with the actions in the poetic present (vv 9b-10).⁶⁵ The tenses of the perfective verbs in vv 6-8 are persistent present, reflecting “a single situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present.”⁶⁶ The state of being rejected (v 6), being full of many things (vv 6-8a), bowing to idols (8b), being humiliated (8a), etc. are actions that were introduced in the past but have caused a situation that necessitates the call to action in the poetic present; the House of Jacob is still full, it is still rejected, it is still humiliated; they not to be forgiven (v 9b) and should therefore go into the rock (v 10).⁶⁷

The transition from the past (v 9a) to the present (v 9b) occurs with a reuse of the key to Isaiah’s metaphor (v 17):

⁶⁴ For the text-critical notes for these verses, see the previous chapter.

⁶⁵ Kaiser, arguing against commentators who view v 9b as an interrupting addition, states that 9b in actuality, “brings out the double perspective of the poem” in that “Criticism of the present is concealed within criticism of the past.” He continues, “For the invitation directed to Yahweh not to forgive them, and therefore those who act in the way described, presupposes that the reader responsible for the addition found the malpractices thus attacked in the circumstances of his own time.” Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 60–61.

⁶⁶ *IBHS*, §30.5.1c. Though Waltke and O’Connor nest this description under “fientive verbs” (*IBHS*, §30.5.1), they note in the corresponding stative paragraph that the “perfective form of stative verbs can signify most of the uses suggested for fientive verbs” (*IBHS*, §30.5.3). They continue in this section by framing the stative section as including “only . . . those points of grammar unique to statives” none of which conflict with the stative’s use as a persistent present perfective.

⁶⁷ Though he does not draw his conclusions from an analysis of the verbal structures, Kaiser senses that “this association [of foreigners and riches leading to idolatry] can hardly be intended to be no more than a comment on history; it will also have in mind the dangers and perils of the time in which it was made.” Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 60.

Table 6: Isa 2:9 and 2:17

V 9 (Expansion Scribe)	V 17 (Isaiah)
And humankind was bowed down And man was brought low You will/shall not forgive them!	And the haughtiness of humankind is bowed down And the height of men is brought low And Yahweh alone is exalted on that day
וישח אדם וישפל איש ואל תשא להם	ושח גבהות האדם ושפל רום אנשים ונשגב יהוה לבדו ביום ההוא

This reuse early in the poem relates the meaning of the similar repetitions appearing later (v 11 and Isaiah's v 17) to idolatry specifically, bringing that concern into the foreground for the reader of the composite work. Isaiah's metaphor therefore fades in favor of metaphors relating to idolatry. With the addition of a situation set in the past, the temporal horizon of the work is expanded into the past but woven into the poetic present where Isaiah's poem began. This addition allows for a smooth temporal transition from the new material (vv 6-9) back into the old (10, 12-17*) at the same time as it begins to shift the active metaphor in Isaiah's poem toward idolatry.

With this new introduction, the author resignifies the figurative lowness involved in the humiliation of the human that was reflected in Isaiah's poem and relates it to both the literal *and* figurative lowness brought on by idolatry. The first reference to lowness occurs in v 8b: "to the work of his hands they bow [יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ]; or "prostrate themselves" / to that which his fingers have made," leading straight into 9a: "humanity was bowed down / and man was brought low." In his reuse of v 17 here in v 9a, the Expansion Scribe removes the abstract nouns, resulting in quite a different statement (see *Table 6* above). It is not the haughtiness or figurative height that is brought low as is the case in Isaiah's v 17, but *the human itself*. This shift is a literalization of Isaiah's metaphor, reflecting back to 8b (to the work of his hands they bowed / to that which his fingers have made) and the physical posture of lowering oneself by bowing to idols. In bowing, the human is literally low. At the same time, however, the connotative meanings of the verbs in v 9a (to be debased) also capture the figurative sense of self-inflicted humiliation involved with idol worship; the literal and figurative meanings feed one into the other as bowing physically leads to humiliation as a figurative lowness.

In addition, as humans make idols, according to the logic of the metaphor, they are creating objects that are figuratively lower than themselves in the sense that they do not contain

the worth of a human, let alone the gods which they are intended to resemble.⁶⁸ In bowing to an idol, humans are bowing to their own creation, meaning that they are literally bowing low and bowing to that which is figuratively lower than them, creating a somersault effect that renders the call in the beginning of the old poem, “Go into the rock! Be buried in the dust!” (v 10) as a natural outworking of this sort of flipping over onto the self. The descent into the earth, at once figurative and literal in relation to idol use, now foreshadows the complete literalization of the destruction described in vv 18-21 in which the idols and their makers enter the ground for destruction. The command, “You shall not forgive them!” (9b) continues with this theme as the phrase literally translates, “You shall not *lift* them.” The human has been brought low by idolatry, according to vv 6-10.

However, the Expansion Scribe also assigns idol use a figurative and literal highness as well. In v 11 (a second use of Isaiah’s v 17 by the Expansion Scribe), those using idols do so with “haughty eyes” (“haughty” is the abstract nominal form from the root ה.ב.ג, meaning “high”):

Table 7: Isa 2:11 and 2:17 (difference bold and underlined)

V 11 (Expansion Scribe)	V 17 (Isaiah)
Humankind’s haughty <u>eyes</u> will be brought low And the height of men will be bowed down And Yahweh alone will be exalted on that day	And the haughtiness of humankind is bowed down And the height of men is brought low And Yahweh alone will be exalted on that day
עֵינֵי גְבוּהוֹת אָדָם שָׁפֵל וְשֹׁחַ רֹם אַנְשִׁים וְנִשְׁגַּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בְּיוֹם הַהוּא	וְשֹׁחַ גְבוּהוֹת הָאָדָם וְשָׁפֵל רֹם אַנְשִׁים וְנִשְׁגַּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בְּיוֹם הַהוּא

Again, the important verbal difference here is that it is not an abstract “pride” that is brought low (as it was in v 17), but it is the figuratively high (haughty) *eyes* of humankind that will be brought low. While “haughty eyes” (along with other similar constructions) is a fairly generic expression of the figurative height involved in pride,⁶⁹ “eyes” is still an addition to v 17 and

⁶⁸ This perspective that is emic to the text at hand should be contrasted with recent studies on iconic imagery in ancient near eastern cultures. For example, Brian Doak argues that engagement with a divine image, in a cultural historical sense, is a direct engagement with the deity. Doak states, “by approaching the cult image, the worshiper is approaching the deity directly. The statue does not stand between worshiper and deity to ‘represent’ the deity, but rather the deity comes between the worshiper and the statue, animating the experience in space simultaneous with the image.” Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 26.

⁶⁹ Isa 10:12; Ps. 18:28, 131:1; Prov. 6:17, 21:4. In contrast, according to Job 22:29, “downcast (שָׁח) eyes he will save.”

therefore should be considered within the poetics. In the previous verses, idolatry comes into contact with the low pole of the topographical metaphor as it relates to the literal lowness of bowing and to the figurative lowness of self-humiliation; there is in v 9a no reference to any type of human height. Yet here in v 11, idolatry also comes into contact with the height pole of the metaphor. As humans bow down to idols, their eyes remain elevated in both a literal and a figurative sense: to look at the idol, they need to gaze up since they are physically bowing, and at the same time the worship of idols is a reflection back onto worship of the self, rendering their self-perception as one characterized by pride, or a figurative height. We get a double perspective on idolatry that is all at once figuratively and literally both height and lowness, self-elevation in intent and self-denigration in impact, performed physically with a low body but with high eyes.

As v 11 assigns idol worshippers a figurative and literal height, it also places the fall of those heights into the future.⁷⁰ The scene in v 9 is a past perfective: “humanity was bowed down / And man was brought low.” This event in the past is the narrative context for the command forms in vv 9b-10 taking place in the poetic present. In v 9, the human itself is brought low—so low that it must enter the earth (v 10). However, in v 11 the Expansion Scribe states that while the human lowered *itself* in the past (v 9a), the resultant lowering of the accompanying pride will occur on the Day of Yahweh when he will destroy all threats to his height. Those humans are physically low in bowing to idols, but the figurative height involved in doing so will be confronted in the future relative to the poetic present.

The relative lack of ambiguity about the futurity of v 11 is possible because there is an unambiguous past and present already set up before the reader reaches v 11. The content of v 11 works to construct a temporality that moves immediately from the present of the imperatives into a future, shifting what was the present temporality of Isaiah’s poem in vv 12-16* into the future. The images in these verses—the bulk of Isaiah’s older poem—are still doubly significant as both literal and metaphoric, but the meaning of both have changed. They are both the literal place in which idol worship occurs (the *במות*) as well as vehicles for the figurative height (pride) involved in idol worship. The abstract pride in Isaiah’s poem with no concrete referent (*גבהות* and *ריום*) has now been made explicit by the Expansion Scribe: pride is embodied, both literally and figuratively, in idol worship. Following Perry and Milstein, we can see the power that the new introduction has in terms of the meaning of the rest of the work. The new beginning in vv 6-9 and the accompanying intervention in v 11 work to shift the temporality of the poem from the vertical to the horizontal, at the same time as they shift and complicate the relationships between the figurative and the literal within the metaphorical landscape of the poem.

The future tense of the imperfective verbs in v 11 is also established via the resumptive repetition now present in v 17. In the composite work, this originally-Isaianic verse echoes the content of v 11 and then the poem immediately moves into a completely unambiguous future

⁷⁰ I am reading תשפלנה rather than שפל. See note page 80n34 of this dissertation.

beginning in v 18, suggesting that vv 11-21 are one and the same scene: on Yahweh's Day, he will destroy the figurative and literal heights—both natural and human-produced—involved in idol worship as well as the idol(ator)s. The introduction of an unambiguous future tense further establishes a horizontal temporality that runs throughout the composite work and which is further developed in the new ending to the work appended by the Expansion Scribe in vv 18-21:

18. And the worthless gods will entirely vanish
19. And they will go into caves in the rocks
And into holes in the dust
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread
20. On that day, humankind will fling his idols of silver and his idols of gold (that they had made for him to bow to) to the moles and to the bats
21. To go into the rocky crevices
And into the crags in the cliffs
Before Yahweh's terror
And before the splendor of his majesty
When he rises to strike the earth with dread⁷¹

The Expansion Scribe extends the temporal horizon into a more distant future than was possible in Isaiah's poem.⁷² On the Day of Yahweh, the idols will entirely be destroyed (v 18), they and their makers will enter the earth by going into caves and the like (vv 19, 21), and the human will cast the idols down (v 20). The detailing of the future in fientive third person verbs, and contrasted with the series of stative verbs in v 17, emphasizes a concrete moment in a historical future.

Further, vv 19 and 21 echo the content of the beginning of Isaiah's poem (v 10) as they describe an entry into the earth in order to escape Yahweh's terrifying presence (see *Table 4: Comparison between Isa 2:10, 19, and 21* in previous chapter). In reusing the content, these verses extend the potential for a future expressed in the 2ms imperative in v 10. In v 19, the author shifts the verb from the root *b.w. '.* from an imperative (in v 10) to an imperfective 3mp. Likewise, in v 21, the author uses an infinitive from the same root to continue the future tense

⁷¹ See the "Translation and Text Criticism" section for a text-critical treatment of these verses.

⁷² On this topic, Blenkinsopp comments that v 20, appearing as it does in prose, "serv[es] as a kind of peshet or commentary on an earlier passage." Blenkinsopp points out that in Isaiah, insertions that begin with בים ההוא (like in v 20) are often eschatologically oriented and serve to "exten[d] the horizon of the text commented on into the future." Blenkinsopp, "Fragments of Exegesis," 60.

introduced in v 20 with the imperfect verb יִשְׁלִיךְ (humankind “will fling”). These tenses used by the Expansion Scribe extend the temporal horizon of Isaiah’s use of the same verb from v 10 so that there is more temporal distance between the implied first person (i.e. Isaiah) and the occurrence of the Day of Yahweh: it will happen to “them” not “you” as in v 10, and the verbs at the end reflect descriptions of future acts rather than present calls to action. This extension in vv 18-21 bookends Isaiah’s poem and brings its significance into a future that occurs as a result of action in the past.⁷³

In his act of cultural memory, the Expansion Scribe selects Isaiah’s poem and makes it produce meaning in contact with a deuteronomistic attitude toward the role of idolatry within Israel and Judah’s history. In doing so, the Expansion Scribe deselects the vertical temporality constructed by Isaiah, using the content of Isaiah’s poem explicitly to insert a past and a future to the present reflected in Isaiah’s poem. Through his additions, the Expansion Scribe nests Isaiah’s poem within an altered temporal and metaphorical landscape in which action associated with idolatry in the past results in a future of total destruction, a distant future relative to as the inferred author—Isaiah the eighth century prophet—but proximate to the present of the scribal agent in the period of the Babylonian exile. Thus, with the additions, the exilic reader of the composite poem encounters Isaiah the eighth century prophet who has predicted his present in something like the sixth or fifth century. I will now turn to examine what this act of cultural memory produces in terms of the inferred authorial figure of Isaiah. This interplay of remembering and forgetting in this moment of the mnemotechnic path of Isaiah’s poem produces the figure of Isaiah the seer through whom the Expansion Scribe’s audience (as well as future readers) can experience simultaneity with Isaiah the prophet.

5. Isaiah the Seer

The Expansion Scribe has created a composite text in which the contextual time of the inferred author, Isaiah the eighth century prophet, and his own present have converged. In the composite work, Isaiah the eighth century prophet has predicted what is true of the Expansion Scribe’s present. By extending the significance and fulfillment of Isaiah’s poem into a relatively distant future from Isaiah, the Expansion Scribe creates a different facet to the inferred author: the prophet as seer. The cultural symbol of the seer in this instance functions as a hermeneutic lens through which the next reader can read the now-composite work. Likewise, the cultural symbol of the seer, along with the structure of the rest of the chapter (vv 1, 2-4[5], 22) can prompt future recursivity past the immediate future of the Expansion Scribe.

⁷³ Another way of saying that the Expansion Scribe’s composite work reflects a horizontal temporality is to say that Isaiah’s poem has been ‘narrativized,’ which is a central category within questions relating to cultural memory. In the words of Ehud Ben Zvi, “shared memories tend to be structured as (implicit or explicit) narratives. As such they have plot, beginnings and ends.” Ben Zvi, “Introduction,” 13. A further argument could be made that along with bringing it into contact with other existing ideologies in the corpus of literature produced by monarchic Israel and Judah, the Expansion Scribe makes Isaiah’s poem even more memorable by incorporating it into a narrative context.

5.1. Recursivity as Patterns of Promise and Fulfillment

To form the composite work, the expansion has shifted the vertical temporality and simultaneity reflected in Isaiah's poem and has introduced a temporal distance between Isaiah the prophet and the future moment of fulfillment. For the reader of this composite work, Isaiah uttered his implied prophecy (vv 6-21) in the eighth century, but its fulfillment does not come true until two to three hundred years later. By placing the vertical temporality of Isaiah's poem into a horizontal temporal context, the Expansion Scribe introduces a concept of promise and fulfillment, a model of prophetic discourse that relies on a temporal distance between the moment of its utterance and the time of its reader, which is then collapsed in its fulfillment so that prophetic word and fulfillment are simultaneous. Auerbach makes a similar claim about promise and fulfillment: "If an occurrence like the sacrifice of Isaac is interpreted as prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ, so that in the former the latter is as it were announced and promised and the latter 'fulfills' . . . the former, then a connection is established between the two events which are linked neither temporally or causally."⁷⁴ The moment of fulfillment is now in the future relative to Isaiah, but in close proximity to an ostensibly exilic reader. In temporally detaching the figure of Isaiah from the fulfillment of his utterance, the composite work indicates that Isaiah has predicted the reader's present. While the introduction of horizontal temporality puts a gap of at least several hundred years in between the utterance of Isaiah's prophecy and its fulfillment, the creation of this gap allows us to see its immediate collapse which produces Isaiah as a figure able to predict the distant future. In order for the prophecy to have such relevance for the Expansion Scribe's presence, a new complex of vertical temporality must be created, one in which the reader experiences a simultaneity with the figure of Isaiah. As the inferred author, Isaiah is now speaking directly to that temporally distant audience. Thus, the figure of Isaiah has become a seer.

This choice of the Expansion Scribe to bring the relevance of Isaiah's utterance into direct contact with the present changes the significance of Isaiah's poem for the reader. Isaiah's poem is now embedded in a horizontal temporality in line with a deuteronomistic view of history. The reader, therefore, has forgotten the immediate vertical temporality of Isaiah's poem. However, vertical temporality is not eradicated, but its location moves within the mnemotechnic path of Isaiah's poem. The result is a more complex temporality in which Isaiah, as the inferred author, is simultaneous with a present distant from his own. By moving the location of vertical temporality, a temporal gap between Isaiah's utterance and the exilic fulfillment is able to explicitly transfer the significance of the figure of Isaiah into a distant future by transforming his figure into that of a seer. This transfer and the formation of Isaiah as a seer becomes a driving force of the recursivity of his text for future readers. As long as the figure of Isaiah is constructed and remembered as a seer, the cultural text associated with him can be infinitely relevant for readers in new presents. Thus, Isaiah the seer is a cultural symbol that represents the

⁷⁴ Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 64.

convergence of the vertical temporality of his prophecy and a horizontal temporality driven by cause and effect. This synthetic cultural symbol can then function as a hermeneutic for readers who read the Isaiah text and make it newly relevant in their own present.

Whereas Anderson's focus on vertical temporality is synchronic—he looks at how vertical temporality appears in various moments—we can add a diachronic element when we bring this together with Benjamin's concept of messianic time. Messianic time helps us understand the iterative nature of promise and fulfillment, and thus we can think about how readers over time can mark a prophecy as fulfilled despite the fact that readers in the past have done the same. Benjamin frames messianic time as the activation of the past for new use within each generation—this is not dissimilar from an act of cultural memory. In the words of Benjamin, the present “comprises the entire history of mankind in an enormous abridgment,”⁷⁵ and each generation, therefore, has “been endowed with a *weak* Messianic power”⁷⁶ to challenge the forces that consolidate the meaning of the past into “a tool of the ruling classes.”⁷⁷ For Benjamin, the past is not closed off or defined with any sort of finality, lest those who have organized the past for their benefit retain control of it. In contrast, a view of time defined by progress—one that is linear and filled only with patterns of cause and effect—necessarily papers over the subjugation of those who would challenge existing power structures. In actuality, the past remains open for possibility as it “flashes up”⁷⁸ in new presents. This view is summed up in his idea of the dialectical image:

It's not that what is past casts its light on what is present, or what is present its light on what is past; rather, image is that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill. For while the relation of the present to the past is a purely temporal, continuous one, the relationship of what-has-been to the now is dialectical: is not progression but image, suddenly emergent.⁷⁹

Each present is an opportunity for the recursive use of cultural materials emerging from the past—a use that can rescue the past from oppressive forces in the present.

From this perspective, the transformation of the prophet into a seer is one such “flash” in which the Expansion Scribe does not consider Isaiah closed as a result of the subjugation of the Judahite elite by the Babylonian political powers. Rather, the Expansion Scribe reorganizes the past iteration of Isaiah's poem so that the figure of Isaiah and the Expansion Scribe's received

⁷⁵ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 263.

⁷⁶ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 254. Emphasis original.

⁷⁷ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 255.

⁷⁸ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 255.

