

D.Phil. Abstract

The Religion of the Landless  
A Sociology of the Babylonian Exile

Submitted Hilary Term. 1986

by  
Daniel L. Smith

In this study, the Babylonian Exile of the Jews is approached from the perspective of a sociological analysis of more recent historical cases of mass deportation and refugee behaviour. After this survey, four behaviour patterns are isolated that function as 'Mechanisms for Survival' for minorities in crisis and under domination in a foreign environment. These 'Mechanisms' include 1) Structural adaptation, 2) The rise of, and conflict between, new leaders. 3) new Folklore patterns, especially 'Hero' stories, and 4) adoption or elaboration of ritual as a means of boundary maintenance and identity preservation.

These four mechanisms are then illustrated from Exilic texts of the Old Testament. The rise of Elders and the changing nature of the Bet Abot is seen as structural adaptation. The conflict of Jeremiah and Hananiah, and the advice of Jeremiah in his 'letter', is seen as the conflict of new leaders in crisis. The 'Diaspora Novella' is compared to Messianic expectation and especially to Suffering Servant to show how folklore can reflect social conditions and serve a function as 'hero stories'. Finally, the latest redactional layers of 'P' reveal concern for purity and separation that expressed itself in social isolationism and boundary maintenance, particularly in the dissolution of marriages with foreign wives. There is also a section on social conflict after the restoration, as a measure of the independent development of exilic social ideology and theology.

The conclusion is that sociological analysis of the Exilic material reveals the exilic-post-exilic community exhibiting features of a minority group under stress, and the creative means by which that group responds by Mechanisms for Survival.

# The Religion of the Landless: A Sociology of the Babylonian Exile

by

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Summary of D.Phil. Thesis

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The essential task of this study is to examine the nature and effect of the Babylonian Exile on the development of Israelite faith and practice by means of a comparative sociological and anthropological analysis. The choice of the Babylonian Exile as a subject of research was inspired not only by its definable nature as a problem, but also because I consider the Exile to be the most significant watershed event in the history of the Ancient Hebrews. Coming as it did over a century after the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Neo-Assyrian Empire, the fall of Judah in the Neo-Babylonian era represented the final stand of a fully independent political state for the Ancient Hebrews. Borrowing a martial tactic developed by their Assyrian predecessors, the Neo-Babylonian Empire practiced mass deportation. In the campaign against Judah, a large number, including the Royal house, military officials, and artisans, were deported to Mesopotamia in the region of Babylon and Nippur. Later deportations included more general numbers of the population.

In spite of the catastrophic nature of this final blow to the last surviving Jewish nation, little critical attention has been focused on the Exile, especially on the social as well as religious implications of such an experience. The reason for this is apparently the comparative lack of primary materials, especially when compared to other periods of Israelite



history. Yet, despite this absence of a large amount of material, few doubt the primary importance of the event, and many assumptions and conclusions are common despite few critical treatments of the era.

Since 'new' textual evidence is out of the question, the old texts must be approached with new methods, but especially new questions. To produce these new questions, I have taken an approach to the Exile that is similar to that taken for the pre-monarchical period (Weber, Gottwald) and for the Prophetic era as a whole (Overholt, Wilson, Hanson) but with some theoretical qualifications and refinements. My own methodological approach is comparative, but is similar to the kind of 'ideal' type paradigm which was pioneered by Weber, and most recently refined by Bryan Wilson.

By surveying the experience of exile, deportation, forced migration, refugee camps, and ethnic identity preservation among minorities, I have identified four social and socio-psychological behaviour patterns which recur in these situations. Although I have chosen four, there are many other patterns that one could work with, and undoubtedly many that I have not noticed. The four that I have chosen, however, were those that suggested Biblical analogies. These four are:

1) Structural adaptation, including changes in the leadership and authority patterns, or changes in the basic social units of the society in question.

2) The split in leadership between new leaders that arise to replace the old, defeated leaders who are usually unable to rule the minority group directly. The split in the leadership is invariably between those who advise a strong strategy of resistance, often violent, to the ruling group or population, and those that advise a strategy of social resistance, but cooperation as much as possible without major compromise.