⁷⁹ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 462.

cultural text remain relevant in the wake of humiliation and political defeat. The Expansion Scribe is therefore able to continue the mnemotechnic paths of his cultural materials by radically transforming them, by selecting and combining them with other cultural texts, the result of which is the formation of a more robust system of meaning impervious to the vicissitudes of political history. Isaiah the seer is the result of this change and convergence, and as a cultural symbol, the seer continues to propel the mnemotechnic path of the figure of Isaiah as well as the cultural texts attached to him. If the cultural symbol of the seer remains attached to the figure of Isaiah, then future readers can continue to make the text relevant for themselves under the assumption that Isaiah has predicted events to which they are temporally proximate

5.2. Recursivity: Hope and Atemporality

The recursivity of Isaiah's poem now embedded in vv 6-21 is aided by its proximity to vv 1, 2-4(5), and 22.⁸⁰ Addressing the first verse first, v 1 nests the rest of Isa 2 within the context of Isaianic authorship. This addition explicitly preserves the assumed authorship of Isaiah, thus cementing a temporal gap between the inferred author and the reader. The addition of vv 2-4(5)—a vision of the utopian future—extends Isaiah's ability to see so that he has predictions *past* the relative present of the reader. This extension means that Isaiah can see not just into any reader's present, but likewise into their more distant future. These verses present a picture of the world in the “end of days,”⁸¹ a distant future characterized by cosmic reversals and a utopian image of human relations. This short section tells of a restructured world in which the small hill housing Yahweh's temple will be lifted higher than all the other mountains (v 2), the nations throughout the world will “stream” to Jerusalem to learn from Yahweh (v 3), and war will end as the tools of human slaughter are transformed into tools for agricultural production. With the use of “stream” from the root *נ.ה.ר* (v 2), there is metaphorization of the movement of people in which the flow of water acts as a vehicle. This pun offers a figurative reversal of the downhill course of water, characterizing the movement of populations as a watery flow uphill to the

⁸⁰ See the redaction-critical analysis of this text in the previous chapter in which I argue that v 22 is the latest addition and vv 2-4(5) is a separate addition from the Expansion Scribe's own composition. To return to that argument, I remain agnostic about the relative dating between these two major scribal interventions that append material to Isaiah's poem.

⁸¹ Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Signification of *אחרית הימים* and *אחרית* in the Hebrew Bible,” in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 795–810. Talmon does a study on this phrase, arguing convincingly that in most cases it does not refer to an eschatological time or have what he calls a ‘meta-historical thrust’ (805), though he is open to the latter being the case in specific instances. He does deal quite shallowly with this specific instance of the phrase, but problematically links it to the Immanuel prophecy (Isa 7:14) and to the child named The Prince of Peace (Isa 9:6), stating that the “linkage of the picture of the world at peace with motifs of birth and posterity is meant to indicate that the vision will not materialize in the present generation, but rather . . . in the days to come, the days of the next or future generation” (810). But he gives no argument as to why these texts should inform each other in the first place. While I think his general argument stands that it is most often a reference to a future generation, the cosmic, political, and human nature reversals present in this text indicate perhaps not that this vision takes place in historical time, but takes place in a mythic time. Conversely, Vriezen notes this text (and its counterpart in Micah) as one of a handful of instances in which the phrase *does* have an eschatological meaning. T. C. Vriezen, “Prophecy and Eschatology,” in *Congress Volume Copenhagen 1953* (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 202, 227.

highest heights on which Yahweh is situated. This moment of cosmic, political, and human reversal into a new world peace *always* resides in the future relative to the reader.

As a vision of such a temporally distant moment, this section promises a future that reverses the turmoil reflected in vv 6-21, a future that continuously propels the significance and usability of vv 6-21 forward in time. The fact that, for any reader, the trauma they experience in their own present has never given way to the ultimate cosmic restructuring means that the destruction described in vv 6-21 is infinitely reusable to condemn past action, mark its significance for a present predicament, and to predict (or explain experienced) doom as a result of it—this utopian future is promised after all of it. The presentation of a utopian world further extends Isaiah’s ability to see and therefore aids in the construction of Isaiah as a seer. In locating themselves in the timeline laid out in Isa 2 somewhere between fulfillment of the turmoil in vv 6-21 and the fulfillment of the utopia in vv 2-4(5), the reader can maintain a hope for the future which is yet to come even as they face difficulties in the present. The turmoil in vv 6-21 is infinitely recursive for new reading communities.⁸²

We can see that such an image of the promised utopian future is a powerful one for communities attempting to make meaning in the aftermath of traumatic destruction. For example, in the garden outside the UN, there stands a sculpture of a man swinging a hammer high above his head with one hand and holding a bent sword firm in his other. The title of the sculpture, *Let Us Beat Swords into Plowshares* (Figure 1), activates the utopian future promised in Isa 2:2-4(5) as “the nations stream to” (Isa 2:2) New York to call this utopia into being through diplomacy. The location of the sculpture implies that the United Nations is the vehicle through which Isaiah’s vision will come to fruition, given that its formation and function lie temporally between destruction of WWII and the promise of hope for the future. Even in a supposedly secular context, the vision of Isaiah the Seer continues to work powerfully in new presents.

⁸² Readers that map Isa 2 in this way are benefited by the addition of a cryptic reading strategy in which the words of the prophets are cryptic references to the current events in the reader’s day. By reading the text cryptically, historical references to things like Lebanon, Philistines, idols, and the like are not taken literally but stand for something in the reader’s present. This hermeneutic is well-represented in the Qumran *pesharim*, for example, and continues to some extent through Evangelical dispensational premillennialism. See the *peshar* on Hab 2:2 as a notable example which states that “God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen to . . . the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era.” The author interprets the “one who reads it” in Hab 2:2 as, “the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets.” Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 17. For an analysis of the latter community’s reading practices see Amy Johnson Frykholm, “Apocalypticism in Contemporary Christianity,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 441–56.

Figure 1: Let Us Beat Swords into Plowshares⁸³



The addition of v 22 at the end of the chapter is noticeably unconnected from the rest of the chapter's content, though its inclusion here provides another view of the potential recursivity of this text into new presents: "Stop regarding humankind who is but breath / for why should he be considered?" In its resemblance to wisdom literature, this verse reflects an infinite temporality as its author muses about the precarious nature of human existence. Humans are *always* going to experience disaster and are perpetually stuck in a cycle of rising and fading, like breath (or perhaps like the grass and flowers of the field; Isa 40:6). The addition takes the reader out of the horizontal temporal trajectory outlined in the rest of the poem and places them within the omnitemporal trope of the ultimate insignificance of humanity. As the chapter closes with the mundane cyclicity of human existence, the reader is left with the sense that this type of destruction as a consequence of human failing is a core part of the human experience. Destruction and suffering repeat *ad infinitum*, and the utopian future situated at the end of days that is never actually fulfilled can keep driving the use of Isa 2 into new futures.

Placed as it is at the beginning of the Isaiah scroll at large,⁸⁴ this chapter reflects an interplay between destruction and hope, between the past and the future, that prompts the reader of the entire scroll to take this dynamic as their beginning frame of reference. Indeed, we can see these themes interacting between the doom predicted throughout much of first Isaiah (1-39) and the radical hope for restoration that lies at the center of deuterio-Isaiah (40-55), broadly

⁸³ Vuchetich Evgeniy, *Let Us Beat Swords Into Ploughshares*, ca 1958, Sculpture, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/ungifts/content/let-us-beat-swords-ploughshares>.

⁸⁴ Some have argued that this was the older beginning to a major collection of Isaianic oracles before Isa 1 was prefixed to it.

speaking.⁸⁵ By placing Isa 2 at the beginning of the Isaiah scroll, the reader can recall throughout the promises of punishment, exile, and destruction, that there is a utopian transformation in the future. To return to Perry and Milstein, the beginnings of literary works are uniquely influential for the meaning of the whole. By placing such a reversal of human (and specifically Jerusalem's) misery at the beginning of the scroll, the reader of the whole can confront the destruction promised throughout with a new understanding that it will give way to a renewed and glorious future.

5.3. Forgetting Isaiah?

In these transformations of the earlier works embedded in Isaiah, there are elements of Isaiah that are forgotten along this mnemotechnic path. The process of forgetting aspects of Isaiah and of eighth century prophecy through the ongoing recursivity of his texts begins with the writing down of his words (whether done by Isaiah himself or his followers). This act dislodges the prophetic utterance from its expression by the prophet in time. In writing about the relationship between prophecy and apocalypticism, Hendel suggests that the textualization of oracles actually allows prophetic utterances to be lifted from their ostensibly performative context, and ultimately added to, edited, redacted, etc.⁸⁶ In other words, once utterances are textualized, they can be submitted to any and all scribal practices—they become cultural texts within the scribal institution. That gap that is introduced between the prophet and their words provides a mnemotechnic space for the continual shaping and reshaping of their own image via the recursive use of their words and the uncontrolled convergence of those words with other cultural texts and materials. Isaiah the prophet's utterances were scribalized, and thus the continued memory of the figure of Isaiah is mediated by his prophetic text and its accumulated use over time.

The inferred author of Isaiah 2 is the figure of Isaiah, a prophet who lived in eighth century BCE Judah. With the production of Isaiah the seer, however, the mnemotechnic path of the prophet is set into a meaningful relationship with a sense of the broader span of history and divine action therein. This convergence stretches the relevance of eighth century Isaiah's words into a future distant from himself and distant from the context of their utterance. While the contextual, historical role of the prophet is backgrounded for readers via the additions to Isa 2, readers still encounter and therefore remember Isaiah as an eighth century prophet. Isaiah's groundedness in the eighth century is indicated throughout the Isaiah scroll, but perhaps most relevant is the latest line of attribution (Is 1:1) that explicitly foregrounds his historical context at

⁸⁵ This is not to suggest that these themes are limited to their relative sections.

⁸⁶ Hendel, "Isaiah," 261–66. He develops and combines ideas from both Barton and Clements. See Barton, *Oracles of God*; Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*.

the very beginning of the scroll.⁸⁷ In this sense, Isaiah the eighth century prophet remains in the forefront of the mnemotechnic path of the figure of Isaiah. However, as his figuration has shifted into a seer, his contextualization as a prophet in the past functions *to be ancient* in service of the continued mnemotechnic path of the seer. Though his words are dislodged from their relevance in the eighth century, he must still be remembered as having existed in the eighth century in order for his status as a seer to remain active. In fact, the further that the words of the prophet move through time—the further their mnemotechnic path extends—the more impressive a seer Isaiah becomes. His status as a seer therefore continues to power the recursivity of his prophecies, guaranteeing that readers remember Isaiah’s words by forgetting their contextual meaning. In this process of convergence, Isaiah the eighth century prophet is both remembered and forgotten, with the interplay between the two continuing to drive his text forward.

⁸⁷ It should be noted that the historical context of Isaiah (in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah) is an updating of the older attribution in Isa 2:1. I say this to emphasize that the relatively late addition of 1:1 represents an explicit choice to emphasize Isaiah’s historical context in the eighth century.

4: TEXT-CRITICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND COMPOSITION HISTORY OF 1 SAMUEL 13-15

1. Translation and Text Criticism

I begin this chapter with my own critical edition of the text in translation, in which I have dealt with most of the textual problems, and in particular detail the most relevant and/or glaring. The reader should refer to this edition of the text when I later reference chapters and verses. While I deal with most of the text-critical issues here, I have left discussions of source- and redaction-criticism to the body of the chapter. However, I have incorporated these findings into the translation through different type-face. The oldest detectable layer of the text is in plain font, the secondary additions are in *italics*, and the deuteronomistic regnal formula is underlined.

1.1. Chapter 13:

(1) Saul was -- years old when he reigned, and for two years he reigned over Israel.¹ (2) And Saul chose for himself three thousand from among Israel. And two thousand were with Saul in Michmash and in the mountains of Beth El, and a thousand were with Jonathan in Givat Benjamin. But he sent the rest of the people each to his own tent.

(3a) And Jonathan struck the Philistine prefect who was in Geva.² And the Philistines heard, (3b) saying, “The slaves are rebelling.” Now, Saul blew the shofar throughout the land,³

¹ In this case, the regnal formula has a text critical issue in that the MT has no number for the age of Saul at the beginning of his reign, and the LXX is missing the verse altogether. However, the issue need not detain the discussion; it is sufficient to point out the problem. See Bruce C. Birch, “The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of 1 Sam. 7-15” (Yale University, 1970), 124; Campbell and O’Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History*, 249; Walter Dietrich, “The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel,” in *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists?: Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 46; Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi, eds., *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), 76; P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation* (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1980), 223; Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003), 245.

² There are textual issues with the recurrence of Geva and Gibeah of Benjamin throughout chs 13-14. Rather than parse through each variant, I suggest that the textual variants arose as a result of the oscillating use of the two names throughout the chapters. I discuss this below (p 12).

³ In 13:3, some of the text has been moved. As it stands, there are two problems. First, Saul’s use of “Hebrews” is unusual since this collocation is most often used in the mouth of foreigners speaking about the

(4a) and all Israel heard, saying, “Saul has struck the Philistine prefect and also Israel has become odious to the Philistines.” (4b α) And all the people were summoned after Saul (4b β) *to Gilgal*. (5) But the Philistines gathered to fight against Israel: 3,000 chariots, 6,000 horsemen, and people as numerous as the sand on the seashore. And they went up and they camped at Michmash, east of Beth Aven.

(6) Now, the men of Israel saw that they were in distress, for the people were hard pressed. And the people hid themselves in caves, briars, crags, underground chambers, and pits. (7) *And they crossed the fords of the Jordan into the land of Gad and Gilead.*⁴ *But Saul was still in Gilgal and all of the people had trembled after him.*

(8) *And he tarried seven days for the appointed meeting time of which Samuel had spoken,*⁵ *but Samuel did not come to Gilgal. And the people were scattering away from him.* (9) *And Saul said, “Bring me the whole burnt offering and the peace offerings.” And he offered the whole burnt offering.* (10) *And just as he finished offering the whole burnt offering, here was Samuel coming! And Saul went out to meet him and to bless him.*

(11) *And Samuel said, “What have you done?” And Saul said, “Indeed I saw that the people were scattering away from me, but you had not come for the appointed meeting time, and the Philistines were assembling at Michmash.* (12) *And I said, ‘Now the Philistines will come*

Israelites. See McCarter, *I Samuel*, 240. In this case, Saul blowing the shofar and saying, “May the Hebrews hear,” is odd. Secondly, where the MT reads *ישמעו העבדים*, the LXX reflects a Hebrew text reading *יפגעו העבדים*. Concerning the second word (slaves or Hebrews), the *ד/ר* confusion in the second word is a typical mistake. It is difficult to detect which might be the earlier reading, particularly because there is some slippage between *slaves* and *Hebrews* in this passage (see 14:21 between LXX and MT). However, since I am advocating that the verb in the LXX is the preferable reading (*יפגעו*), I tentatively suggest that we should likewise adopt the subject of the verb as it is represented in the LXX.

I also suggest that we follow Driver and move “And Saul blew the shofar throughout the whole land” to the end of v 3. Then we have the statement in the mouth of the Philistines: “The slaves/Hebrews are revolting” (following the LXX in reading *יפגעו* instead of *ישמעו*. Some switching has occurred between the *ש* and *ע*, with the resulting change in the MT from the less common root *פגע* to the more common *שמע*). This is preferable because it is odd to have Saul cry out to his people as “Hebrews” or as “slaves.” Thus, beginning at 3b, the preferable reading is: *לאמר יפגעו העבדים ושואל תקע בשופר בכל הארץ*. The phrase “And Saul blew the shofar” does not belong in the middle of the Philistine’s response to hearing about the destroyed garrison.

Moving the phrase to the end of v 3 solves the narrative problem and creates a parallel between what the Philistines hear and what the Israelites hear, with both of their responses represented. Additionally, this correction of the text sets Saul’s action as a background to the main action of the Philistines.

⁴ 13:7 has a word misdivision, and the LXX preserves the non-corrupt reading: *ויעברו מעברות הירדן*. At some point, a scribe in the proto-MT tradition added the *א* for the definite direct object marker. This correction again, as in v 3, solves the problem of the Israelites being called *Hebrews* in an unlikely context (the third person narration).

I remain tentative about the secondary nature of 7a. See discussion below.

⁵ Reading LXX *ὡς εἶπεν Σαμουηλ*. The Hebrew as it stands in the MT is not likely the preferred reading because in very few places is the relative pronoun *אשר* followed by a noun with no accompanying verb (exceptions are 2 Sam 2:32; 1 Kgs 11:25; 2 Kgs 2:3, 10:29; Obad 20. All of these instances, however, have one or more textual problems). Additionally, the loss of *אמר* is explainable by haplography. The restored Hebrew would read: *אשר אמר שמואל*. The graphic similarities between *אשר* and *אמר* have caused the latter to be lost by haplography.

down to me at Gilgal and I have not entreated the favor of Yahweh.’ And I compelled myself, and I burned the whole burnt offering.”

(13) And Samuel said to Saul, “You have done foolishly. You have not kept the commandment of Yahweh your God who commanded you. And now, Yahweh had established your kingdom over Israel as eternal, (14) but now your kingdom will not stand. Yahweh has sought for himself a man after his own heart. And Yahweh commanded him to be the leader over his people. For you did not keep what Yahweh commanded you.”

(15aa) And Samuel rose and he went from Gilgal on his way.

(15ab) But the rest of the people went up after Saul to meet the army. And they came in from Gilgal to Givat Benjamin.⁶ (15b) And Saul mustered the people who were with him, and they were about 600 men. (16) Now, Saul and his son Jonathan and the people with them were staying in Givat Benjamin while the Philistines had camped at Michmash. (17) And the raiding party went out in three parts from the camp of the Philistines. One turned to the road to Ophrah, to the land of Shual. (18) Another turned to the road to Beth Horon. And another turned to the road to the border that overlooks the valley of Zeboim, toward the wilderness.

(19) Now, there was no smith to be found in all the land of Israel, for the Philistines had said to themselves, “The Hebrews might make swords or spears!” (20) And all Israel went down to the Philistines to repair any of their plowshares, mattocks, axes, or sickles. (21) The price was a paim for plowshares and mattocks and a third of a shekel for picks and axes or setting an ox-goad. (22) So at the time of the battle, neither sword nor spear was found in the hand of any of the people who were with Saul and Jonathan. They were found only for Saul and for Jonathan, his son.⁷

⁶ In 13:15, the MT has suffered a haplography due to homoioteleuton. The longer reading, however, is preserved in LXX, and it reflects the following underlying Hebrew:

ויקם שמואל וילך מן הגלגל לדרכו ויתר העם עלה אחרי שאול לקראת עם המלחמה ויבאו מן הגלגל גבעת בנימין

The MT is lacking the material between the two instances of מן הגלגל (and MT contains only one representation of the phrase). This correction toward the LXX offers a solution to the geographic problems that are on the surface of the MT (see following discussion).

Against McCarter, Stoebe calls this plus in the LXX a “schwerfällige Erweiterung” (clumsy addition), declaring that the author of the expansion is trying to resolve the narrative difficulties that are actually a result of a composite textual tradition. Hans-Joachim Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973), 245. While I do appreciate the resistance to declaring harmonizing pluses as original, I think the combination of the presence of a homoioteleuton along with major geographical confusion in the text warrants acceptance of the plus as original. This idea is supported by reading the text on either side of the insertion as a continuous narrative, we can see that the LXX reading nicely follows the narrative breaking off in 7a: some people with Saul fled in fear (7a), but the rest went with Saul to meet Jonathan (15aβ*-16). Additionally, in the text as it stands, Samuel goes from Gilgal to Givat Benjamin, a place he is not otherwise associated with (his home is in Ramah), whereas Saul’s home is in Gibeah (of Benjamin).

⁷ I have taken my translation for the technical terms translation in vv 19-22 from McCarter, *I Samuel*, 232.

(23) And the garrison of the Philistines advanced to the pass at Michmash.

1.2. Chapter 14

(1) And one day Jonathan son of Saul said to his armor bearer, “Come so that we may cross over to the garrison of the Philistines on the other side.” But he did not tell his father. (2) Meanwhile Saul was sitting at the outskirts of Givah under the pomegranate tree that is in Migron. And the people with him were about six hundred. (3) Now Achiyah son of Achituv, brother of Ichabod, son of Pinchas, son of Eli priest of Yahweh at Shiloh was carrying the Ephod. Meanwhile, the people did not know that Jonathan had gone.

(4) Now between the passes that Jonathan sought to cross in order to get to the garrison of the Philistines, there was one sharp crag on one side and another sharp crag on the other side. The name of the one was Bozez, and the name of the other was Seneh. (5) The one was to the north⁸ facing Michmash, and the other was to the south facing Givah.

(6) And Jonathan said to his armor bearer, “Come so that we may cross over to the garrison of these uncircumcised men. Perhaps Yahweh will give us victory,⁹ for Yahweh has no restraint for salvation whether with many or with few.” (7) And his armor bearer said to him, “Do whatever your heart inclines to.¹⁰ Indeed I am with you according to your heart.” (8) And Jonathan said, “Look, we will cross over to the men and we will reveal ourselves to them. (9) If they say to us, ‘Be still until we reach you,’ then we will stand in our place and we will not go up to them. (10) But if they say, ‘Come up to us,’ then we will go up, for Yahweh has given them into our hand. This will be our sign.”

(11) And the two of them revealed themselves to the garrison of the Philistines. And the Philistines said, “Here are some Hebrews coming out of the holes in which they had hidden.” (12) And the men of the garrison answered Jonathan and his armor bearer and they said, “Come up to us and we will show you something.” And Jonathan said to his armor bearer, “Go up after me for Yahweh has given them into the hand of Israel!” (13) And Jonathan went up on his hands and feet, and his armor bearer after him. And they turned toward Jonathan and he struck them down,¹¹ with his armor bearer dispatching behind him. (14) And the first slaughter which

⁸ Following the LXX reading which omits מצוק. McCarter follows Driver suggest it is a corrupt reduplication of מצפון. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 235.

⁹ Following McCarter who amends the text to ישע. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 235. Though there is no textual support for the change, McCarter argues for a metathesis of ש and ע, leading to the corruption. This emendation is attractive because the use of עשה here with the preposition ל with an indirect object but no direct object is unusual. Additionally, this graphic confusion represents a change from a relatively less common root (ישע) to the very frequent construction יעשה.

¹⁰ Following LXX which reflects לו instead of לך. The resumptive pronominal suffix in LXX refers to Jonathan’s heart. The 2ms pronominal suffix of the MT is somewhat nonsensical.

¹¹ Reading 13b on the basis of LXX which reflects ויפנו לפני יונתן ויכם.

Jonathan and the armor bearer struck was about twenty men, with arrows and stones and sharp stones of the field.¹²

(15) And there was a trembling in the camp, in the field, and throughout all the people. Even the garrison and the raiding party trembled. And the earth quaked and it became a trembling of God. (16) And Saul's watchmen in Givat Benjamin saw, and look! The camp was surging back and forth.¹³ (17) And Saul said to the people who were with him, "Number now and see who walked away from us." And they numbered, and behold, Jonathan and his armor bearer were gone. (18) And Saul said to Achiyah, "Bring the Ephod¹⁴ of God" (for he was carrying the Ephod that day before Israel). (19) And until Saul spoke to the priest, the confusion in the Philistine camp was getting greater and greater. And Saul said to the priest, "Withdraw your hand."

(20) And Saul and all the people who were with him were assembled and they came up to the battle. And behold the sword of each man was against his companion. It was a really big confusion. (21) But the slaves¹⁵ belonging to the Philistines beforehand who had gone up with them into the camp, even they turned¹⁶ to be with Israel who were with Saul and Jonathan. (22) And every Israelite who was hiding in the mountains of Ephraim heard that the Philistines fled, and they too pursued close after them in the battle. (23a) And Yahweh delivered Israel that day.

(23b) But the battle crossed over to Beth Aven. (24) Now, the men of Israel were hard pressed that day.¹⁷ And Saul adjured the people saying, "Cursed is the man who eats food until the evening when I will have avenged my enemies." And none of the people tasted bread. (25)

¹² The MT is corrupt in 14b, with the LXX having the better reading. See McCarter, *I Samuel*, 236.

¹³ Reading LXX "camp" instead of MT "confusion," along with נמוג הים והים on the basis of LXX. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 237. The MT in this instance is corrupt and untranslatable.

¹⁴ Reading אפוד with LXX in place of MT ארון. Additionally the LXX reflects הוא נושה האפוד ביום ההוא לפני ישראל, whereas the MT in this instance is corrupt.

¹⁵ Reading עבדים on the basis of LXX. See also note 3 which indicates that "Hebrews" does not necessarily belong in the third person narration in this context.

¹⁶ Reading LXX reflecting סבבו instead of MT סביב.

¹⁷ There is some debate as to whether or not the LXX reading in 23b-24a, which provides additional text about the spread of the war in 23b and indicating that Saul "made a great blunder" that day in binding the army to this oath, represents material that has been lost to the MT. There is no textual trigger that provides evidence for textual loss, and as Pisano states, it contains language that is strikingly similar to 2 Sam 18:3, 6, and 8 which may hint toward its secondary nature. Additionally, though the retroversion of ἡγρόνησεν ἄγνοιαν is difficult to perform with certainty, it is usually thought to be שגה שגגה (c.f. Wellhausen who was hesitant himself in offering the retroversion), a term most closely associated with the P legal system. See Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 57 (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 37–41. McCarter adopts the LXX version as preferable, though he does not provide any explanation as to why it is preferable. Additionally, the inclusion of this LXX plus offers a judgment of Saul's actions—which have been deemed dubious by biblical scholarship at large—clearly putting Saul's action in the wrong rather than leaving the question open as the text represented in the MT does. Since MT is the shorter text, it is grammatical, and there is no trigger for a loss of text, I suggest MT has the preferable reading in this instance.

And all the people¹⁸ came into the forest, and there was honey on the surface of the field. (26) And the people came into the forest, and here was honey flowing. But nobody reached his hand to his mouth because the people were afraid of the oath.

(27) But Jonathan had not heard when his father made the people swear. And he reached out the end of his staff that was in his hand, and he dipped it in the honeycomb. And he brought his hand to his mouth and his eyes brightened.¹⁹ (28) And a man from among the people answered him and he said, “Your father has adjured the people saying, ‘Cursed is the man that eats bread today.’” And the people were tired. (29) And Jonathan said, “My father has troubled the land. See not how my eyes brightened when I tasted a little of this honey! (30) If only the people had eaten whatever they found today from among the spoils of his enemies then would not the slaughter of the Philistines now have been greater?” (31) And they struck the Philistines that day from Michmash to Ayalon. And the people were famished.

(32) And the people pounced upon the spoils.²⁰ And they took sheep and cows and calves. And they slaughtered them on the ground. And the people ate together with the blood. (33) And they told Saul saying, “Look, the people are sinning against Yahweh by eating together with the blood!” And he said, “You have acted treacherously. Roll to me a large stone today.” (34) And Saul said “Spread out among the people and say to them ‘Let each man bring to me his own ox and his own sheep, and you shall slaughter in this place, and you shall eat. And you shall not sin against Yahweh by eating together with the blood.’” And each of the people brought his own sheep in his hand that night. And they slaughtered them there. (35) And Saul built an altar to Yahweh. It was the first altar he built for Yahweh.

(36) And Saul said, “Let us go down after the Philistines tonight so that we may plunder them until the light of morning; and we will not leave even one of them.” And they said, “Do whatever is good in your eyes.” And the priest said, “Let us approach God here.” (37) And Saul

¹⁸ The MT reads, “Now, all the land had come into the forest.” This reading is obviously corrupt, but it is difficult to tell what the preferable reading should be. LXX reflects *וְכָל הָאָרֶץ טָעַם לֶחֶם וַיַּעַר הָיָה דְּבַשׁ עַל פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה* (with *וַיַּעַר* rendered twice), translated, “Now all the land tasted food and the forest had honey on surface of the field,” which does not solve any problem. McCarter follows Wellhausen in reconstructing a chain of corruptions involving the incorporation of a marginal gloss and a corrupt variant of the last phrase of 24b (*וְלֹא טָעַם הָעָם לֶחֶם*), along with a corruption from *דָּבַר* from *דְּבַשׁ* in 26a. In the end, he translates vv 25-26a, “Now there was honeycomb on the ground, and when the army came upon [it], its bees had left.” McCarter, *I Samuel*, 243, 245–46. While this suggestion could be correct, such a long string of corruptions is difficult to substantiate with any amount of certainty. Alter solves the problem by rendering *הָאָרֶץ* as “country,” though he admits that it “sounds as odd in the Hebrew as in translation because ‘country’ (*ha’arets*) is not an idiomatic term for ‘people’.” Robert Alter, *Prophets*, vol. 2 of *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2018), 230. With all recognition that I am not actually solving the textual difficulty, I tentatively split the difference between Alter’s suggested translation and the possibility that *כָּל הָעָם* in v 24 above could be preferred in place of *כָּל הָאָרֶץ* in v 25 as well.

¹⁹ Reading *וַיִּתְרַנֵּן* from the *qārê*.

²⁰ Correcting 14:32 with McCarter toward LXX^L, reading *וַיַּעַשׂ* instead of MT *וַיַּעַשׂ*.

asked of God, “Shall I go down after the Philistines? Will you give them into the hand of Israel?” But he did not answer him on that day.

(38) And Saul said, “Approach now, all you leaders of the people. Know and see: in what was this sin today? (39) As Yahweh, the savior of Israel, lives: even if it is with my son Jonathan, indeed, he shall surely die.” But no one from among the people answered him. (40) And he said to all Israel, “You shall be on the one side, and Jonathan, my son, and I will be on the other side.” And the people said to Saul, “Do whatever is good in your eyes.”

(41) And Saul said to Yahweh, God of Israel, “Why do you not answer your servant today? If this iniquity is with me or with Jonathan, my son, O Yahweh, God of Israel, then give the Urim. But if it is in your people, Israel, give the Thummim.” And Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot, but the people escaped.²¹

(42) And Saul said, “Cast lots between me and Jonathan, my son. And whoever Yahweh selects shall die.” And the people said to Saul, “It shall not be according to this word!” And Saul urged the people, and they cast lots between him and Jonathan, his son. And Jonathan was taken by lot.²²

(43) And Saul said to Jonathan, “Tell me, what have you done?” And Jonathan told him, and he said, “I indeed tasted a little honey with the end of the staff that was in my hand. Here, I will die.” (44) And Saul said, “Thus may Yahweh do to me and thus may he increase: indeed you shall surely die, Jonathan.”

(45) And the people said to Saul, “Shall Jonathan die when he performed such a great salvation in Israel? Far from it! By the life of Yahweh, may not even a hair from his head fall to the ground. For it is with God that he has acted this day.” And the people rescued Jonathan, and he did not die. (46) And Saul went up from going after the Philistines, and the Philistines went back to their place.

(47) So Saul captured the property²³ on behalf of Israel. And he fought all around against all of his enemies: against Moab, against the Ammonites, against Edom, against the kings of

²¹ Reading the LXX which reflects the Hebrew: למה לא ענית את עבדך היום עם יש בי או ביונתן בני העון הזה יהוה. McCarter suggests that the “MT has suffered a long haplography caused by *homoioleuton*, the scribe’s eye skipping from the *yśr’l* that preceded *lmh* to the *yśr’l* that preceded *hbm tmym*.” McCarter, *I Samuel*, 247–48.

²² Reading the LXX. Again a large section of text has fallen out of the MT due to *homoioleuton*. See explanation by McCarter, *I Samuel*, 248.

²³ Reading with LXX. MT reads המלוכה (kingship), but this is not otherwise a direct object of the verb לכד (and, as McCarter points out, “Saul does not seize the kingship at this point, rather he has now been king for some time by all accounts”). The LXX reflects מלאכה, which can mean “property” (Exod 22:7, 10; Gen 33:14; 1 Sam 15:9). As McCarter argues, since “kingship” is at issue throughout this pericope, מלאכה is preferred as the *lectio difficilior*. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 253.

Zovah, and against the Philistines. And everywhere he turned, he was victorious.²⁴ (48) And he acted valiantly, and he struck Amalek. And he delivered Israel from the hand of its plunderers.

(49) And the children of Saul were Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malki-Shua.²⁵ And the names of his two daughters: the name of the firstborn was Merav, and the name of the younger was Michal. (50) And the name of the wife of Saul was Achinoam bat Achima'atz. And the name of his general was Abner ben Ner, Saul's uncle. (51) And Kish was Saul's father, and Ner was Abner's father, who was the son of Aviel.

(52) And there was strong war against the Philistines all the days of Saul. And when Saul would see any mighty man or any valiant man, he would gather him to himself.

1.3. Chapter 15

(1) And Samuel said to Saul, "Yahweh sent me to anoint you as king over his people, over Israel. And now, hear the sound of the words of Yahweh. (2) Thus says Yahweh צבאות:

'I have remembered what Amalek did to Israel when he set up against him on the road when he came out of Egypt. (3) Now, go and strike Amalek, and you shall exterminate everything he has. And you shall not have compassion on him. And you shall kill everyone from man to woman, from child to infant, from ox to sheep, from camel to donkey.'"

(4) And Saul called the people and he mustered them in Telaim: 200,000 foot soldiers and 10,000 men of Judah. (5) And Saul came until the city of Amalek, and he lay in wait in the wadi.²⁶

(6) And Saul said to the Kenites, "Go, turn, go down from among Amalek, lest I sweep you away with him. And you dealt kindly with all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt." And the Kenites turned away from among Amalek.

(7) And Saul struck Amalek from Havilah until Shur, which is at the border of Egypt. (8) And he seized Agag, king of Amalek, alive. But all the people, he exterminated with the sword. (9) And Saul and the people had compassion on Agag, and on the best of the flock, herd, and fatlings, and on the lambs, and on every good thing. And they were not willing to exterminate them. But all the despised and rejected property they exterminated.

²⁴ Reading with LXX, reflecting יושע. The corruption in MT is due to a ו/י graphic confusion. The MT reading "he acted evilly" does not match what the narrator is communicating about Saul's victories.

²⁵ See discussion of the names of Saul's sons in the body of this chapter.

²⁶ Reading ויארב on the basis of LXX.

(10) And the word of Yahweh came to Samuel, saying:

“I regret that I crowned Saul as king, for he has turned away from me, and my words he has not established.”

And Samuel was angry. And he cried to Yahweh all night. (12) And Samuel rose early in the morning to meet Saul. And it was told to Samuel saying, “Saul has gone into Carmel. And here he is setting up for himself a monument! And he turned and he crossed and he went down to Gilgal.”

(13) And Samuel came to Saul, and Saul said to him, “Blessed are you to Yahweh. I established the word of Yahweh.” (14) And Samuel said, “So what is the sound of this flock in my ears, and the sound of the herd that I am hearing?” (15) And Saul said, “They brought them in from Amalek when the people had compassion on the best of the flock and the herd in order to sacrifice to Yahweh your God. But the rest, we exterminated.”

(16) And Samuel said to Saul, “Refrain! Let me tell you what Yahweh said to me [last] night.” And he said²⁷ to him, “Speak.” (17) And Samuel said, “Is it not that though you are small in your own eyes, you are the head of the tribes of Israel? And Yahweh anointed you as king over Israel. (18) And Yahweh sent you on the road, and he said to you, ‘You shall exterminate the sinners, Amalek. And you shall fight with them until you finish them off.’²⁸ (19) Why did you not listen to the voice of Yahweh, and you pounced upon the spoils and you did evil in the eyes of Yahweh?”

(20) And Saul said to Samuel, “But I listened to the voice of Yahweh, and I went on the road that Yahweh sent me, and I brought back Agag, king of Amalek. But I exterminated Amalek. (21) And the people took from the spoils, the flock and herd, the first part of that which was banned in order to sacrifice to Yahweh your God at Gilgal.”

(22) And Samuel said:

Is Yahweh’s delight in whole burnt offerings, or in sacrifices

Like it is in listening to the voice of Yahweh?

Hark! Listening is better than sacrifice

Giving attention than the fat of rams.

(23) For the sin of divination is rebellion

And the iniquity of teraphim—arrogance

Because you have rejected the word of Yahweh

²⁷ Reading a singular verb with the *qarê* and LXX.

²⁸ Reading 2ms pronominal suffix with LXX. The *ן* along with the 3mp pronominal suffix (*נָה*) in the MT may have arisen from a dittography in relation to the following word, *נָה*.

He has rejected you from being king!

(24) And Saul said to Samuel, “I have sinned! For I have transgressed the mouth of Yahweh and your word. Indeed I feared the people, and I listened to their voice. (25) And now, please, bear my sin and return with me, and I will worship Yahweh. (26) And Samuel said to Saul, “I will not return with you. For you rejected the word of Yahweh, and Yahweh has rejected you from being king over Israel.”

(27) And Samuel turned to go, and he grasped the corner of his robe, and he tore it. (28) And Samuel said to him, “Yahweh has torn the kingdom of Israel from you today. And he will give it to your fellow who is better than you. (29) And also, the Eternal of Israel does not lie, and he does not repent, for he is not a human that he should repent.”

(30) And he said, “I have sinned. Now, honor me please before the elders of my people and before Israel, and return with me and I will worship Yahweh your God.” (31) And Samuel turned after Saul. And Saul worshipped Yahweh.

(32) And Samuel said, “Bring me Agag, king of Amalek.” And Agag went to him trembling.²⁹ And Agag said, “Truly—the bitterness of death.”³⁰ (33) And Samuel said, “Just as your sword has bereaved women, thus your mother will be more bereaved than women.” And Samuel cut Agag into pieces before Yahweh at Gilgal.

(34) And Samuel went to Ramah, but Saul went up to his house in Givat Saul. (35) And never again did Samuel see Saul until the day of his death. Indeed, Samuel mourned for Saul. And Yahweh regretted that he crowned Saul over Israel.

²⁹ The only other occurrence of מעדנות is in Job 38:31, where it is parallel with משכות, meaning “cords” or some implement for dragging that one could “untie” or “open” (תפתח):

התקשר מעדנות כימה

או משכות כסיל תפתח

Alternatively, the LXX reads τρέμων, which would reflect the participial form, מעד (trembling). However, preferring the LXX in this case does not provide an explanation for נ- ending of מעדנת in the MT since there is no trigger for such an addition.

³⁰ For Agag’s portion of the dialogue, the MT reads, אכן סר מ־המות, yet the LXX reflects a text without סר. I suggest that סר is a dittography reduplicated from מר. There is no hint that Agag believes that his release is imminent; more likely, his speech is a recognition of his impending death.

2. Composition History

In the remainder of this chapter, I will argue that 1 Sam 13:7-15aα* and the entirety of 1 Sam 15—the two rejections of Saul by Yahweh—are secondary insertions into an earlier Saul narrative. This claim is not a new one, but I will be addressing the problem afresh by engaging with the basic assumption at the heart of the so-called “neo-documentary” method for separating narrative strands, posited most systematically by Joel Baden.³¹ At the heart of his method is the claim that sources can only be separated on the basis of logical inconsistencies in the narrative. Baden, in my estimation, holds a bit too tightly to this claim, but I appreciate his hesitancy toward unnecessarily multiplying layers of the text. The idea that narratives should be considered a whole unless strong evidence compels us to posit a secondary layer means that the reconstruction of these layers should solve localized narrative problems and not create new ones. Critics should adopt the simplest solution to these narrative problems, reconstructing the layers based on the fewest literary interventions possible.

While Baden claims that this methodology helps to parse and then to subsequently reconstruct the four documentary sources of the Pentateuch,³² I will be making a much more localized use of his method to make my own argument in relation to the text at hand—one in which I use narrative issues only to parse layers in these particular chapters. To reconstruct strata that span larger sections of the books of Samuel would require a much more extensive study.³³ Additionally, the claim that diachronic layers (or separate sources) of text should be separated *only* on the basis of narrative discontinuities is a bit too simplistic. Rather, the recognition of these kinds of problems can be a major tool in the method, but I will also choose to pay attention to issues such as formulaic language, geographical tensions in the narrative, and issues of Saul’s evaluation by the narratorial voice.³⁴ By reading 1 Sam 13-15 with an eye toward these issues, the contours of a rejection at Gilgal begin to emerge (1 Sam 13:7-15aα*) along with an appended rejection after a failed attempt at a חרם slaughter against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15). I suggest that the simplest solution to these insertions is to credit them to a single secondary scribe, whom I will call the Rejection Scribe.³⁵

³¹ See Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*; Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*.

³² The debate of the efficacy of his model in this regard lies outside the scope of this chapter.

³³ For the most recent extensive study on the composition of the books of Samuel, see Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*.

³⁴ Hendel advocates a more nuanced approach in which literary and historical criticism must meet when reconstructing the composition history of a text. Hendel’s term for this approach, *Literarkritik*, is revived from Wellhausen’s own formulation of the same term. See Hendel, “Abram’s Journey as Nexus.”