3) The creation, or elaboration of patterns of ritual practice that emphasize

ritual weapons, or ritual resistance against foreign influence, often expressed in concern over purity and pollution from foreign elements.

4) the creation of new folk literature or folklore patterns, especially seen in the prominence of the 'Hero story' as a new role model for the group.

I have called these behaviour patterns, "Mechanisms for Survival". These 'mechanisms' are employed by social groups in order to maintain their identity, social structure and religious/cultural life under stress. Many of these mechanisms have been documented in careful studies of communities who have experienced disaster, forced migration, and minority existence. I have surveyed a large amount of this secondary literature consciously citing examples from a variety of national, ethnic, historical and socio-economic circumstances. I have focused on four 'case studies' for special examination to illustrate the 'Mechanisms': Japanese-American internment during World War 2 in the western United States, South African movement of black Africans to 'Bantustans' and the religious responses of the 'Zionist' Churches, slave societies and religious responses in pre-Civil War United States, and the movement of the population of the Bikini Islands by the United States in the 1950's in order to conduct atomic tests. I do not mean to suggest a direct analogy between any of the cases which I have considered, and the Babylonian Exile (an overly simplistic and unscientific generalization) but rather to use the collective sociological and anthropological data to suggest themes, and questions, to inform exegesis. I am interested in how groups respond, especially in religious patterns, to the specific kind of crisis that mass deportation represents.

After identifying these 'Mechanisms' and illustrating them from the cases, I have illustrated these 'Mechanisms' in Biblical material from the

Babylonian Exile period.

First, I have examined the role of Elders in the Exile, and the changing nature of the Bet 'Ab/Bet 'Abot as indicators of social adaptation under the conditions of exile. The presence of Elders in the context of prophets, and in the context of gatherings, suggests maintenance of elder meetings as an indigenous form of leadership and organization. This suggests self-government, and large groups of exiled communities. Secondly, however, there is a significant change in the nomenclature of the basic social units of Israelite society. The Bet 'Ab in the pre-exilic period was an extended family of 2-3 generations living under the leadership of the eldest male. But the post-exilic Bet 'Abot is much larger, and represents a basic change in the size of the social unit, which was then a large group (often as many as 3,000) unified by a familial fiction. The theories of Joel Weinberg, who suggests a social configuration called a 'Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde' are considered, and with some reservation, accepted.

Secondly, I have examined the conflict between Jeremiah and Hananiah as an example of the conflict between new leaders in crisis who advise conflicting strategies of resistance and/or cooperation with the ruling dominant group. I had earlier described this rise of new leaders as inevitable from both the fall of the leadership structure in military defeat, and the encouragement of a 'cooperative' elite by dominant groups. The 'Letter of Jeremiah' in Ch. 29 of the book of Jeremiah is considered in the light of Deuteronomic 'Holy War' exemptions. It is argued that Jeremiah's letter represents a direct challenge to the exiles to abandon the strategy of force, exemplified in Hananiah's expectation of God's violent and quick end to the Exile by 'breaking the yoke of Babylon' and returning the King to the throne.

Third, I have examined the Exilic redaction of the 'P' legislation of purity, and argued that the exilic age is typified by ritual concerns for purity and separation of the community of faith from the impurity and dangers that surround a minority group. I have borrowed the theory of Mary Douglas to explain the meaning and importance of ritual among minority groups undergoing stress. According to recent work on the legislation of 'P', the laws have undergone extensive redactional activity which develops older (sometimes pre-monarchical!) laws for new situations. I have shown that the final redactional layer of 'P', represented, for example, in Leviticus 11, has purity and separation as its major concern. A consideration of the root BDL reveals that separation was a concern also of the post-exilic community in the 'separation' of foreign wives from the 'holy seed' of the Sons of the Golah.