³⁵ Though it is certainly possible that these are two different figures, I choose not to multiply scribal agents unless there is some evidence that we must do so.

2.1. 1 Samuel 13:1

In approaching 1 Sam 13-15, the first confrontation we must face with the neo-documentary method is that there is no narrative contradiction between 13:1 and 13:2—Saul reigned for two years (v 1) and then he chose soldiers for the battle at Michmash (v 2). However, 13:1 is a repetition of the deuteronomistic regnal formula used throughout the books of Kings to introduce the story of the next king in the narrative (e.g. 1 Kgs 14:21, 22:42; 2 Kgs 8:17, etc.).³⁶ Therefore, I choose to credit v 1 to a scribal agent in the deuteronomistic tradition rather than the Rejection Scribe. From this point, I will commence with a close examination of 13:2ff.³⁷

2.2. 1 Samuel 13:2-14:23a

In terms of narrative flow, 1 Samuel 13:2-14:52 has several oddities which I shall highlight in an overview of the narrative elements before offering an argument for 13:7-15aα* as a secondary insertion. 1 Sam 13:2-14:23a* tells a story of the Israelites' battle at Michmash against the Philistines led by Saul and Jonathan. The narrative begins as Saul chooses 3,000 people and divides them between Jonathan and himself: 2,000 go with Saul to Michmash and the mountains around Beth El, and 1,000 go with Jonathan to Gibeah of Benjamin. Jonathan attacks the Philistine garrison in Geba, while Saul blows the shofar and gathers the people to Gilgal (vv 3-4). Meanwhile, the Philistines gather to fight Israel at Michmash (v 5)—where Saul was previously stationed—and when the Israelites see the size of the army, they hide wherever they can, in pits, caves, etc. (v 6), and some even cross the Jordan into the trans-Jordanian territories (7a). Meanwhile, the text tells us, Saul was still in Gilgal and “all the people had trembled after him” (13:7b).

Before continuing, I want to note that Geba and Gibeah of Benjamin are variant terms for the same location. Miller discusses the literary evidence in some detail,³⁸ challenging the assertion originating with Albright that these are two separate places.³⁹ He highlights the fact that in biblical lists of Benjaminite cities, either Geba or Gibeah is listed but never both (Josh 21:17; 1 Chr 6:60; Ezek 2:26; Neh 7:30, 11:31, and 12:29). He deals with the possibility, based on one

³⁶ It also occurs twice in 2 Samuel (2:10 and 5:4).

³⁷ Rather than enter into the debate concerning the scope, redaction, and date of Deuteronomistic History and the particularly difficult issue of its presence in Samuel, I will simply consider v 1 to be of a different origin than the rejection scenes for the sake of limiting the scope of this chapter, broadly attributed to the deuteronomistic tradition. Since its language and placement already aligns with a known formula from elsewhere and serves a totally different purpose from the rejections, I choose to set it aside at this point and consider the text from 13:2ff. For the issue of Dtr in Samuel, see Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, eds., *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists?: Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, vol. 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013). This volume includes essays from a variety of viewpoints on the existence and scope of deuteronomistic material in the books of Samuel.

³⁸ See Miller, “Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin,” *VT* 25 no 2 (April 1975): 145-166.

³⁹ J. Maxwell Miller, “Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin,” *VT* 25, no. 2 (1975): 145–66; William F. Albright, “Excavations and Results at Tell El-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul),” *AASOR* 4 (1924): 28–31.

textual variant, that both names may appear in Josh 18:21-28,⁴⁰ but dismisses this possibility by claiming that this is not strong enough evidence to consider them distinct places especially when there is greater evidence to the contrary. Additionally, the names are interchangeable not only here in 1 Sam 13-14 (13:2, 15, 16; 14:16), but also in Judges 19-21 (19:14, 20:10). In his discussion on 1 Sam 13-14 in particular, Miller does suggest that the “distractingly inconsistent . . . usage of ‘Gibeah’ and ‘Geba’”⁴¹ is the residue of two narratives that have been combined—one focused on Saul and the other on Jonathan. While this is certainly possible,⁴² they can no longer be firmly separated into units that read as independent narratives,⁴³ suggesting that they were well worked together by the time the Rejection Scribe engaged with the narrative as a whole. To return to Baden, a separation of the Saul and Jonathan narratives creates more narrative problems than it solves. There is no compelling narrative issue that would warrant a need to separate them into two combined traditions. Thus, given the evidence that Geba and Gibeah are variants of the same location and given the otherwise non-problematic flow of the narrative (excepting the insertion I will discuss), I suggest we do not consider the name variation as a narrative problem to be solved by a redaction-critical solution.

Returning to the narrative elements, there are a few geographical complexities present in this text so far. First, while Jonathan is in Gibeah of Benjamin, Saul gathers the tribes in Michmash and the Philistines subsequently also gather in Michmash. However, it is odd that between Saul gathering at Michmash and the Philistines gathering at Michmash, Saul moves his troops to Gilgal (v 4b), from which some of the Israelites then flee back toward Michmash as they hide in the highlands (v 6), with some fleeing across the Jordan (v 7a; see Figure 2). The narrative elements in the text as it stands are:

1. Saul gathers the troops at Michmash (v 2)
2. Saul moves the troops to Gilgal (v 4b)
3. The Philistines gather at Michmash (v 5)
4. The Israelites see the Philistines and flee both toward the Philistines (v 6) and across the Jordan (v 7a)

⁴⁰ Geba appears in Josh 18:23, and the MT lists Gibeah of Kiryat in v 28. However, Codex Alexandrinus reads “Gibeah and Kiriath-Jearim” in v 28.

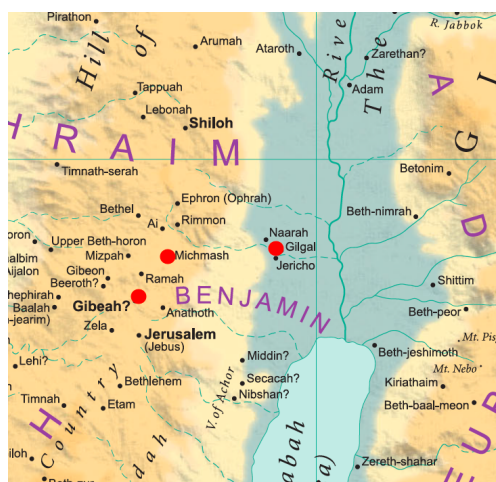
⁴¹ Miller, “Geba/Gibeah,” 155.

⁴² This is the contention of both Stoebe as well as Miller (in a separate article). Hans Joachim Stoebe, “Zur Topographie und Überlieferung der Schlacht von Mikmas, 1. Sam. 13 und 14,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 21 (1965): 269–80; J. Maxwell Miller, “Saul’s Rise to Power: Some Observations Concerning 1 Sam 9:1-10; 10:26-11:15 and 13:2-14:46,” *CBQ* 36 (1974): 157–74.

⁴³ Regarding the neo-documentary method, Schwartz claims that part of its efficacy is to solve “the greatest number of textual problems . . . in the most economical manner” (13). That is, separating narrative strands should solve more problems than it creates. Since we cannot reconstruct two independent narratives from the text as it stands, the simpler solution is to say either that the names are variations and this was a single narrative or that the names are evidence of a very early redaction of two narratives that we can no longer separate. Schwartz, “Does Recent Scholarship’s Critique of the Documentary Hypothesis Constitute Grounds for Its Rejection?” in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*.

Gilgal is the furthest geographic location from the battle within these chapters, and it is difficult for the reader, first, to make sense of why the Israelites would flee back toward the highlands when they are already in the Jordan valley, and, secondarily, why the Philistines would gather at Michmash when the Israelites had already moved to Gilgal. Additionally, after the notice that Saul's people fled, the narrative contains a disjunctive clause about Saul, marked as background: "But Saul was still in Gilgal, and all of the people had trembled after him" (v 7b), indicating that before the Israelites fled, they had already been gathered to Gilgal. Both before and after the Philistines gather at Michmash, the narration goes out of its way to make clear that the people have moved to Gilgal (v 4b β) and have therefore fled from Gilgal (v 7b). The issue still remains, however, that Gilgal and Michmash are at a distance from one another so that it is strikingly odd that the Philistines gather in Michmash and the Israelites recognize that from Gilgal and flee back toward Michmash.⁴⁴

Figure 2. Relative locations of Michmash, Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin, and Gilgal.⁴⁵



Once Saul and his people are at Gilgal, the narrator tells us once again that the troops are continuing to scatter (v 8). After Samuel and Saul have their confrontation regarding the sacrifices and the notice of Saul's divine rejection, the scene ends abruptly, as both Samuel and Saul leave Gilgal. Vv 15 (which suffered a loss of text) and 16 read:

(15a α) And Samuel rose and he went from Gilgal on his way. (15a β) But the rest of the people went up after Saul to meet the army. And they came in from Gilgal to Gibeah of Benjamin. (15b) And Saul mustered the people who were with him, and they were about 600 men. (16) Now, Saul and his son Jonathan and the people with them were staying in Gibeah of Benjamin while the Philistines had camped at Michmash.

⁴⁴ Michmash and Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin are both in the highlands. Gilgal, however, is on the west bank of the Jordan valley.

⁴⁵ Adrian Curtis, ed., *Oxford Bible Atlas*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 85.

At this point, Saul continues the battle against the Philistines. Vv 15-16 effectively move him and his men to Gibeah of Benjamin, where Saul again musters the people and numbers them at 600. At this point, the narrative action about the battle continues with the Israelites all stationed at Gibeah of Benjamin and the Philistines at Michmash, from which the Philistines launch their raiding parties throughout the highlands (vv 17-18).

After the Philistines advance to the pass at Michmash (13:23), the narrative continues as Jonathan independently moves from Gibeah of Benjamin to the Philistine camp in order to attack them (14:1-14), after which Saul recognizes the signs of Yahweh's involvement in the battle from his position at Gibeah of Benjamin (vv 16-20). Once the Israelites realize that the Philistines are attacking each other, "every Israelite who was hiding in the mountains of Ephraim heard that the Philistines fled, and they too pursued close after them in the battle" (v 22). Here the reader learns that the Israelites who had previously fled the Philistines in 13:6 come out of their highland hiding places and join in the fight. Absent, however, is any indication that the Israelites who crossed the Jordan have returned to fight as well.

Returning to the geographical tensions associated with Saul's move to Gilgal, I suggest that these problems are relatively easily solved when we consider Saul's appointment at Gilgal to be a secondary insertion.⁴⁶ Therefore, on the basis of awkward geographical movement, I contend that this collection of verses and verse portions is secondary: 4bβ, 7-15aα, and the phrase מן־הגלגל from 15aβ. Recognizing this material as secondary allows Saul to remain at Michmash in v 4 while the Philistines gather against him in the same location in v 5. It additionally allows Saul's army to flee from Michmash into the hill country, and for Saul to gather them once again in Gibeah of Benjamin. If this contention is correct, pre-insertion vv 4-16 read:

(4a) and all Israel heard, saying, "Saul has struck the Philistine prefect and also Israel has become odious to the Philistines." (4bα) and the people were summoned after Saul . . .
 (5) But the Philistines gathered to fight against Israel: 3,000 chariots, 6,000 horsemen, and people as numerous as the sand on the seashore. And they went up and they camped at Michmash, east of Beth Aven. (6) Now, the men of Israel saw that they were in distress, for the people were hard pressed. And the people hid themselves in caves, briars, crags, underground chambers, and pits. . . (15aβ) but the remainder of the people went up after Saul to meet the army. And they came . . . into Gibeah of Benjamin. And Saul numbered the people found with him; they were about six hundred men.

Once the Gilgal episode is set aside as secondary, Saul gathers his people at Michmash where the Philistines join him. When the people see the Philistine show of power, they hide in the hill

⁴⁶ Birch similarly concludes, "It would appear that originally the account of Saul's military encounters with the Philistines included no trip to Gilgal." Birch, "Rise of the Israelite Monarchy," 126.

country to the north (according to the notice of their return from the Ephraim hill country in 14:22), but do not go east across the Jordan. Likewise, the people do not flee back from Gilgal toward Michmash as they hide in the Ephraim hill country. This reading makes sense of the allusions to the Israelites hiding in the highlands (14:11 and 22) as well as the accompanying absence of allusion to any movement in or around the Jordan valley. With vv 4b β , 7-15a α , and the phrase מן-הגלגל from 15a β set aside as secondary, the narrative reads more smoothly as some of the people hide in the hills and the rest follow Saul to Gibeah of Benjamin. By excising the rejection scene and all geographic movements within the Jordan valley as secondary, the narrative flow improves.

The secondary nature of the rejection scene at Gilgal also solves an issue of genre expectation in the text as it stands. The rejection narrative indicates that Yahweh was displeased with Saul for his own pre-battle sacrifice at Gilgal (13:11-14). However, we would expect that if there was a cultic wrong committed, then Saul should be immediately unsuccessful in battle. Regarding Yahweh's involvement in battle in relation to proper cultic preparation, Mario Liverani states that "military action must be preceded by the appropriate votive-cultic preparation, and any fault or negligence in this respect will be punished by defeat."⁴⁷ But in the case of 1 Sam 13-14, Jonathan and Saul both enjoy success in initiating the battle and routing the enemy once it is underway (14:13-23a). Once we consider the Gilgal episode to be secondary, this problem of genre expectations and why Israel could be successful despite Saul's lack of cultic purity is resolved. The earlier narrative stratum reflects a story in which there is no cultic fault in Saul's actions.

2.3. 1 Samuel 14:23b-46

Next, 14:23b-46 tells a story of Saul placing the military under an oath that no one will eat anything "until evening when I will have avenged my enemies" (14:24). However, Jonathan does not hear the oath and eats some honey that the army found in the forest. When a fellow Israelite tells him about the oath, Jonathan criticizes his father's actions and claims that the strike against the Philistines would have been greater had "the people eaten whatever they found among the spoils of their enemies" (v 30). The narrator then declares that the people struck down the Philistines significantly and that the people were famished (v 31), after which vv 32-35 tell a story in which the people *did* eat from the spoils they had found, but were incorrectly eating the blood of the slaughtered animals. Saul corrects the sacrificial practice by providing a large stone that he makes into an altar, telling the people that they need to do their animal slaughter at this location.

After this altar episode ends, v 36 continues with Saul attempting to initiate another battle with the Philistines, but in seeking divine counsel for the battle, Saul learns that God has fallen

⁴⁷ Liverani, *Israel's History*, 286.

silent. Recognizing the divine silence before the battle as an indication that there is some unresolved transgression among the military, Saul continues to communicate with the deity in order to find the location of the transgression. After an ordeal involving the Urim and Thummim,⁴⁸ Jonathan is revealed as the one who broke the oath. While Saul is willing to kill Jonathan for his deeds, the army intervenes and saves Jonathan on account of his “great salvation for Israel” (14:45).

The compositional question in this section is whether or not to regard vv 32-35 as integral to the older layer of the text. This narrative that describes the people eating the blood of the spoils, according to Jobling, “form[s] superficially the poorest-fitting part of this narrative.”⁴⁹ Jobling suggests that an editor placed it here to add to the negative characterization of Saul because it conflicts with the Deuteronomic law that allows for sprinkling non-sacrificial blood on the ground (Deut 12:15-24) and because it is found in a context in which Saul is rejected for his earlier attempt at sacrifice (13:9-14).⁵⁰ Against Jobling’s argument, the assumption that someone placed this story here in order to depict Saul in conflict with Deuteronomic law is untenable. This pericope bears no relation to deuteronomistic literature,⁵¹ and therefore most likely belongs to one of the pre-DtrH strata that makes up most of Samuel, the authors of which have no problem with cultic practice that conflicts with Deuteronomic law,⁵² and which DtrH surprisingly does not correct or even judge in many cases.⁵³ Additionally, the problem in this pericope seems not to be the sprinkling of non-sacrificial blood, but the consumption of blood, which Deuteronomy likewise forbids. Jobling’s second suggestion that this pericope makes Saul look bad because Saul is rejected in other places for his allegedly improper cultic practice likewise does not hold. If we keep in mind that the first (and, as we shall see, also the second) rejection scene is a later insertion, we can easily see that far from being negatively characterized, Saul is depicted here in a positive light as one who corrects the problematic practice that the people are performing. Saul stops them from eating blood and sets up a proper altar; the narrator also notes that this is Saul’s first of apparently multiple altars. This section, therefore, reads more like an etiological tale that gives an explanation for the establishment of the various Yahwistic altars for which Saul is known. It does not follow that an editor would use a story that positively depicts Saul’s sacrificial practices to emphasize Saul’s rejection as a result of incorrect sacrificial

⁴⁸ As stated in my translation, here I am reading the longer LXX text.

⁴⁹ David Jobling, “Saul’s Fall and Jonathan’s Rise: Tradition and Redaction in 1 Sam 14:1-46,” *JBL* 95, no. 3 (1976): 373.

⁵⁰ Jobling, “Saul’s Fall,” 373. Assuming that the oath is no longer in effect since the Israelites won the battle (as indicated in v 31), McCarter suggests that the army’s disregard for Yahwistic practice “is another negative consequence of Saul’s rash oath.” McCarter, *I Samuel*, 249.

⁵¹ Contra Schunk who argued that this section was from the Deuteronomist. However, Schunk works from a preconceived judgement about Saul being linked to illicit cult behavior. Klaus-Dietrich Schunk, *Benjamin: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1963), 107–8.

⁵² Most notably, see 1 Sam 9:11-26.

⁵³ For cultic sacrifices taking place at shrines outside Jerusalem, see 1 Sam 1:3, 7:9-11, 16:1-5.

practice. To do so reveals more of an impulse to read Saul as a negative character than a commitment to a balanced reading of the text.

Hutton also sees this scene as secondary insertion that is strikingly late, but for the complete opposite reason that Jobling provides. Hutton sees Saul characterized here as one correcting improper slaughter according to P and D laws. Hutton claims that this “episode — in which the people slaughter the animals . . . and eat the slaughter inappropriately, to which Saul responds by building an altar and forcing the proper execution of Kosher law . . . — is simply not available as a concern contemporaneous to a document legitimizing Saul’s reign. The law prohibiting this action is preserved in the Deuteronomic (Deut 12:23-27) and priestly (Lev 19:26) codes.”⁵⁴ Here I would like to offer a few challenges to Hutton’s claim. First, it is completely possible that the taboo against eating blood existed in ancient Israel prior to P and D codifying it.⁵⁵ Since blood is such a central part of sacrifice, it is essentializing not to assume that there were cultural practices concerning what to do with it before P and D wrote it into their legislation. Secondly, Hutton’s claim is confusing because if this insertion is post-D and P, then one might wonder who would be motivated to include an episode showing Saul correcting an interaction with sacrificial blood. Lastly, I am not sure a sacrifice in the Bible can be labeled “Kosher” according to the logic of P and D if the sacrifice is not taking place in the Temple in Jerusalem.

Conversely, Birch sees the episode as a part of the unity of 14:1-46.⁵⁶ He admits that though vv 31-35 may have been “an independent tradition in the pre-literary stage,” he maintains that this section is too well integrated into its narrative context to be considered a secondary literary insertion: Saul places his troops under an oath not to eat anything until the battle is won. Once the battle is won, the famished troops are so hungry that they do not properly prepare the meat, but consume it in a hurry, thereby allowing Saul to correct the problematic sacrificial practice by building a proper altar. Once then Saul is able to detect that God is displeased by some sin in the camp (v 38), he first casts lots between Jonathan/himself and the people in order to determine if he and Jonathan had sinned or if the deity was not properly satisfied by the sacrificial correction resulting from the sin of the people.⁵⁷ The division of the people and the drawing of lots reads more logically if Saul knows that Yahweh’s silence might be due to the

⁵⁴ Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*, 352.

⁵⁵ The building of this altar is perhaps most similar to the law about the altar in the covenant code, which states that if the Israelites make a stone altar (rather than a dirt altar), it should be unhewn stone and there should be no steps (Exod 20:25-26). Saul, in choosing to use one large rock for the altar, corrects toward an altar adhering to the Covenant Code, an earlier law code relative to D and P. Given the ravenous hunger of his troops, making a rock altar may have been the quicker choice than digging to construct one out of earth. We can also see ritual laws regarding sacrificial blood in various places in non-P (or E) (Exod 23:18, 24:4-8) which would suggest that blood is a regulated substance to some degree before P and D.

⁵⁶ Edelman sees this episode as integrated into the whole, though it should be noted that she is making an argument for the unity of the Saul narratives largely. Diana Vikander Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 76–96.

⁵⁷ Birch, “Rise of the Israelite Monarchy,” 143–44.

incorrectly implemented sacrifices performed by Saul's men after the battle. I would add to this that the unity of the chapter also explains why the people—quick as they are to defend Jonathan in v 45—remain silent about Jonathan's transgression in v 39. Until the sin is narrowed down to Jonathan and Saul (v 42) the people (like the reader) do not know if their eating of blood has not been sufficiently corrected.⁵⁸ However, their challenge to Saul in v 42 suggests that once they are cleared, they know more certainly that the sin lies in Jonathan. But they are unwilling to let him die for such an unintentional transgression, particularly when he has just saved Israel. Seeing no reason to consider vv 31-35 secondary, and with good evidence that it is central to the narrative, I consider it within the narrative whole that spans from 13:2-6, 15aβ*, 16-14:46.⁵⁹

2.4. 1 Samuel 14:47-51

1 Samuel 14:47-51 is a summary of Saul's reign, including the wars he fought and a list of his relatives. The problems in vv 47-51 that need to be addressed are threefold. First, some have claimed that this section is somewhat at odds with the literary content preceding it. Namely, the list of enemies struck does not totally correspond with the Saul traditions in chs 10-14.⁶⁰ The Ammonites mentioned in v 47 connect with the plot in ch 11, as does the mention of the Philistines in chs 13-14 (we shall return to both of these later). But in the available literary traditions about Saul there is no mention, for example, of his destruction of Moab, Edom, or Zovah. This tension, though, is not necessarily a problem to the extent that we should posit redactional seams. Rather, a notice summarizing a king's accomplishments can understandably include details that are not represented in the narratives about that king.⁶¹ The names provided of Saul's relations do, however, match onto details provided at the beginning of Saul's story in ch 9. In 14:50, Kish is named as Saul's father, who is the son of Aviel, which matches Saul's ancestry in 9:1. V 50, however, extends our knowledge of Saul's family tree to include his uncle's name (perhaps referencing the nameless uncle who appears in 10:14-16), along with his cousin who is his military general. These details in the notice are consistent and also explicate details available in the early Saul narratives.

⁵⁸ Blenkinsopp likewise notes that without the cultic sin of the people "it is difficult to explain the division of the people . . . on one side, and the king and his son . . . on the other." Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Jonathan's Sacrilege 1 Sm 14,1-46: A Study in Literary History," *CBQ* 26, no. 4 (October 1964): 424.

⁵⁹ However, I still leave open the possibility that some of these traditions were at some point separate. By a "narrative whole," I mean that I see no evidence of the redaction of separate narrative strands (contra Hutton) or of secondary insertions in 14:1-46. While it may have originally been the case, the editing into the current text has made the historical editing impossible to detect with any certainty. Additionally, it may be that v 52 was also part of this original whole.

Wellhausen suspected that this episode in vv 36-45 (along with v 31a) was not original. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, 246.

⁶⁰ Campbell and O'Brien this as a "text signal." Campbell and O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History*, 253.

⁶¹ Compare the list of David's wars in 2 Sam 8, in which his exploits are either simply listed or narrated in very abbreviated fashion. There is additionally a short list of David's officers (vv 15-18). Cf. 2 Sam 20:23-26.

The topic of names, however, does lead us to the second problem which is the list of Saul's sons in v 49: Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malkishua. Ishvi (יִשְׁוִי) is particularly difficult since this name appears nowhere else in the following narratives or in any other list of Saul's sons. Abinadab, however, who is listed as Saul's son elsewhere,⁶² is missing from 14:49. Some have suggested that Ishvi be corrected to Ishbaal (אִישְׁבַּעַל) to be consistent with the name of Saul's son elsewhere,⁶³ but the names do not significantly resemble one another. They both contain the letters י and ש, but it is rare for an א to drop, not to mention an entire theophoric ending (-בַּעַל). Additionally, based on the principle of *lectio difficilior*, the name is more likely to change in the other direction, from Ishvi to Ishba'al, the second of which is more common. Therefore, even if a text reflected "Ishba'al" in the place of Ishvi (and 4QSam^a might, though no others do),⁶⁴ Ishvi should have priority. McCarter, however, is not certain that MT reflects the original reading because the length of the lacuna in 4QSam^a requires a longer name than Ishvi, and the lacuna would be adequately filled with a name containing a theophoric ending.⁶⁵ However, since LXX reflects the same consonantal reading as MT, I see no need to allow for adjusting the consonants in order to be consistent with the mention of Saul's sons elsewhere. Instead, we should note that the impulse to ellide the difference (which might be represented in 4QSam^a) is more likely a response to the tension caused by redaction.

Third and lastly, the sense of military victory in vv 47-48 is a fairly stark contrast to the failures that Saul experiences in ch 13 during his fight against the Philistines and ch 15 against Amalek. While v 47 does state that Saul fought against the Philistines, there is no hint of Saul's rejection in this list of victories. Again, v 48 states that Saul struck Amalek, but ch 15 reflects a story in which Saul fails miserably in fulfilling the total annihilation required of a battle with Amalek. While on their surface, the statements in vv 47-48 might be true, they contrast boldly in tone with the present text. Instead, in the words of Campbell, the notice in 14:47-48 is "an extravagantly optimistic picture of Saul's kingship," in which "the context clearly implies that his efforts were successful," in his fight against many of Israel's enemies. Based on the narrative evidence, vv 47-48 are consistent with ch 11 and pre-insertion chs 13-14, but they are inconsistent with the insertion in ch 13 and ch 15.

⁶² 1 Sam 31:12; 1 Chr 8:33, 9:39, 10:2.

⁶³ Commentators have offered the insertion of various theophoric endings, along with adding an א at the beginning to more closely match Ishbaal. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 254. Campbell and O'Brien suggest "Ishvi needs to be identified with Ishbaal," but do not elaborate on why. Campbell and O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History*, 253.

⁶⁴ Some (but not all) LXX recensions contain Ishbaal in the place of Malkishua, but not in place of Ishvi. 4QSam^a might reflect an א that would begin the second son's name, between Jonathan and Malkishua, leaving open the possibility that the second son here is Ishbaal. Ulrich suggests "[אִישְׁבַּעַל]." Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 275. I am hesitant to consider a possible letter followed by a lacuna as strong enough evidence to favor אִישְׁבַּעַל or אִישְׁבַּעַת as the preferable second name in the list. Though 4QSam^a may have reflected this reading, I still fault toward *lectio difficilior* in this instance with the contention that there is a motivation to change an obscure name to a more common one.

⁶⁵ McCarter, *I Samuel*, 254.

How then are we to understand the relative dating between vv 47-51 and chs 13-14 (both the older material and the insertion already discussed in 13:7-15aα*)? There are several scholars who argue that 14:47-51 should be considered DtrH. McCarter considers it DtrH based on the fact that it contains “peculiar concerns and devices of the Josianic historian,” namely, “archival material” reflecting details and a summary of Saul’s kingship.⁶⁶ I, however, cannot consider it deuteronomistic for several reasons, first of which is that there is no deuteronomistic language whatsoever. Though this section is concerned with summarizing parts of Saul’s reign, to call it deuteronomistic based solely on the idea that DtrH provides regnal summaries is problematic, especially since DtrH usually uses different language and formulae than those represented here to summarize kings’ reigns.⁶⁷ Likewise, DtrH does not hold back in summarizing a king negatively, and there is no negative review of Saul in these verses as one might expect if this passage is as late as any given layer or edition of DtrH.⁶⁸ This passage is inconsistent with the language, tone, and practice of DtrH at large. Thirdly, if this was DtrH, it would be extremely odd for DtrH to give details like the names of Saul’s children that differ so markedly with the source materials with which DtrH is working. Without DtrH signals, and without a logical connection to various other DtrH passages and ideology, it is difficult to assign these verses to DtrH.

However, considering vv 47-51 to be consistent with an earlier layer of the Saul material makes better use of the available data. Returning to the battle against the Philistines in chs 13-14, it is largely successful in terms of military victory. Though the episode seems to end with a draw between the Israelites and Philistines (14:46), the Israelites had previously defeated the Philistines (14:23a). 1 Sam 14:47, additionally, tells of victory against the Ammonites, which is depicted in detail in 1 Sam 11. I suggest, then, that the notice in 14:47-51 belongs to the same layer as the battle in ch 11 and the battle in chs 13-14 prior to the insertion of Saul’s rejection, and that it acted as a conclusion to a text collection of which these chapters were a part. The problem of Ishvi can then be understood as a variation on the tradition of Saul’s descendants that simply does not continue within later narratives about either Saul or David. The conclusion to

⁶⁶ This would be the DtrH of the Cross school, thought to be in the Josianic period. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 16. Veijola also considers it to be DtrH, the earliest of the three Dtr redactors posited in the Göttingen school. Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1975); Timo Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1977). Dietrich thinks that only 14:48aβb is DtrH. Dietrich, “The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel,” 46.

⁶⁷ The regnal formula, found in 1 Sam 13:1, lists the name of the king, the age at which and how long he ruled, oftentimes the name of his mother, as well as some evaluative note about his reign. 1 Sam 14:47-51 does not resemble this formula in any way.

⁶⁸ The first redaction of DtrH is conventionally considered to be in the Josianic period, with a second redaction in the exilic period. Those in the Göttingen school, however, consider an exilic date to be the earliest strata of what can be considered to be deuteronomistic. See Dietrich, “The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel”; Rudolf Smend, “Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (München: C. Kaiser, 1971), 494–509.

Saul's reign is positive in tone, and therefore is difficult to square with the characterization of Saul as utterly rejected by the deity, not to mention the depiction of Saul in the David narratives who appears to be murderously psychotic.

2.5. 1 Samuel 15

Next, I would like to argue for the secondary nature of the whole of ch 15. This chapter begins with a prophetic statement from Samuel in which Yahweh has called upon Saul to fulfill the commandment to strike Amalek and submit it to **הָרַם**, destroying the men, women, children, and every animal among them. Saul then strikes Amalek, but he and his people spare the king along with the best from the flocks and herds in order to sacrifice them. For this reason, Samuel proclaims this time that Yahweh will take away Saul's personal kingship and give it to someone else outside his lineage, after which Samuel cuts off contact with Saul. Like the first rejection, this one also occurs at Gilgal.

This episode is placed after the conclusion of a narrative that was composed of at least ch 11 and 13-14. As stated above, 14:47-51 provides a positive overview not just of Saul's military victories, but specifically of his victory over Amalek. Particularly when one considers that Saul's dealings with Amalek are noted as grounds for his rejection elsewhere (c.f. 1 Sam 28:18; 1 Chr 10:13-14), it is difficult to conceive of a later scribe providing a positive overview of the Amalek episode once Saul's rejection as a result of the battle is established. More likely, in my opinion, is that 14:48 reflects a tradition of Saul's success against Amalek and that this tradition was then selected and altered by the author of 15 who appended his composition to the end of a previously existing textual tradition.

Additional evidence for the later date of ch 15 relative to chs 13-14 is (1) the inclusion of Judahites in Saul's army in v 4, a tribe that begins to appear more frequently once David enters the scene; (2) the fact that the rejection in ch 15 builds on that found in ch 13, thus indicating the author of ch 15 knows (or perhaps wrote) the story of the first rejection. The first rejection declares that Saul's eternal kingship (ostensibly his descendants assuming the throne) will end (13:13-14), and the second declares that Saul himself will no longer be king (15:23), a distinction in which the second increases the severity of the first.⁶⁹ Lastly, (3) this chapter flows literarily into 1 Sam 16, the first introduction to David, as evidenced by the involvement of the prophet Samuel in his rejection of one king and anointing of the next. If, as many have argued, we should view the History of David's Rise as a document originally separate from the old Saul narratives, then it seems that part of the purpose of ch 15 was to provide a bridge between two originally separate texts. However, whatever one's view of the redaction of 1 Samuel largely, 1 Sam 15 is a later addition to the collection that ended in 1 Sam 14:52.

⁶⁹ McCarter and Birch think these are from the same hand. Wellhausen viewed these as doublets. Birch, "Rise of the Israelite Monarchy," 105-8; McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 270-71; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 247-49.

3. Conclusion

In considering the composition history of 1 Samuel 13-15, I have argued that 13:7-15aα* and chapter 15 are secondary insertions that depict the rejection of Saul. These two scenes are different, but they do seem to build on each other—the first is a rejection of Saul's dynasty, and the second a rejection of Saul himself. Seeing no reason to consider one rejection relatively later than the other, I suggest that we consider them to be from the same scribal figure whom I have called the Rejection Scribe. The Rejection Scribe inserted these scenes into an older strata depicting the battle of Michmash as well as a summarizing notice of Saul's reign. In the next chapter, I turn to the work of the Rejection Scribe and examine how his insertions reshape the figure of Saul. How does the work of the Rejection Scribe function as an act of cultural memory in which he, as a scribal agent, recalls and changes the literary tradition about Israel's first king? It is to this question that I now turn.

5. DIVINE HISTORY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF SAUL

1. Introduction

1 Samuel 13-15 contains an old narrative into which two scenes of the rejection of Saul are inserted.¹ This older narrative is a story of the battle at Michmash in which Saul is characterized as a near-tragic figure. He adheres to Yahwistic battle and sacrificial rituals, but these actions are foiled by Jonathan's independent initiatives with the result that Jonathan's life—the heir to Saul's throne—is put into peril by Saul's practices. The tension between the two characters paints a Saul who is acting in an acceptable Yahwistic fashion, but who nonetheless is shown to have his successes and failures determined by Jonathan's independent actions—Saul is a near-tragic king, stumbling through a battle sequence that is ultimately driven by Jonathan. His adherence to Yahwism in this layer is oftentimes a hindrance to his success, but he does not depart from this type of practice. The secondary insertions that depict the rejections of Saul highlight the threads of the earlier near-tragic portrait in order to paint Saul as a leader ultimately defined by tragedy. The secondary scribal agent responsible for this layer (who I call the Rejection Scribe) still associates Saul with Yahwistic battle and sacrifice rituals, but he places these two themes in tension with one another such that Saul fails at both, earning a divine rejection. He additionally transforms the anxiety about the continuation of Saul's lineage in the person of Jonathan into a divine rejection that calls for an end to the dynasty before it begins.

Once these rejections are woven into the narrative, their presence changes the potential meaning of the older narrative. Because they follow in the themes of battle and sacrifice already associated with Saul, the rejection scenes allow the reader to understand Saul's tragic themes in the old layer in light of these newer additions. Part of their efficacy in this regard is that they are situated near the beginning of the older narrative about the battle at Michmash and after the positive conclusion of Saul's reign (which is 14:47-52), thereby gaining the first and last word in this story, so to speak. With these additions, Saul is transformed into a fully tragic figure rejected by Yahweh.² Though he continues to function as the king until the end of his life past the

¹ I will refer to the first rejection as 13:7-15aα*, but the reader should note that v 4bβ and מן הגלגל in 15aβ (according to the versification of my translation in the previous chapter) function as redactional framing that integrate the rejection into the larger narrative. The second rejection is the entirety of 1 Sam 15.

² On the connections between the sense of tragedy in the Saul narrative and tragedy as a part of Greek literary drama, see Klaus-Peter Adam, "Saul as Tragic Hero: Greek Drama and Its Influence on Hebrew Scriptures

chapters under examination, this divine will imposed early on in the narrative clears the way for a divinely-sanctioned rise of David (beginning in 1 Sam 16). The secondary layer allows the reader to forget the tensions, ambiguities, and attempted piety involved with the earlier near-tragic Saul, allowing the narrative about him to cohere with a divinely-sanctioned davidic kingship. The figure of Saul is still associated with the old themes, but their organization and his relationship to them has changed.

This forgetting caused by the Rejection Scribe creates space for the formation of the cultural symbol of divine history, an organization of human events according to cause and effect, but within which the divine intervenes to create his intended outcome. This study suggests that the transformation of culturally significant figures can be quite successful when the new iteration of the cultural text in which they are embedded draws on and transforms elements closely associated with that figure.

2. Saul as a Yahwist: Pre-Insertion 1 Samuel 13:2-14:52

In this section, I will discuss the older version of 1 Sam 13:2-14:52, and a few points of connection between this section and 1 Sam 11 (which I argued in the previous chapter has links with the text under examination). I will suggest that in this narrative, Saul adheres to permissible Yahwistic practices in battle and in relation to sacrifice—the observation of these practices is important because it will later stand in contrast to the scenes of his condemnation in which Samuel claims he has committed an offense to Yahweh. In the older layer, Saul is able to garner the support of the troops (11:8, 13:15b), he is a skilled warrior (11:11, 14:47-48), he recognizes signs of Yahweh's presence and the problem of Yahweh's non-presence (14:15-20, 36-42), he uses prescribed divinatory practices (14:18, 41-46), and engages in Yahwistic oath-making prior to battle (14:24). Likewise, he corrects impermissible sacrificial practices and builds a Yahwistic altar—something for which he is apparently known (14:32-35). While Saul continuously engages in Yahwistic practices, his foil is constantly the rogue wartime decisions of his son, Jonathan. The tensions between Saul and Jonathan come to a head in 1 Sam 14:24-46, with the near death of Jonathan, the heir to Saul's throne. In this layer, therefore, there are subtle tensions between ritual and improvisational wartime engagement, and thus between Saul and Jonathan. Here, Saul is a near-tragic figure in that his attachment to Yahwistic ritual imperils both his wartime success and the continuation of his own dynasty. To proceed, I will work through the events as they are laid out in the narrative arc, noting the connections to these themes throughout.

in 1 Samuel 14,24-46 (10,8; 13,7-13A; 10,17-27,” in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel*, ed. A. Graeme Auld and Erik Eynikel (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010), 123–83. Adam argues that there is some Hellenistic influence in the Saul narratives (most particularly 1 Sam 14:24-46).

2.1. 1 Samuel 11:1-13

Since we saw some linkages between pre-insertion 1 Sam 13:2-14:52 and 1 Sam 11:1-13 in the previous chapter, I will note some observations about ch 11 that align with my analysis of the former, namely that Saul is a skilled warrior able to muster the troops. In this section, we encounter Saul as a charismatic military leader, filled with the spirit of Yahweh (v 6) and able to gather enormous Israelite forces (v 8). Like the judges before him,³ part of the measure of a good military leader is his or her ability to gather the fighting men to come to battle. Since any individual who was afraid of battle was disqualified by their internal attitude,⁴ one job of this charismatic leader was to fill his or her troops with courage to attack the enemy. In this narrative, Saul is able to muster the troops so effectively that they were afraid *not to go* into battle with Saul (v 7). Saul's campaign against the Ammonites is also so successful that the people immediately crown him king and threaten to kill anyone who would say otherwise (v 12). Besides being a skilled military leader, Saul shows himself to be a gracious king as he claims that the protests of his dissidents were of no real concern, but instead, the salvation of Yahweh is the operative outcome on which everyone should focus (v 13). This characterization of Saul is continued in 13:2-14:52, but in this latter instance, these skills do not quite match up against Jonathan's independent initiatives.

2.2. Michmash Part I: 1 Samuel 13:2-14:23a*

Saul's story continues in 13:2 as Saul chooses a total of 3,000 troops—2,000 to accompany himself at Michmash and 1,000 to be with Jonathan at Givat Benjamin, a reduction from his 330,00 warriors in 11:8. Some have suggested that this discrepancy between the stories

³ Commenting on 1 Sam 11:6, Alter states that “the story here explicitly follows the model of the inception of the charismatic leader's career in Judges, when a kind of berserker spirit enters him and ignites him with eagerness to do battle. Saul's coming in from the field behind the oxen is also reminiscent of the pattern in Judges in which an agriculturalist (Gideon) is transformed by an access of the spirit into a warrior.” Alter, *Prophets*, 217. See also V. Philips Long, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul. A Case for Literary and Theological Coherence*, SBL Dissertation Series 118 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 60; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1983), 66–67; Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*, 312–22.