Fourth, I have considered folk-literature as an expression of social circumstances, especially noting the significance of the 'Hero Story', and its emergence as a fictitious 'role model' for survival in new conditions. I have examined the 'Diaspora Novella', especially Daniel and Joseph, as examples of new 'heroes', and compared the social symbols of these stories to the Messianic expectations of the exilic period, especially the 'Suffering Servant'. I have argued that Messianism is also an expression of a 'Diaspora hero'. Each of the Diaspora stories emphasizes the 'low status' beginnings of the 'hero' before a rise to prominence in the eyes of the non-Jewish population. The 'hero' is then faced with a challenge by members of the indigenous population, who are always seen as the real threat, and not the leader/king, often portrayed as a kindly, or bumbling ruler easily swayed by his evil advisors. The success of the Hero is always with the 'weapons' that are available to those among whom these

stories are preserved and cherished, the diaspora Jews - the 'weapons' of cleverness and especially piety. Finally, imprisonment as an institution, and as a motif of the Diaspora Hero, is examined, and considered significant as **the major symbol of exile**, particularly important noting its absence as a judicial institution of Israel. All Diaspora Heroes face imprisonment, as does the 'Suffering Servant' - which may compare to the messianic expectations built around the King's triumph over humiliation in the Ancient Near Eastern royal ritual of enthronement.

Finally, as a measure of the separate development of the faith and practice of the exile community, I have considered evidence for conflict between the exile community and those left in the land at the time of the restoration. I have concluded that the religious values of the exiles, including the religious development of the 'Mechanisms for Survival' was at the root of the conflicts of the restoration, which was only further exacerbated by the conflicts over property and religious intolerance.

I have concluded that the Babylonian Exile represents a case where the religious development followed the lines of a 'Minority Religious response' which sociological analogies can highlight and help identify, as well as provide new ways to understand the theology of this period as a **creative response** to the threat of cultural, religious, and military colonialism of Empires in the first millennium.

THE RELIGION OF THE LANDLESS  
A Sociology of the Babylonian Exile

An Experiment in Sociological Exegesis  
of the Old Testament

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Dedications of unpublished dissertations are somewhat pretentious, I suppose. However, I feel a large debt of gratitude to both my supervisors, Dr. John Barton of the Faculty of Theology, and Dr. Bryan Wilson, of the Faculty of Social Science, for their advice and guidance in helping me to complete this study. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to the ideas and provocative analysis that is typical of the scholars I have been privileged to work with; Arthur D. Roberts, John Howard Yoder, Steven Schwarzschild, Millard Lind, and Jacob Enz. They will recognize their influence, and will be the first to know that their light on my path is diminished by my own shortcomings.

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But most important, I must thank Michele, my wife, who had to live with my eccentricities, my frustrations as well as joys in working on this project. Whether published or not, three years is a long time for her to live with a husband distracted by a thesis and thus not able to pay her the attention she deserves. I dedicate this work, such as it is, to her.

"What the world most needs is not a new Caesar. but a new style. A style that is created, updated, projected not by a nation or a government, but by a people. This is what moral minorities can do - what they have done time and again. Liberation is not a new King...liberation is the presence of a new option, and only a non-conformed, covenanted people of God can offer that. Liberation is the pressure of the presence of a new alternative so valid, so coherent, that it can live without the props of power and against the stream of statemanship. To be that option is to be free indeed...

...over against the paradigm of leaving Egypt and destroying the Pharaoh on the way, we find in the Old Testament, more often, another model of how to live under a pagan oppressor. It is the way of Diaspora..."