⁴ Deut 20:8. Pederson addresses fear, arguing that a “state of increased psychic strength [and unity] . . . is requisite in war.” Johannes Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, vol. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 8. We should note Pederson's orientalist perspective that pervades his analysis of ancient Israelite warfare, but his general point regarding fear in this instance stands even if we were to disagree with his wording. The idea of fear being a disqualifier for fighting is likewise reflected in Deut 20:8.

Related to fear, Smith argues, “great positive value was placed on various expressions of martial aggression when manifest in combat.” He discusses a lexicon for aggression (words related to fierceness, anger, lack of satiety), suggesting they “involve fundamentally physically-based terms with psychological associations.” Smith's argument suggests for our purposes that the need for the presence of aggression in warfare (as represented in this lexical orbit) confirms that the presence of fear—which would limit aggression—is problematic in this context. See Mark S. Smith, *Poetic Heroes: The Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2014), 21–23..

reflects a redactional seam,⁵ but I suggest that the reduction of troop size actually fits into a Yahwistic perspective on war: Yahweh requires only a small number of soldiers to win his battles. This type of wartime action is described more explicitly in Judg 7:1-7 in which Yahweh instructs Gideon to continuously reduce the number of fighting men so that no Israelite can say, “My own hand has given me victory” (Judg 7:2).⁶ Jonathan’s voice in 1 Sam confirms this attitude when he declares that “Yahweh has no restraint for salvation whether with many or with few” (14:6). Likewise, the narrative word choice in 13:2 reflects the idea that Saul intentionally reduced his number of fighting men. Whereas in 1 Sam 11:8, Saul “mustered” (וּפָקַדָם) the troops, here he “chose” (וַיִּבְחַר), suggesting that there was something from which he *could* choose.⁷ Additionally, the statement that follows, “but he sent the rest of the people each to his own tent,” (v 2) is commonly understood to be a dismissal from military duty.⁸ Saul selects 3,000 from the 330,000, reducing his army to properly give Yahweh the victory.

This Yahwistic move on Saul’s part is somewhat foiled by Jonathan’s seemingly unexpected attack of the Philistine prefect at Gibeah. As Jonathan assassinates the Philistine prefect, the Philistines respond with their own show of power (13:5). We should note here that it is not Saul’s organization of his 3,000 men, but Jonathan’s hit that moves the Philistines into action, ultimately resulting in the scattering of Saul’s troops (13:6-7a). The group of the 2,000 that are with him dwindle to 600 as most of the army flees in fear, forcing Saul to relocate (v 15b).⁹ The accompanying reduction due to fear serves the same theological purpose as Saul choosing the 3,000: the fewer fighters there are, the more Yahweh will be responsible for the victory. However, Saul’s relocation and his subsequent remustering (15aβ-b*)¹⁰ of the warriors hints to the reader that the reduction to 600 was not within the parameters of Saul’s plan. Jonathan’s actions have thus complicated the success of Saul’s Yahwistic battle practice of reducing the troops.

In the next scene (14:1-23a) Saul is able to recognize the involvement of Yahweh in the battle he had not initiated. Once Saul joins Jonathan (13:16), Jonathan once again takes matters into his own hands, and, unbeknownst to Saul, reduces his own fighting unit to just two men: his armor bearer and himself (14:1). He then goes up to the Philistine camp, and enacts his own battle ritual by asking Yahweh for a sign (vv 8-10). Once he receives the sign (v 12), Jonathan and his armor bearer succeed in killing twenty Philistines. Meanwhile, Saul and his encampment

⁵ Miller, for example, suggests that 13:2-3 was composed as an introduction to the narrative that follows, which itself is a combination of two originally disparate stories. Miller, “Saul’s Rise to Power,” 161–65.

⁶ It may, therefore, be no coincidence that the *Qur’ān* connects the ordeal by the river in selecting the desirable few soldiers (from Judg 7:1-7) with the figure of Saul (2:249).

⁷ My observation holds even if 1 Sam 11 was not connected to 13-14 at an early date. The verb still suggests that there was a larger group of willing warriors from which Saul could choose.

⁸ McCarter, *I Samuel*, 107.

⁹ This string of events is represented in pre-insertion v 15aβ, reading “But the rest of the people went up after Saul to meet the army. And they came in to Givat Benjamin. And Saul mustered the people who were with him, and they were about 600 men.”

¹⁰ Excepting מן הגלגל in 15aβ

see the ever-increasing turmoil in the Philistine camp. Saul, having deduced that Jonathan has initiated the battle (v 17), calls the priest to bring the Ephod (v 18). However, Saul quickly recognizes that Yahweh has already acted to defeat the Philistines by creating a great trembling, resulting in a confusion that has caused the Philistines to destroy each other (v 20).¹¹ This divine intervention is typical of wars conducted by Yahweh: Yahweh leads the Israelites into battle, and fights for them via natural occurrences (like earthquakes) and supernatural confusion that results in the enemy attacking itself.¹² While some scholars have critiqued Saul for stopping the priest from consulting Yahweh through the Ephod (v 19),¹³ it is more plausible that Saul recognized the signs of Yahweh's current involvement in the war and thus discontinued the oracle. He had his answer: Yahweh was already consulted since Saul could see him at work in the battle.¹⁴ Additionally, the fact that the Israelites succeeded indicates that Yahweh was not displeased by Saul's cultic interruption.¹⁵

Through this episode (1 Sam 13:2-14:23a), Jonathan is an active agent, taking initiative in battle sequences without consulting his father who, according to his station as king, should be directing Israel in battle. Jonathan is, however, quite effective; Saul, on the other hand, attempts

¹¹ McCarter notes that "once the battle rages, [the narrator] shows the decisive factor to be neither the heroism of Jonathan and his weapon-bearer nor even the timely arrival of Saul and his army (14:20a); rather it is the heaven-sent 'awesome convulsion,' spreading under the Philistine positions and touching off a 'very great panic' . . . that wins the field." McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 242.

¹² For natural occurrences see Josh 10:11, 24:7; Judg 5:20; and 1 Sam 7:10. For the supernatural "confusion" see Deut 7:23, 28:20 (against the Israelites should they break Yahweh's commands); 1 Sam 5:9, 11; Is 22:5; Zech 14:13

¹³ Long remarks that his "discontinuance of the procedure once it has begun (v. 19) can hardly reflect favourably upon him" (113). Polzin suggests that Jonathan's sign is preferred by the narrator since it is a "desacralized ritual" that allows Jonathan to act quickly. Conversely, Saul's attachment to "sacred ritual . . . explains his lack of military initiative against the Philistines in this chapter" (134). Edelman similarly critiques Saul for being too slow to act due to his need for oracular confirmation. She states that this episode "demonstrates Saul's failure to act with the cool assurance befitting someone who possessed a benevolent guiding divine spirit" (86). C.f. Alter's contention that Saul perceives that the act of divination "is no longer necessary, for the auditory evidence of the Philistine rout has reached [his] ears" (229). Long, *Reign and Rejection*; Robert Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History: Part Two: 1 Samuel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah*; Alter, *Prophets*.

¹⁴ Comparing literary representations of oracular ritual concerning the monarchic initiation of war in the Hebrew with other known rituals in the ancient Near East, Schmitt states:

No military action in the ancient Near East could be started without preceding ritual actions and omens . . . War rituals and mantical consultations were an integral part of both preparations for war and postwar or postbattle activities . . . Ritual actions in the context of war . . . always involve a numinous or divine actor included or instrumentalized in the ritual process . . . [it] was an indispensable part of human actions before and after war and battle in the ancient Near East.

Rüdiger Schmitt, "War Rituals in the Old Testament: Prophets, Kings, and the Ritual Preparation for Wars," in *Warfare, Ritual, and Symbol in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 149.

¹⁵ As described by Mario Liverani, the basic outline for holy war are, "God is with us, he fights for us and assures us of victory; the enemies, even when apparently stronger, lack this support and are doomed to defeat; military action must be preceded by the appropriate votive-cultic preparation, and any fault or negligence in this respect will be punished by defeat . . . In conclusion, if the people are faithful to God, they will certainly win. And, *vice versa*: if defeated, the reason must be sought in their unfaithfulness." Liverani, *Israel's History*, 286.

to conduct his war according to standard Yahwistic practice, yet his efforts are constantly foiled by his son. Saul reduces the troops, but Jonathan's attack of the Philistine prefect causes that small number to dwindle further. Jonathan again attacks the Philistines on his own, consulting Yahweh but not Saul. Saul's impulse is to consult the deity to deduce how he should proceed, but he is also able to recognize the signs of Yahweh's involvement in battle; Yahweh has already been consulted, as evidenced by the earthquake and the divine confusion in the Philistine camp. Saul correctly analyzes the situation and takes appropriate action according to Yahwistic battle norms. However, despite attempts to do everything correctly, Saul simply cannot keep up with Jonathan's rogue actions. The tensions between these two figures come to a head in the next part of the episode.

2.3. Michmash Part II: 1 Samuel 14:23b-51

In the next part of the battle at Michmash, Saul puts the entire army under oath, declaring that they are not to eat anything until they have defeated the Philistines (14:24). Like Jonathan does in vv 29-31, some scholars have criticized Saul for putting the army under this particular oath.¹⁶ However, oaths are a common and acceptable Yahwistic practice prior to engaging in battle,¹⁷ and though we have no other example of an oath declaring a ban on eating *during* battle, we do have other literary evidence that sexual abstinence is associated with battle (1 Sam 21:6; 2 Sam 11:11), as is fasting in seeking divine guidance before battle (Judg 20:26). While oaths are an acceptable practice, we can see in other parts of the Hebrew Bible that they can work out well (Num 21:2) or they can work out with tragic or near-tragic results (e.g. Jephthah and his daughter in Judg 11:29-40).¹⁸ Though the strategic advantages of Saul's oath are ambiguous or perhaps non-existent (Jonathan himself argues the latter in 14:29-30), the oath must be understood as culturally correct because it is not Saul's wrongdoing but Jonathan's that keeps Yahweh silent when asked if the battle should continue (14:37). The tensions between Saul and Jonathan rise to the surface of the narrative after Jonathan breaks the oath and criticizes his father for having made it, claiming that they would have been even more successful in battle had the people been able to eat (1 Sam 14:27-30).

This breaking of this tension, however, is deferred in the next section in which Saul shows himself again to be a pious Yahwist when he corrects the sacrificial practice of his

¹⁶ Polzin, for example, states that "the oath story serves to discredit Saul's growing obsession with ritualistic insurance against possible defeat," and that with the oath, the reader starts "to see something in Saul's character is inclining him toward usages of Yahwistic ritual that border on sorcery and divination." Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 135. Given that these are perfectly acceptable rituals elsewhere, however, I am inclined away from Polzin's reading.

¹⁷ Schmitt states that, "ritual practices of war preparation, in particular prophetic consultations and execration rituals . . . should be understood in the context of the closely related concepts of kingship and divinely authorized war in the ancient Near East." Schmitt, "War Rituals," 158. See also Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 17, 352-353n37.

¹⁸ There is, of course, a multitude of Yahwistic vows in the Hebrew Bible that do not relate to warfare.

soldiers and builds an altar for Yahweh (14:32-35). After the battle, the very hungry warriors “pounced upon the spoils,” and are in such a rush that they sacrifice animals on the ground and eat the blood (v 32). When Saul hears about this inappropriate act, he corrects their slaughter to the standard Yahwistic practice in which anyone can sacrifice an animal, but must do so on an altar without eating the blood (v 34). Saul builds an altar “for Yahweh,” apparently his first of an unspecified number (v 35).¹⁹ In this scene, we get an etiological tale about Saul as a builder of altars, and as a figure who offers a correction to non-Yahwistic sacrificial practice in doing so. In this scene, Saul is a builder, an image that will be subtly activated by the Rejection Scribe in another short anticipation-building scene.

As the reader approaches the climax of the Jonathan/Saul tensions (14:36ff), they again encounter a Saul who performs the requisite pre-battle oracle via the priest and who is able to correctly interpret both this oracular sign and the signs that lead him to locate the perceived sin in the camp. Saul wishes to continue the fight with the Philistines, but after consulting Yahweh through the priest, he discovers that Yahweh has fallen silent (v 37). Realizing that an absence of response is evidence of wrongdoing in the camp, Saul sets up a test to uncover the unknown sin through the Urim and Thummim (v 41), a Yahwistic mode of discerning the divine will. Not thinking himself to be above inadvertent sin, Saul places himself and Jonathan on one side and the people on the other (v 40). At the end of the ordeal, Yahweh has revealed that it is indeed Jonathan who has sinned, and Jonathan confesses that he has broken the battlefield vow (vv 42-43). Though Saul is ready to follow through with his vow and kill a willing Jonathan, the people intervene by arguing that the one who delivered Israel in the battle should not be put to death (v 45). Saul, realizing that he cannot go through with the battle since he has not properly enacted his vow, returns home, ending this chapter of war with the Philistines (v 46). Saul moves through the discovery of sin and determines its location using Yahwistic battle rituals. They are, however, no match for Jonathan’s choices.

Jonathan, for his part, has again acted as a foil to his father’s battle plans, this time with near-disastrous results. Ironically, it is his rogue actions in battle that have both endangered and saved his life. The narrator notes that while “Saul adjured the people” (v 24), “Jonathan had not heard when his father made the people swear” (v 27). This distance between Saul and Jonathan that has played out throughout the 1 Sam 13:2-14:46 comes to a climax here. Jonathan has been successful in battle, always staying one step ahead of Saul who is continuously engaging proper Yahwistic battle and sacrificial rituals. Despite Saul’s best efforts, Jonathan’s independent actions overtake Saul’s real and potential successes. However, it is this independence of

¹⁹ Other instances of altar building (outside of the Jerusalem altar) are by founding figures such as Noah (Gen 8:12), Abraham (Gen 12:7, 12:8, 13:18, 22:9), Isaac (Gen 26:25), Jacob (Gen 35:7 and maybe Gen 33:18), Moses (Exod 17:15, 24:4); by military heroes like Joshua (Josh 8:30), Gideon (Judg 6:24), David (2 Sam 24:25); and by the prophets Samuel (1 Sam 7:17) and Elijah (though he did not build but repaired the altar at Carmel; 1 Kgs 18:30). Most of these instances of altar building are pre-D and pre-P depictions of proper Yahwistic altars erected at important Israelite and Judahite cult sites.

Jonathan from Saul that both endangers his life (by breaking the oath) and delivers it as the people present Jonathan's military success as the justification for sparing his life. Jonathan's salvation, however, is met with Saul's ultimate decision to give up the military campaign (v 46). As the people argue against Jonathan's death sentence, Saul confronts an impossible choice between three morally and Yahwistically difficult options: 1) Kill his son to fulfill his vow so that he can continue his military campaign, having purged the sin from the camp. 2) Break his vow by sparing his son, and therefore give up the battle. 3) Spare his son and continue the battle, knowing Yahweh is not on his side. Saul, pressed by the people, chooses option two, resulting in a draw between the Israelites and the Philistines.

At the end of chapter 14, we read a brief summary that emphasizes Saul's achievements. With this glowing review of Saul placed after the tragic threads of the Michmash battle, the narrator gives Saul's story an overall positive thrust. Though he did everything right at the battle of Michmash, Jonathan's complicating actions meant that Saul was not completely successful. However, by capping off that near-tragic story with Saul's achievements, the reader of the old narrative leaves knowing that not only was Saul a pious Yahwist, but, despite the foibles at Michmash, he was also a strong and effective military leader. Even if he was not able to totally destroy the Philistines in this narrative, he was able to pull off a draw by uniting the tribes and successfully defending them from the enemies all around, including the Philistines.

In this layer, Saul is characterized as an able warrior who knows his way around Yahwistic war ritual. He knows the proper sacrificial mode, he leads troops and reduces them to give Yahweh proper credit. He makes oaths, casts lots, and can recognize Yahweh's pleasure and displeasure in regard to the battles he is attempting to lead. That which foils his success is not Yahweh, as one would expect if Saul were being ritually improper. Instead, the results of his son's actions are that which challenge his success and create the tragic elements in Saul's story. Something like fate, it seems, is set against Saul.²⁰ The rejection scribe will pull on these tragic threads, but bring them into proximity to divine displeasure by writing a Saul who still engages with Yahwistic battle and sacrificial ritual, but who does it incorrectly. The explicit sentiments of divine displeasure in regard to Saul's actions (represented in the rejection scenes) fill the gaps and ambiguities on the surface of this older text, drawing the reader to assess Saul in light of the deity's negative attitude toward him in the rejection layer.

²⁰ The role of fate in the Saul story and the associated pre-determined wishes of the deity is the subject of interest in David M. Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul: An Interpretation of a Biblical Story* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980).

3. Saul Rejected

The two rejections of Saul draw on the threads of tragedy that run through the older Saul texts in 1 Sam 13:2-14:52 by combining the sense of tragedy with a dichotomous opposition between Saul's Yahwistic battle and sacrificial practices and by forcing Saul to choose one over the other. In these moments of tension, Saul is depicted as transgressing the proper approach to both. With these newly introduced faults, the reader can fill in the ambiguity and narratorial lack of judgment in the earlier strata to see a tragic Saul rejected by Yahweh. For the reader of the whole, the two insertions shift the thrust of the Saul tradition so that it is at once a continuation of the themes earlier associated with Saul, but is simultaneously a rearrangement of them to subtly change a near-tragic king into one totally rejected by the deity.²¹

3.1. 1 Samuel 13:7-15a*

The rejection in 13:7-15a* is essentially the result of a sin associated with sacrifice, but it is not immediately clear to the modern reader what that sin is. Sticking solely to the narrative clues, many have attempted to draw a timeline that does not exist in the narrative: maybe Saul did not wait the full seven days,²² maybe the key to Samuel's instructions was not the seven days, but the fact that Saul was to wait *until* Samuel arrived.²³ However, given the discrepancy between Samuel's command to wait seven days (10:8) and Saul's fulfillment of it, Samuel's word has already been broken. Saul did not fail to fulfill the waiting, but rather has encroached on the office of the priesthood by offering sacrifices himself.²⁴ According to this logic, it did not matter if Samuel *never* arrived; the king was certainly not to perform the sacrifice himself.

²¹ Mobley has a similar thesis, though his methodology is to seek details associated with Saul that are corroborated by both the old Saul narratives and the apologists of David in order to reconstruct the "outline of an ancient Saul *tradition* — at least the legend if not the man." Gregory Mobley, "Glimpses of the Heroic Saul," in *Saul in Story and Tradition*, ed. Carl S. Ehrlich and Marsha C. White (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 80. Additionally, Mobley highlights *different* associations with Saul than I do that he sees as reversed in the later David material, which I take as further evidence that this strategy of appropriation and reversing is at work in the biblical depictions of Saul.

²² Edelman suggests that "Saul's failure to have faith in Samuel's prediction by failing to await sunset is portrayed to be the central issue at dispute between the two characters." Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah*, 79n1. I cannot detect any narrative hints that Saul waiting the full seven days is in dispute. On the contrary, 1 Sam 13:8 tells the reader that Saul waited seven days, including statements from both the narrator and dialogue that Saul waited for the "appointed time" (מוֹעֵד).

²³ Gunn suggests that the ambiguity in Samuel's instructions in 1 Sam 10:8 has laid a trap for Saul who was supposed to wait for Samuel. Likewise, Edelman states that Saul "has failed to obey God's command to await Samuel's arrival." Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul*, 66–67; Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah*, 78.

²⁴ Long proposes that this is a breach of the king into the territory controlled by the prophet. He states, "a division of labor between king and prophet was fundamental to the establishment of Israel's theocratic monarchy—the king bearing responsibility for the execution of military affairs, but only as directed by the prophet . . . The command of 10:8, that Saul should await Samuel's arrival in order to consecrate battle and receive instructions, was designed to safeguard this theocratic authority structure, and Saul's failure or refusal, to recognize that point formed the basis for the announcement of judgement." Long, *Reign and Rejection*, 90.