John Howard Yoder  
1973

## Table of Contents

0.0	Introduction: A Consideration of the Method and Assumptions of Sociological Exegesis of the Bible.....	1
0.1	The Earlier Interest in Anthropology and the Old Testament	
0.2	Recent Discussion of Methodology: R. Wilson's 'Guidelines'	
0.3	Further Methodological Problems	
0.3.1	'History Mediated by Theory' - Marxist Exegesis	
0.3.2	'History Mediated by Concepts' - Paul Hanson's <u>Dawn of Apocalyptic</u>	
0.4	An Alternative Approach	
0.5	The Social Reality of Text and Reader	
1.0	The Context of Empire.....	17
1.1	The Historical Background: The Assyrian Rise to Power	
1.1.1	The Chaldean Conquest in the West	
1.1.2	The Conquests of Cyrus	
1.1.3	The Restoration	
1.2	Assyrian and Babylonian Martial Tactics and Propaganda	
1.3	Deportation as a Martial Tactic of Empire in the First Millennium	
1.4	The Condition of Palestine During the Exile	
1.5	Evidence for Life in Exile	
1.6	Biblical Scholarship of the Exile: From Theology to Sociology	
1.6.1	Max Webers <u>Ancient Judaism</u>	
1.7	Prolegomenon to a Sociological Analysis of Exile	
2.0	Sociological Paradigms for the Study of Exile.....	74
2.1	Introductory Comments	
2.2	The Babylonian Exile was a Crisis	
2.3	The Babylonian Exile was the forced removal of a sizeable population which lasted at least one generation	
2.4	The Babylonian Exiles were resettled in a foreign environment and had to preserve Ethnic identity	
2.4.1	Identity in a Minority Context	
2.4.2	Minorities under Domination	
2.5	The Sociology of Return	
2.5.1	EXCURSUS - Slavery	
2.6	Mechanisms for Survival	
2.6.1	Social Adaptation of Society in Exile as a Mechanism for Survival	
2.6.1a	The Rise of New Leaders	
2.6.2	Ritual as a Mechanism for Survival	
2.6.3	Folklore as a Mechanism for Survival	
3.0	Structural Adaptation in the Babylonian Exile.....	146

3.1	Elders	
3.1.2	Elders and 'Heads'	
3.1.3	Elders and Cities	
3.2	Units of Social Structure in Pre- and Post-Exilic Israel	
3.3	Changes in the Social Structure - Analysis of a Theory	
3.4	J. Weinberg's "Bdrger-Temple-Gemeinde"	
3.5	Political Structure - 'Internal' or 'External' ?	
3.5.1	The Term 'Governor' and the 'Province of Judah'	
3.5.2	Terms for Leadership	
3.6	Structural Adaptation - A Materialist Theory of the Bet 'Abot	
4.0	Jeremiah and Hananiah: The Crisis of Leadership.....	203
4.1	Critical Introduction to the Book of Jeremiah	
4.2	Jeremiah's 'Letter to the Exiles'	
4.3	Conflict of Elites in Crisis	
4.4	On The Ethics of Resistance	
5.0	The Ritual of Survival.....	221
5.1	The Character of the Priestly Redactors: Dating the 'P' Document	
5.2	'P' as a Redaction of Old and New Sources	
5.3	A Redactional View of Cultic Law	
5.4	The Ritual of Resistance - a Functional View of Pollution and Separation	
5.5	Lev 11: Animals in their categories, and the Pure and Impure	
6.0	The Folklore of Exile.....	242
6.1	Daniel - The Diaspora Novella - Joseph and Esther	
6.2	Literary Comparisons of the Diaspora Stories	
6.3	An Exilic Version of the Joseph Story	
6.4	The Social Function of the Diaspora Hero	
6.5	Messianism as Diaspora Hero - The New David	
6.6	The Suffering Servant as Diaspora Hero	
6.6.1	'Individual' theories	
6.6.2	'Collective' and 'minority' theories	
6.7	The Diaspora Hero as Social Symbol	
6.7.1	'Prison' as a Symbol of Exile	
7.0	The Sociology of the Return.....	280
7.1	Haggai's Question	
7.2	Samaritanism in Recent Debate	
7.3	Pollution and Social Interaction	
7.4	Social Conflict in the Restoration	
7.4.1	Conflict as 'religious ideology'	
7.4.2	Class Conflict in the Restoration: Paul Hanson	
7.4.3	Class Conflict: Materialist Theories	
7.5	Summary	
8.0	Conclusions.....	313
9.0	Bibliography.....	320

## Abbreviations

- AA - American Anthropologist (Washington D.C.)  
ANET - Ancient Near Eastern Texts Ed. J. Pritchard, Princeton, 1968.  
ASR - American Sociological Review (Manasha)  
ASTI - Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute (Leiden)  
ATD - Das Alte Testament Deutsche (Göttingen)  
BA - Biblical Archaeologist (Cambridge, Ma.)  
BDB - Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon Oxford, 1907.  
BZAW - Beihefte zur ZAW  
CAH - Cambridge Ancient History  
CBQ - Catholic Biblical Quarterly (Washington D.C.)  
DA - Dialectical Anthropology  
ET - Expository Times (Edinburgh)  
HTR - Harvard Theological Review  
HUCA - Annual of the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati)  
ICC - International Critical Commentary (T&T Clark, Edinburgh)  
IM - International Migration (The Hague)  
IMR - International Migration Review (New York)  
JAAR - Journal of the American Academy of Religion  
JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven)  
JBL - Journal for Biblical Literature (Chico, Ca.)  
JCS - Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Cambridge, Ma)  
JESHO - Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)  
JFI - Journal of the Folklore Institute (USA)  
JJS - Journal of Jewish Studies (Oxford)  
JNES - Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)  
JQR - Jewish Quarterly Review (Leiden)  
JSS - Journal of Semitic Studies (Manchester)  
JStJ - Journal for the Study of Judaism (Leiden)  
JTS - Journal of Theological Studies (Oxford, London)  
KLIO - Berlin  
OrAnt - Oriens Antiquus (Rome)  
OTL - The Old Testament Library (SCM Press, London, Commentary Series)  
OTS - Oudtestamentische Studiën (Leiden)  
PEQ - Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London)  
Qedem - Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology (Jerusalem)  
VT - Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)  
WMANT - Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament (Neukirchen)  
ZAW - Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin)

All Biblical quotes, unless otherwise noted, are from the Jerusalem Bible in English, and the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia in Hebrew.

## 0.0 Introduction: A Consideration of the Method and Assumptions of Sociological Exegesis of the Bible.

This work is an experiment in sociological historiography of the Bible. While sociological and anthropological study of Biblical texts is not new, it has yet to reach a state where methods (much less results) are generally agreed upon.

At present, there are two short summaries of Social and Anthropological studies of the Old Testament; Robert Wilson's Sociological Approaches to the Old Testament<sup>1</sup> and John Rogerson's Anthropology and the Old Testament<sup>2</sup>. But there is, as yet, no systematic and scholarly work on the history and method of sociological exegesis, although Rogerson's brief work is a helpful start. Although I will deal with the issues of methodology at somewhat more length than has been typical, I cannot presume to offer my own work as anything more than a contribution toward further discussion.

### 0.1 The Earlier Interest in Anthropology and the Old Testament

Interest in questions of Sociology and Social History of the Bible are not really new. John Rogerson provides a brief summary of the specifically anthropological assumptions that went into 19th Century Biblical scholarship.

As early as 1881, Stade was making use of anthropological speculations about the evolutionary development of society from primitive organization, to cities. The most significant works of this time which contributed to the discussion of social-anthropological insights, was the work of W. Robertson Smith, and Julius Wellhausen. Both Smith and Wellhausen believed that the study of pre-Islamic Arabic sources, as well as careful observation of modern i.e. contemporary, Near Eastern life and culture, could give clues about many of the customs and beliefs of Old Testament

material<sup>3</sup>

Much of the data used for this programme of research included European travel accounts, as well as more systematic case studies. An example of the latter, (but including elements of the former) is S.I. Curtiss (1902), Primitive Semitic Religion Today. Curtiss, like others, believed in the concept of 'survivals':

"It may seem that it is an unwarrantable assumption to claim that among such modern Semites as Arabs and Syrians we have the sources of primitive Semitic religion. But to my mind, this assumption becomes an indisputable fact when we once recognize the power of custom in the East which persists throughout the millennia without change when untouched by outside influences..." <sup>4</sup>

A similar use of data is seen in Alt's essay, "Der Gott der Vater"<sup>5</sup>, which includes epigraphic material that comes from Arabic sources dated from 50 B.C.E. to 350 A.C.E. Alt used this material to draw conclusions about patriarchal narratives.