In the narrative, Saul is between a rock and a hard place, so to speak. His troops are abandoning him while the enemy is arranging for battle, and the pre-battle sacrifice has not yet been offered. Saul waits for the set period of time, but circumstances appear to force him to choose between battle strategy and a proper sacrifice: he can wait for Samuel with the risk of losing his entire army or he can offer the sacrifices himself at the risk of encroaching on the priesthood. This difficult situation sets up an opposition between those traits that are closely associated with Saul in the older narrative: Saul's adherence to consulting the deity in the context of war (14:18, 37) is set up against his desire to perform sacrifice correctly (14:32-35). In the face of a quickly dispersing army he needs the sacrifice to be done. But he also ostensibly knows that offering them himself would be incorrect. His reluctance to offer them is made explicit when he tells Samuel that when Samuel did not arrive at the appointed time, Saul "compelled" himself (v 12),²⁵ suggesting that he did not want to have to do the sacrifices, but given the circumstances he could no longer restrain himself. According to Samuel, he chooses incorrectly by prioritizing military strategy over a proper sacrifice.

The no-win situation set up by Samuel brings into sharper focus the fateful tragedy weaved into the older Saul narrative. As we saw in the earlier layer, Saul's adherence to Yahwistic practice is no match for Jonathan's choices in battle, with the result that Saul's rituals almost cost him his son, the heir to his dynasty. In the older layer, Saul is depicted as one who corrects cultic mistakes (14:32-35), but in this case, these positive associations are activated and reversed, making his rejection all the more effective. Additionally, the Rejection Scribe activates Saul's military skill, but depicts it as a military hard-headedness in opposition to sacrificial practice. Saul cannot quite strike the right balance between his roles, and is thus depicted here in a tragic light. He does not wish to act incorrectly, but the seemingly right decision is out of grasp.

In the case of this secondary rejection, Saul's military strategy along with his incorrect pre-battle sacrifice actually does cause the full tragedy—a tragedy still related to the tenuous continuation of his dynasty, but that comes to fruition in a different way. In the older layer, the life of Jonathan, the heir to the throne, was at stake. Here, however, his dynasty is cut short. In both layers of the text, tragedy is close by. This first rejection scene draws on the themes of battle ritual and sacrifice in the earlier layer, making the themes continuous, but drawing them into a king rejected.

²⁵ Though there is some debate as to what this word means in this context, I follow Alter's suggestion that "the Hebrew verb *התאפק* means to force yourself to do, or to refrain from doing, something." Alter further points out that "the same verb is used when the tearful Joseph 'could no longer hold himself in check' in the presence of his brothers." Alter, *Prophets*, 224.

3.2. 1 Samuel 15

1 Sam 15 is a much longer, emotional rejection of Saul as king. In this narrative, Saul is called by Samuel to execute חרם against the Amalekites, and, as is the custom with חרם, he is to totally annihilate them, leaving no person or beast alive.²⁶ Saul does not do so, but spares King Agag of Amalek and the best of its flocks and herds alive in order to sacrifice to Yahweh (that is, according to Saul's account in 15:15).²⁷ In this narrative, we see several connection points to the older Saul literature: Saul is a warrior leading Israelites into battle and he is associated with wartime sacrifice. However, while the חרם is supposed to overlap sacrifice onto the results of the battle itself, Saul defaults to standard Yahwistic wartime practices and the accompanying post-battle animal sacrifices. Additionally, as in 1 Sam 14:32-35, Saul builds a post-battle structure (15:12), but it is explicitly "for Saul" rather than "for Yahweh," and he erects it with a mistaken sense of his own success. Once again, Saul is caught between proper sacrifice and proper battle rituals, but his implementation of those related to standard warfare get him into trouble when fails to engage the particularities of חרם.

As in the earlier layers of 1 Sam 13:2-14:52, Saul's military prowess is demonstrated in 15:4 when he musters the troops at Telaim, echoing action taken by Saul in the old narrative strand.²⁸ However, in the Amalek episode at hand, Saul defaults to standard military practice at the expense of performing a correct חרם slaughter. For example, in v 9, Saul and the people spare King Agag and the best of the flock, which is standard wartime practice,²⁹ but it is explicitly banned in enacting a חרם slaughter. We can see that the narrator of this text plays with and uses military and cultic practices already attached to Saul, but continues them in the context of a חרם sacrifice in which they are inappropriate. The Rejection Scribe sets Saul's known engagement with proper sacrifice *against* Saul's efficacy as a military leader.

²⁶ See laws of חרם in Deut 13:12-18, 20:16-18. In discussing 1 Sam 15, Stern suggests, based on the vocabulary used here in connection to חרם, that 1 Sam 15 is pre-deuteronomistic. In his broader argument that חרם is a way to address divine order over chaos, Stern connects the command of Yahweh in this instance to the mythic resonances in the Exodus story in which the Amalekites create chaos for the Israelites just as they have crossed the Sea of Reeds. Philip D. Stern, *The Biblical Hērem: A Window on Israel's Religious Experience* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 165–78.

²⁷ There is a dynamic distancing of Saul from the failure to commit a proper חרם. The narrator first describes the event in which "Saul and the people had compassion on Agag" and on the choice animals, noting that they destroyed only the "despised and rejected property" (15:9). Then Saul tells Samuel that it was *the people* who spared the best of the flocks so that they could "sacrifice to Yahweh your [Samuel's] God," but Saul mentions nothing about Agag (v 15). Taking note of the significance of slight differences in the repetition of narrative details, we might surmise that Saul is obfuscating responsibility for the failure at the same time as he is conveniently elliding the detail about King Agag. After Samuel's rebuke, Saul finally expresses the fact that it was *he* who spared Agag (v 20-21), but he still insists that *the people* spared the animals. On repetition, see Alter, *Biblical Literature*, 111–41.

²⁸ See 11:8, 13:15, and 14:17.

²⁹ See Deut 20:10-18; Josh 8:24-29; 11:14; 1 Sam 14:31-35, 23:1-5, 27:8. For redistribution of booty, see Num 31:25-47; Josh 6:24, 22:7-9; Judg 5:28-30; 1 Sam 5:1-8, 30:21-31; 2 Sam 8:9-12; Ps 68:11-14. On the treatment of the king by the invading army, see 2 Kgs 24:12, 24:20-25:7, 25:27-30.

Regarding *חֶרֶם*, the sacrifice proximate to the battle is in many ways the battle itself. *חֶרֶם* is an instance in which the sacrifice offered to the deity is the destruction wrought by the implementation of a *חֶרֶם* war. For this battle, “the spoils of victory [are] set apart to the deity by destruction,” and the Israelite army is to “destro[y] the city and its people and devot[e] the city and its spoil to YHWH.”³⁰ In 1 Sam 15, however, Saul places sacrifice related to warfare into the standard post-battle location rather than enacting a *חֶרֶם* slaughter in which nothing remains after it is implemented. His skill as a military leader shines through as he is apparently capable of destroying everyone and everything, but he instead chooses to enact the customary practice in which war booty, the capture of the king, and commemorative structures are appropriate. By performing these usual practices in the context of *חֶרֶם*, Saul’s inability to enact anything but the usual battle practices becomes his downfall. The Rejection Scribe’s use of these themes work to activate the older Saul traditions, but to simultaneously color them with the threads of tragedy that were less determinative in the old Saul narratives.

The conquest practice of Saul and the people also echoes back to Saul’s correction of the sacrificial practice of the troops in 14:32-35, which uses a rare verb (*עִיט*) for collecting the spoils of war.³¹ This word only occurs in verbal form with this meaning in these two places (14:32 and 15:19).³² In 14:32, the people “pounced upon the spoils,” after which Saul corrects their resultant blood consumption by providing an altar. Here, in 15:19, Samuel accuses Saul of inappropriately “pounc[ing] upon the spoils” of the *חֶרֶם* sacrifice, echoing back to the people’s rash and improper interaction with war booty. Whereas the episode in 14:32-35 reflects Saul’s correction of the people’s impropriety, in 15:19, Saul is not only accused of being the person who pounces upon the spoils, but he is likewise further implicated because there never should have been any spoils to begin with. Again, the Rejection Scribe activates an older association with Saul, but reverses the narrative judgment of Saul in relation to it.

In the older layer of this cultic correction (1 Sam 14:33-35), Saul reacts to the improper sacrifice by building an altar “to Yahweh” (v 35) on which the people can perform their sacrifices. Again, in 1 Sam 15, the Rejection Scribe activates and reverses this post-battle building by depicting Saul as erecting a memorial (*יָד*) to his own incorrectly perceived success

³⁰ Stern, *The Biblical Hērem: A Window on Israel’s Religious Experience*, 1. While *חֶרֶם* does have sacrificial resonances, Stern argues that in a deeper sense it aligns with motifs of order and chaos, with the deity’s desired order arising out of the destruction of the *חֶרֶם* war. Setting *חֶרֶם* in the context of this motif, he suggests that the implementation of *חֶרֶם* is deeply related to land possession and the eradication of enemy threats, and it therefore “unites the pragmatic with an idealistic yearning for the sanctification of life (of one’s own folk)”, giving *חֶרֶם* a “place in the religious conceptualizing of war” (225). Therefore, while *חֶרֶם* is not solely a sacrifice, part of its conceptual organization is devoting the enemy and its possessions to Yahweh via destruction. This kind of engagement with enemy materials overlaps with the meaning and function of standard battle sacrifices, in which a portion of the booty is offered up to Yahweh.

³¹ See previous chapter for text-critical reconstruction of this verb in 14:32.

³² In 1 Sam 25:14, the verb is used in reference to Nabal’s mode of interacting with David. However, it captures the “scream[ing]” aspect of the verbs relation to birds of prey, rather than the “dart[ing] greedily.” See “עִיט,” *BDB*.

(15:12).³³ The building of such a structure that commemorates victory in warfare reflects standard military practice in the ancient world.³⁴ In Exod 17:14-16, for example—also after fighting the Amalekites—Moses builds an altar as a reminder of Yahweh’s eternal animosity toward Amalek. While the narrator grants Moses an altar, the only other narrative location in the Bible in which a π has a commemorative function is the monument that Absalom sets up for himself (2 Sam 18:18).³⁵ Whereas in the older narrative in 1 Sam 14:32-35 Saul is remembered for building good Yahwistic altars, in the new layer, the memory of Saul as a post-battle builder becomes attached to a structure that works instead to memorialize Saul, who succeeded—and thus warranted a monument—only in his own estimation. Not only that, but the particular word used to describe the structure Saul has built is connected elsewhere to Absalom, a particularly problematic character from the standpoint of the eternal davidic dynasty. The inclusion of Saul’s *yād* that he builds problematizes Saul and draws his positive actions of building Yahwistic structures into the gravitational pull of his rejection.

This type of appropriation and reversal is reflected most powerfully in the prophetic utterance of Samuel in 15:22-23, in which listening to the divine voice is preferable to the act of sacrifice.³⁶

22. And Samuel said:

Is Yahweh’s delight in whole burnt offerings, or in sacrifices
Like it is in listening to the voice of Yahweh?
Hark! Listening is better than sacrifice
Giving attention, than the fat of rams

³³ The reader gleans this information from the mouth of an unknown agent who Samuel encounters on his way to find Saul. Meeting another person on the way to a fateful appointment and asking them for the location of the person sought is something of a type-scene used to build tension in a key moment in the narrative. The author of the Joseph narrative uses it when Joseph meets the man in the field on the way to find his brothers (Gen 37:15-17), and it similarly appears in the Saul narrative when Saul and his servant meet the women on the way to finding the prophet Samuel (1 Sam 9:11-13).

³⁴ Erection of war memorials is standard practice. Elsewhere in the ancient world, kings used these war stelae functioned to “remember their victory and the praise of the divine warriors.” See Sa-Moon Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 71. Rather than erect a monument in praise of Yahweh, Saul problematically sets up the stelae “for himself.” For analysis of this practice in biblical narrative see Brad E. Kelle, “Postwar Rituals of Return and Reintegration,” in *Warfare, Ritual, and Symbol in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 205–41. See also Nathaniel B. Levtow, “Monumental Inscriptions and the Ritual Representation of War,” in *Warfare, Ritual, and Symbol in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 25–46.

³⁵ In the narrative, this structure is recalled in order to make sense of Joab and his army burying Absalom under a pile of stones. The soldiers mock Absalom’s famous memorial he set up for himself by creating a new structure by which Absalom will be remembered. The positive sense of the π as a memorial is not apparent elsewhere with the exception of Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 56:5) and Yahweh’s promise to set up an eternal π for the remnant.

³⁶ Of course, this sentiment is in line with a budding prophetic idea in other early Israelite prophetic literature (e.g. Amos 5:21-27, Hosea 4:1-10, and Isa 1:10-17) that decenters sacrifice as the most desirable act, focusing instead on more ethical categories.

Yahweh prefers listening over sacrifice, but Saul eschewed the former to enact the latter in a problematic context. In the next lines, Samuel intensifies the significance of not listening by declaring that it is not just undesirable, but is in fact comparable to idolatry and divination:

23. For the sin of divination is rebellion
And the iniquity of teraphim—arrogance
Because you have rejected the word of Yahweh
He has rejected you from being king!

By decentering sacrifice as the most important act, the author distances even the pious sacrificial practices associated with Saul in 1 Sam 13:2-14:52 from the ultimate characterization that the reader walks away with. The narration suggests that *even if* Saul has done a sacrifice well, it is irrelevant because his inability to listen means that these may as well be acts of divination (which, of course, come into view later in 1 Sam 28:3-25). Thus, the Rejection Scribe references Saul's connection to sacrifice, but shifts its significance in the discourse, painting Saul as justly rejected.

4. Reading the Composite: The Figure of Saul

Once these rejection scenes exist in the narrative, their presence changes the potential meanings of the previous layers in profound ways. The reorganization places the rejections as the focus of the narrative, not the battles as it was previously. The rejection scenes, and particularly the emotional scene in ch 15 (with Saul begging for forgiveness, the poetic rejection, Samuel's cloak being torn, and the final dismemberment of the enemy), provide the focal point of the text. Additionally, the multiple thematic and verbal points of connection between the old narratives and the rejections pull the older text under the rhetorical power of the later additions. Therefore, the sparse narrative style of the old text that is "fraught with background"³⁷ gets filled by the reader with the images of the details in the rejection scenes. Since the rejection scenes are, in many ways, a continuation of the existing associations with Saul, they function to redefine Saul's relationships with Yahwistic battle and sacrificial practices over the entirety of chapters 13-15. The rejections can, in the words of Barry Schwartz, "revise old conceptions of the past while creating the perception that no change has occurred."³⁸

³⁷ As is well-known, this characterization of biblical narrative comes from Auerbach, *Mimesis*, see especially 3-23. Additionally, Sternberg and Perry see "the literary work as a system of gaps" that readers must fill as they encounter literature. They discuss biblical narratives as "notorious for their sparsity of detail," and the David and Bathsheba story (2 Sam 11:1-12:25) as a particularly illustrative example in which "the resultant gaps have been left open precisely at crucial points" in the narrative (282). Menahem Perry and Meir Sternberg, "The King through Ironic Eyes: Biblical Narrative and the Literary Reading Process," *PT* 7, no. 2 (1986): 275-322.

³⁸ Barry Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 299.

Working on memorialization practices about Abraham Lincoln, Schwartz asserts that in order for a certain iteration of Lincoln to be effective, the agent of memory must present a version of Lincoln that is recognizable to their audience *as* Lincoln. In other words, though representations of Lincoln may differ for groups with various political goals, the recognizability of Lincoln from one group to the next “resulted not from a frozen permanence but an identity of core elements overlaid by constantly changing peripheral ones.”³⁹ Thus, between the late 19th century and the early 20th, “[Lincoln’s] identity had changed enough to accommodate new concerns and preoccupations but not enough to negate what it previously represented.”⁴⁰ In discussing the implications of this insight,⁴¹ Schwartz argues that without deep continuities with past commemorative activities regarding a culturally significant figure, the meaning and significance in a new commemorative activity has little staying power: “An audience manipulated into associating its interests with a particular conception of the past will withdraw its commitment as soon as the manipulation ends.”⁴² To leverage cultural figures of the past in the present, memory agents are most effective when they continue those “core elements” of the figure.

While Schwartz has the benefit of being able to gain some access to the political landscape surrounding acts of commemorating Lincoln, we have no such access to the historical context of pre-Davidic leadership/kingship, let alone the figure of Saul (if such a person existed). For this reason, I focus on how the Rejection Scribe draws on details associated with Saul in the cultural text he inherited in order to compose additions that shift the reader’s assessment of Saul toward a tragic king, rejected by Yahweh. In the first rejection scene (1 Sam 13:7-15a), the Rejection Scribe continues with Saul’s characterization as a skilled warrior who engages with sacrifice in relation to Yahwistic battle practice. However, he sets pragmatic military strategy and Yahwistic pre-battle sacrifice in tension with one another, telling a story in which Saul incorrectly sacrifices for the sake of maintaining the cohesion of the troops. Yet by continuing with the “core elements” already associated with Saul, the Rejection Scribe can paint a more compelling and memorable picture.

With this insertion in 1 Sam 13:7-15a* set at an early point in the narrative, the Rejection Scribe tells the reader from the beginning that Saul has been rejected, thus setting the

³⁹ Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln*, 300.

⁴⁰ Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln*, 301.

⁴¹ Though Schwartz uses the term “collective” memory.

⁴² Schwartz, *Abraham Lincoln*, 295. By the same token, Vinitzky-Seroussi has argued that commemorative power lies with the agent of memory, and if any group has a powerful enough memory agent, their version can have a significant impact on the cultural discourse giving meaning to that event or figure in the past. See Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, “Agents of Memory,” in *Yitzhak Rabin’s Assassination and the Dilemmas of Commemoration* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 21–52. To tie together Schwartz and Vinitzky-Seroussi, power over the past is (at least in part) in the memory agent’s status and ability to produce a version of the memory that has enough continuity with the past, but changes it in just the right way to make meaningful contact with present cultural concerns.

reader's expectations for what is to follow.⁴³ Before Saul has performed any sacrifice or Yahwistic battle rituals in the narrative, Saul is characterized as one who conducts them improperly. Therefore, when Saul commands the priest to stop the consultation of Yahweh in 14:19, the reader can surmise that Saul improperly interrupted the priest's divinatory act. The reader's understanding is initiated by the rejection of Saul in 1 Sam 7-15α*, and it is further supported by the absence of either a positive or negative judgement of the act by the narrator in 14:19 and following. The reader fills this gap with the earlier-provided information that Saul is too imprudent and impatient to conduct proper Yahwistic battle rituals (i.e. with details from the rejection in 1 Sam 13:7-15α*). In the course of this reading, Saul's impropriety also defines the reader's assessment of Saul's oath in 1 Sam 14:24-26.⁴⁴ As readers encounter Jonathan's condemnation of his father's oath (14:29-30), they are primed to unwaveringly adopt Jonathan's assessment as Yahweh's own. Again, in the absence of Yahweh's attitude about Saul's oath in the existing narrative, the Rejection Scribe allows the reader to fill this gap by placing the rejection of Saul at the beginning of the narrative.

Readers read for coherence, drawing each event in the text continuum into the frame of reference by which they are making meaning from the text; they incorporate new information into what they have already understood about characters, plot, time, etc. Perry argues that readers prefer frames that "link the highest number of disparate items," that give texts order and meaning (rather than simply join items together), and that they prioritize simpler frames over those that are more complex.⁴⁵ With this in mind, I suggest that the Rejection Scribe situates the rejection of Saul as a frame of reference that provides coherence for the narrative, solving complex tensions, and filling gaps that existed in the older narrative. Resolving tensions and filling gaps makes for a more streamlined depiction of Saul—Saul is now sorted by the reader into the category of "divinely rejected," which provides the reader with an explanation for a series of actions in the older layer that were previously subtle and frequently lacked explicit motivations or a divine assessment. By casting a different light on those "core elements" of Saul's characterization, the Rejection Scribe is able to paint a portrait of Saul that overtakes and defines the older version for the reader. In other words, this version of Saul is more memorable because he resolves ambiguities in the text, links items in the narrative together, and is a more simple presentation than the previous most particularly in terms of the divine assessment of his actions. The Rejection Scribe therefore causes the reader and the subsequent tradition to forget the more complex depiction of Saul. This point is well illustrated with a discussion of the tensions between the characters of Saul and Jonathan.

⁴³ This observation is in line with Perry's assertion that the beginning of a piece of literature is uniquely influential for the meaning of the whole.

⁴⁴ This theoretical perspective of a reader is available in practice to us in the proto-LXX edition which reads, "And Saul made a great blunder that day" in 1 Sam 14:24.

⁴⁵ Perry, "Literary Dynamics," 45.

I suggest that with placement of the rejection scene at the beginning of the narrative, the Rejection Scribe flattens the tensions between Saul and Jonathan that exist in the older layer of the narrative. In the earlier stratum, as I have argued, Saul continuously performs proper Yahwistic battle rituals, but his efforts are in many ways foiled by the independent actions of his son. Ironically, Jonathan's actions both imperil him and save him in a somewhat chiasmic order:

A. Jonathan delivers Israel (14:1-23a)

B. Jonathan breaks Saul's oath (14:23b-31)

C. Narrative tension builds with Saul's correction of post-battle sacrifice (14:32-35)

B'. Jonathan's breaking of Saul's oath imperils his life (14:36-44)

A'. Jonathan's life is spared as a result of his ability to save Israel (14:45-46)

Saul's efficacy as a military leader, on the other hand, despite doing proper battle rituals, cannot keep up with Jonathan's perhaps brash (if successful) actions. In this older narrative, Saul's fault is not with his lack of adherence to Yahwistic ritual as he is accused of by Samuel in 13:7-15a^{α*}. Instead, Saul's choices are in constant tension with Jonathan's as he continuously attempts to keep up with the action sparked by Jonathan. In the newer edition with Saul's divine rejection, the reader knows from the outset that Saul has failed due to improper pre-battle ritual. Therefore, when Saul attempts to divine how to proceed after Jonathan has set off a series of events (with the Ephod, the oath, and the Urim and Thummim), the reader can fill gaps in the narrative to understand that with Saul's divine rejection introduced in the beginning, the deity must prefer Jonathan's course of action. And there is information and gaps in the narrative to support this reading once Saul is framed in such a way: Saul interrupts the Ephod ritual (14:19), he makes an oath that can be understood as rash and unproductive (14:24), Jonathan provides a condemnation for the oath (14:27-30), and he uses the Urim and Thummim to find the sin in the camp but is unable to expunge it (14:41-46). This reading of a rejected Saul is confirmed at the end of the narrative in which Jonathan is spared because of his own initiatives within the battle sequence. In the context of the battle beginning with Saul's rejection, the reader therefore resolves the tensions between Saul and Jonathan that were persistent throughout the old layer and instead empathizes with Jonathan as the hero. With this insertion, the Rejection Scribe causes the reader to forget this tension and the associated moments of Saul's complexity of character.

Likewise, just as the first rejection sets the tone and the frame of reference by which the reader understands Saul, the second insertion in 1 Sam 15 has the last word (even past the summary of Saul's accomplishments) prior to David's introduction. In this chapter, Saul is depicted as a skilled warrior. While he is capable of producing the divinely desired results of a **חרם** slaughter, his adherence to standard battle practices prevents him from following the prescribed outcome of **חרם**. Following the positive appraisal of Saul's kingship (14:47-52), the rejection of Saul in this chapter takes the association of Saul with Yahwistic battle rituals and

instead depicts Saul as incorrectly conducting the ritual commandments associated with חרם specifically (i.e. he did not kill everyone and everything). Additionally, whereas in 1 Sam 14:32-35, Saul corrects the people's actions when they "pounce" (ויעט) upon the spoils by building an altar, in this instance Saul himself "pounced" (ותעט) upon the animals he imprudently spares, after which he builds a memorial to himself. The Rejection Scribe adds this episode to the very end of the Saul narrative—one that precedes the introduction of David—leaving plenty of room for the legitimate rise of David over the course of the rest of the 1 Sam.⁴⁶ Saul's rejection from the beginning and the confirmation of his rejection at the end, both of which transform elements with which Saul is already associated, leaves the reader with no doubt as to Saul's status vis-à-vis the deity.

With the literary intervention on the part of the Rejection Scribe, the mnemotechnic path of the literary depiction of "King Saul as near-tragic hero" shifts. The actions associated with Saul continue, but as the Rejection Scribe reorganizes them, he creates a new picture of "Saul as tragic king." The new depiction does overwrite some of the subtleties of the old narrative, but it also reorganizes the image of Saul with the Rejection Scribe's own subtle actions. A scribe in this position could have made a whole range of narrative interventions including glossing the narrative with judgments against Saul or editing out some of Saul's successes.⁴⁷ Instead, the Rejection Scribe inserts two rejection scenes, the first one of which organizes the ambiguities in 1 Sam 13:2-14:52, and the second of which gets the final word after the listing of Saul's military successes (1 Sam 14:47-52). The result is a Saul that closely resembles the older version, but one which is transformed in key ways with this reorganization of his character.

5. Divine History: A Cultural Symbol

The dynamics of memory at work here are illustrated by Jeffrey Olick's gyroscope metaphor for cultural memory. Olick proposes that any act of cultural memory has to "mediat[e] between the weight of the past (momentum) and forces of the present (gravity)."⁴⁸ In the case of the Saul narratives, the Rejection Scribe has inserted material that in many ways continues the momentum of the past narrative: Saul is still associated with Yahwistic battle practices, sacrifice, he is still characterized as an able warrior, and relates to a sense of tragedy. However, the Rejection Scribe mediates the weight of that past depiction of Saul by placing a new

⁴⁶ This is not to suggest that I am taking for granted the existence and addition of an independent History of David's Rise (HDR; though I am also not ruling it out). It is simply to state that with Saul being divinely rejected, there is logically an opening for a new divine selection, and in the text as we have it the next chapter (1 Sam 16) makes clear that this figure will be David. For recent re-evaluations of the History of David's Rise, Sung-Hee Yoon, *The Question of the Beginning and the Ending of the So-Called History of David's Rise: A Methodological Reflection and Its Implications*, vol. 462 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014); Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*, 228–88.

⁴⁷ While the latter option could be at work here, it is notable that there still remains many successful moments of Saul's leadership (e.g. 1 Sam 11, 1 Sam 14:47-52).

⁴⁸ Olick, *Sins of the Fathers*, 438.

gravitational pull on it: Saul is a king rejected by Yahweh because of his actions in regard to those ritual aspects to which he was previously connected—the threads of tragedy in the older layer now take center stage. It is outside the bounds of this study to make a suggestion as to why the Rejection Scribe would be motivated to do such a thing, but within the world of the narrative, we can see that the rejection of Saul and his lineage creates a divinely-produced dynastic vacuum into which a new king can enter. As the unequivocal rejection of Saul makes room for a new divinely appointed king, this shift ultimately allows for the story of David to be coherent with these narratives about Saul's life. With Saul's divine rejection, the rise of David can be situated under divine directive as well—if Saul is not first cast aside by the deity, then the reader of 1 Sam 16ff must understand David as a usurper and not a rightful king.⁴⁹ However, by causing the non-rejected Saul to be forgotten within the tradition, the Rejection Scribe creates space for a new divinely-selected David to rise as king.⁵⁰ This forgetting allows for the development of the cultural symbol of divine history.⁵¹ As the mnemotechnic paths of two kings collide, the forgetting caused by the Rejection Scribe is precisely that which allows for the transition between dynasties while also maintaining the integrity of Yahweh's power over the past, and therefore his power over the continuation of the past into the present and toward the future.

I define divine history as a presentation of the past in which cause and effect patterns drive the course of events, but additionally, in which the divine responses to human action are a part of this structure as they hold together the vicissitudes and the eventualities of the larger historical arc. This is similar to Janzen's description of the Deuteronomistic History, which he claims "charts a course from Deuteronomy through 2 Kings where historical cause and effect are at work in the way that modern historiographers understand them to be, with the exception that the divine is constantly intervening in this history."⁵² Rather than characterizing divine action as "constantly intervening," I think it is more appropriate to draw it into the broader cause and effect pattern that defines history in this sense. The divine responds to human action, and those

⁴⁹ The murderous rise of a historical David as an outsider is one of the claims made in Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001). The residue of tensions between David and Saulide lineage remains on the surface of the books of Samuel. In the words of Mark Smith,

The Bible largely presents Saul and David as a succession of Israel's first two kings, but this presentation may obscure the crisis of civil war. Prior to David's kingship, Saul's supporters disputed Davidic claims to the throne (2 Samuel 2-4), and they remained contested through his reign (2 Samuel 16).

Smith, *Memoirs of God*, 50.

⁵⁰ It could be the case that the Rejection Scribe is the Prophetic Redactor (PR) responsible for compiling an early version of the books of Samuel which the Deuteronomistic Historian would come to use as his source text. If this were to be the case, the implication is that the same hand is responsible for presenting a divine rejection of Saul and a divine selection of David. Though my argument at large does not depend on it, this is an attractive solution to the question of a non-deuteronomistic redaction of most of the books of Samuel, a text collection that reflects very few deuteronomistic fingerprints. On the scholarship regarding the Prophetic Redactor see Hutton, *Transjordanian Palimpsest*, 113–56. On the relationship of the books of Samuel to the Deuteronomistic History, see the edited volume, Edenburg and Pakkala, *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists?*

⁵¹ The idea of divine history becomes more developed within the Deuteronomistic History.

⁵² David Janzen, *The Social Meanings of Sacrifice: A Study of Four Writings* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 121.

responses create the potentials for what humans are able to do next. Within the larger arc, humans can act treacherously, righteously, or in any other manner, and the divine responds to that action, punishing and rewarding accordingly. There is no predetermined course for human history, but it is constantly shaped and reshaped by divine intervention into human action, all of which occur in a cause and effect pattern over time.

In the case of the literature at hand, the Rejection Scribe draws on past images of Saul to create a new depiction of a king who is justly dismissed by Yahweh.⁵³ Yahweh intervenes (through the prophet) in this narrative to create a new direction for the arc of events within historical time. We can see that Yahweh's character in the latter rejection scene especially (1 Sam 15) is not an observer of a grand sense of time in which he knows the outcome. Instead, Yahweh "regrets" (15:10, 35) choosing Saul because of Saul's subsequent actions, and Yahweh therefore turns from the course of actions he had originally pursued.⁵⁴ Yahweh will instead give the kingship to "[Saul's] fellow who is better than [him]" (15:28)—to "a man after his own heart" (13:14). Within divine history, there is a circularity of causation in which human action prompts divine action which will, in turn, shift the trajectory of human history, which as it proceeds creates a need, once again, for divine action. This collaboration between the human and divine in historical time is aptly described as divine history, and it can only exist as such if Yahweh directs these shifting structures as he does here in the decline of Saul's grasp on the throne.

The cultural symbol of divine history is a useful hermeneutic for cultural texts because it allows for a multitude of cultural texts emerging from the past to be read cohesively under the same rubric. Divine action is, as it were, the glue that holds the instabilities of ancient Israel and Judah's history together. In the Deuteronomistic History, for example, divine history allows Yahweh to have control over the circular age of heroes in the book of Judges, the establishment of a monarchy, the split of the kingdom, and the political turmoil within each of the two kingdoms. Likewise, Yahweh even has control over the eventuality of foreign invasion and exile. Every turn of events within the Deuteronomistic History contains within it Yahweh's response to human action. With divine history, cultural texts can be linked to communicate a historical narrative far past the purview of any one cultural text individually, and to make a theological point about the ability of the deity to direct human history. Here, in 1 Sam 13-15, the Rejection Scribe transforms the character of Saul in the cultural text that he inherited, and in doing so, allows the divine to penetrate the reader's perception of the past. He does so, however, by continuing to emphasize the "core elements" of Saul's character while simultaneously shifting the momentum of the tradition away from Saul's divine election.

⁵³ That is to say, "justly" in the world of the narrative. As modern readers, we must contend with the egregiously troubling nature of the *הָרָם* slaughter.

⁵⁴ Yahweh's regret is noted by the narrator with some amount of contradiction to Samuel's claim to Saul that "the Eternal of Israel does not lie, and he does not repent. For he is not a human that he should repent" (15:29).

CONCLUSION

My dissertation project began with the oft-made observation that a certain number of biblical texts contain allusions to others. Whereas many scholars have worked from here to theorize intertextuality or to make arguments for some type of continuity between biblical and post-biblical hermeneutical traditions, something more fundamental persistently bothered me: *why* would a scribe reference existing literature, and more particularly, why would a scribe reference *multiple* existing literatures? What does this phenomenon indicate in terms of the status of these texts for the scribe? What is it that allows a scribe insert these kinds of materials into his cultural texts? This phenomenon seems to pull in two opposing directions for us post-printing press, post-Enlightenment readers. On the one hand, it reflects a view that this literature is *worth* reading and referencing. In this sense, the literature into which a scribe places insertions and the literature referenced therein seems to have a certain amount of authority or prestige.¹ On the other hand, the fact that scribes are inserting material and changing these texts reflects a view that the significance of these materials does not preclude changes to them. That which is culturally significant, or dare I say sacred, is not separate; it is not “holy to Yahweh” in the Priestly sense. Rather, it is porous and human, subject to change as scribes see fit; it is sacred rather like J’s sense of the divine who is bound up in and changes according to human action.

I began to address this question in my first chapter, “Canon: Intertextuality in Exod 34:11-17,” in which I observed that the Pan-Idolatry Scribe was referencing multiple biblical texts and reading them in terms of one another. This hermeneutic reflects that the scribe perceived a relationality between various Pentateuchal legal collections as well as the prophetic corpus. I argued in this chapter that in order for cultural texts to be read in terms of one another, the scribal agent must background, or forget, certain elements in the individual cultural texts that he is referencing. This act causes the subsequent tradition to forget that the cultural texts were ever conceptually separate, and therefore creates the potential for later readers in the tradition to make new syntheses by reading the interlinked texts in terms of one another. I suggested that this perceived relationality between texts is the beginning of an idea of canon. The formation of the idea that cultural texts belong to a collection or are in some way related to each other is dependent on the tradition forgetting (some of) the elements in these texts that stand in tension with one another.

¹ See the helpful distinction that Nathan Mastnjak draws between authority and prestige. Nathan Mastnjak, “Prestige, Authority, and Jeremiah’s Bible,” *JR* 98, no. 4 (2018): 542–58.

As I moved forward from the question of why a scribe would reference multiple texts together, I became interested in how scribes use concepts from various biblical literatures to restructure the meaning and potential reactivations of prophetic poetry. By turning to issues of time and temporality in the various layers of Isaiah 2, I argued that additions to an originally Isaianic poem restructured the temporality of the composite work so that it could successfully iterate into infinite futures. This temporal change occurred because the Expansion Scribe shifted the human and divine simultaneity reflected in Isaiah's poem and set it in the future relative to Isaiah. To do this, he combined Isaiah's poem with a deuteronomistic view of history in which idolatry is the cause of political disaster. While the Expansion Scribe draws the Day of Yahweh into a more historical sense of time, the simultaneity characteristic of vertical temporality is transferred to Isaiah as the inferred author who can see into futures distant from himself. This literary intervention reforms Isaiah from a prophet into a seer who experiences a simultaneity with readers in his future. Again, we can see from this case study that synthetic cultural symbols coalesce as cultural texts meet along their mnemotechnic paths. These cultural symbols then take on a life of their own and forge their own mnemotechnic paths and become available for use by future agents of memory.

In my last case study, I addressed questions about historical narrative, a literary genre that is oriented toward remembering events set in the past. In this chapter, I proposed that causing character elements to be forgotten is successful when the agent of memory iterates those character elements already associated with the figure. By reorganizing Saul's known relationship to Yahwistic battle rituals, the Rejection Scribe is able to cause the near-tragic nature of Saul to be forgotten in favor of Saul as a totally tragic hero, rejected for these very actions. Saul's rejection then makes room for the divine selection of David as King. By organizing the end of Saul's dynasty according to divine will, the Rejection Scribe participates in the formation of the cultural symbol of divine history in which Yahweh responds to human cause and effect patterns, ultimately structuring the larger historical arc of Israel and Judah. In order for David's rise to be coherent with Saul's dynasty, Saul becomes divinely rejected for the very acts for which he was previously known to positively engage with. Within this restructuring, the Rejection Scribe causes a non-rejected Saul to be forgotten by the reading tradition.

These studies together point to the causative nature of forgetting within reading traditions. As scribal agents bring various cultural texts into contact with one another, they restructure the potential meanings of all of the texts involved. In particular, by inserting new material into existing cultural text—material that contains allusion to or ideas from other cultural texts—the actual content of the received text is changed, and therefore the older layer becomes inseparable from the scribe's literary intervention into it.² What this intervention does is to change the meaning of the older text in significant ways. When new readers approach this composite text, those elements in the older text that the scribal agent deselected, backgrounded,

² I should say, inseparable except by the critical tools of biblical scholarship.

overwrote, or in some way transformed becomes forgotten by the subsequent reading community. And yet, it is the forgotten that fosters the development of cultural symbols as the mnemotechnic paths of these compositions converge and are read together. That which is deselected recedes from view, and the tradition becomes interwoven, driven by cultural symbols, and durable over time.

At the same time, this study opens up space to think about the memory of literature in a way that is unavailable to scholars of modern literature. Considering secondary insertions into biblical text with the tools of cultural memory studies allows space for thinking about the cumulative nature of cultural memory in a new way. By examining the formation of biblical text, we can see a tradition forming, but it is a tradition that overwrites itself within that formation. This observation brings a true collaborative hermeneutics into sharp focus. Reader, author, text, and tradition all overlap in increasingly complex ways to forge an ever-changing hermeneutics for understanding a textual tradition that is in flux because of the interventions made by scribes as both readers and authors.

The question that we should pursue as a result of this study relates to how the forgotten becomes reactivated within the tradition. In the biblical text, those meanings that are forgotten still reside within the actively remembered cultural text. We might ask, where does the forgotten go? How and where does it still reside within the tradition? And in what circumstances are those elements drawn back out in productive ways? How does the forgotten transform so that it reemerges in a new shape? These questions are outside the scope of this study, but a continued examination of these cultural texts and cultural symbols through the Dead Sea Scrolls period and into the New Testament and early Rabbinic literature might help us understand the next phase of the mnemotechnic paths of these cultural materials. Do agents of memory in these literary collections activate forgotten elements? If so, how, for what purpose, and in what form? These are the questions I plan to pursue in the next iteration of this project.

Within this secondary direction, we can also ask questions about the vicissitudes and patterns of text production within the *longue durée* of the reading community. For example, we can see that the reading community and the tradition go through moments of textual expansion and contraction and that these various moments have implications for the creation and maintenance of cultural symbols. Biblical texts expand, but eventually settle into what becomes their canonical form, at which point they are closed. Then in the Second Temple period up through the first few centuries of the common era, there is another flurry of literary production, after which the same thing occurs: these written traditions get sorted into Jewish and Christian, and their literary collections settle into the New Testament and the Mishnah, respectively. This pattern occurs over and over through the history of a reading tradition even to the extent that whole new religions are born (e.g. Islam, and to some extent Protestantism). Why does this happen? What closes a text collection? Why are some periods marked by literary expansion and

some by literary collection? These patterns cohere into theological principles and symbols like monotheism or idolatry. The dominant forces in a reading community draw orthodoxy from these symbols, but there are always heterodoxical forces that challenge their interpretations. And yet, the figures behind both of these movements are reading *the same texts*. How do the latter get naturalized? How do the former attempt to control the symbolic system of a reading community? And what makes the symbolic system coherent when there is so much canonical material that contradicts it? How do they draw oppositional meaning—meaning with life and death implications—from the same cultural texts?

With this dissertation, I have laid the groundwork to begin to address some of these questions that span far away from biblical studies and into monotheistic and/or text-based cultures and religions more broadly. This dissertation is a foray into addressing questions about how text-based cultures form and are formed by their cultural texts. In it, I attempt to call into question the perception of the Bible as a singular, stable work, and instead posit a collaborative hermeneutics between text, readers, authors, and the reading community over time. As scholarly literature on memory highlights, cultural memory is only formed as such when it is activated, used, and brought into contact with concerns in the present. What this means is that memory is constantly in motion and must change within each iteration. The authority of the Bible as a religious text necessarily exists in tension with the reality that its afterlife is eternally contingent upon its continuous change of meaning.

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