Recently, anthropologists have raised serious doubts about older assumptions regarding 'Nomadism' and 'Beduins' (including doubt about their very existence in the Near East before the 3rd Century ACE) This calls into question the confident references to 19th century observations of Arabic cultures. Max Weber also made frequent reference to nomadic Beduins, as did Wellhausen, and in this they are typical of their times. Curtiss' work, furthermore, incorporates disparaging remarks about contemporary Arabic culture, which leads to serious questions about the reliability of his information and research method. A case in point is his observation that:

"...it is easy to see that the modern Semite has no ethical conception of God as holy, or as just, hence we shall find that his views of sin are entirely deficient, and do not possess a moral quality...We may be sure that in the conceptions of God, which the ignorant Arab or Fellahin entertains today, we have men at the same stage as when God began to reveal himself in terms which the childhood of the ancient Semites could understand..." <sup>6</sup>

It does not seem surprising that such approaches fell out of favour. But anthropological material continued to be of interest to Biblical scholars in the early 20th Century, up until 1939, when (for example) the sub-category of the 'ELENCHUS' index on 'Anthropology and the Old Testament' was dropped until its revival in another form in 1979. It is, furthermore, instructive to note that this interest has taken decidedly different forms, according to the theoretical orientation of the Biblical commentator in question, as I hope to illustrate below.

#### 0.2 Recent Discussion of Methodology: R. Wilson's 'Guidelines'

Wilson and Rogerson have focused their attention on familiarity with the presuppositions and methodologies of the social scientists whose work may prove interesting for Biblical studies. But they both emphasize great caution in the use of such material. Indeed, the necessity of a 'thorough understanding' is the first of a series of critical 'guidelines' which Wilson has suggested for Sociological Analysis of the Bible.

Wilson's guidelines deserve attention. As stated, the first guideline is familiarity; by which Wilson means:

"...keeping in mind the generalizing character of the discipline and the difficulties that arise when sociology is used in the study of history..."<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, Wilson insists that the material to be employed in comparative analysis be collected, 'systematically by a trained scholar'. Although he realizes that the Biblical scholar must rely on secondary sources, Wilson cautions that these sources should be reliable, and as recent as possible. Thirdly, the material must be interpreted in its own total context before being compared to Biblical cases. Wilson comments:

"Only by doing this is it possible to understand the social function of the phenomenon. This means that the most useful comparative material will come from studies dealing with the totality of a single society or with the social function of a phenomenon within several societies."<sup>8</sup>

Fourth, to prevent a cultural bias and the use of anachronistic examples, phenomena must be compared from many different societies.

Fifth, Wilson suggests that Biblical scholars deal directly with data and avoid theoretical formulations:

"...the Biblical interpreter must concentrate on the comparative data that have been collected and if possible must avoid the interpretive schemata into which sociologists, anthropologists, and Near Eastern scholars have placed the data. By doing this the Biblical scholar can avoid biased presentations..." 9

Sixth, the comparative material must be 'truly comparative', that is, dealing with cases as similar as possible. Finally, the Biblical material must be allowed to be the final judge, which includes the ability to leave some questions open rather than force an answer with insufficient data.

There are some immediate difficulties here, which become all the more evident throughout Wilson's chapter in Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel<sup>10</sup> where he surveys literature on the role of 'intermediaries' in society. Although Wilson does not explicitly say so, his theoretical model is clearly a functionalist model, which tends to present Israelite society as a unit which seeks equilibrium. This is especially evident where Wilson discusses 'relative deprivation' as an explanation for the rise of millenarian 'protest' movements. Wilson's method includes a preoccupation with the behaviour of seers, shamans, prophets, witches, etc. Although he is careful to discuss those occasions where 'stress' can create the conditions of prophetic activity (or more accurately, 'intermediary activity'), this is usually seen as imbalance in the society between certain groups. The problem is, however, that Wilson has said repeatedly that he is interested in seeing Prophecy in the 'context' of the whole society. But by limiting his analysis to the behaviour of intermediaries (i.e. prophets as intermediaries) he predetermines the kinds of comparative material that he is interested in. We tend to see individuals more clearly than societies. Societies become a backdrop, a support group for the work of the individual. This is particularly evident in his brief dismissal of the Priest, who is not considered essential for understanding the prophet and his/her society. But if Wilson wants to see prophecy in the context of the whole of society, then not only the Priests, but also all other offices, political contexts, socio-economic circumstances, etc., must be considered.

Another problem stems from Wilson's methodological point 5, where he advises against considering the conceptual or theoretical basis of his secondary sources in favour of the 'hard data'. But can the data be separated from the stated purpose and presupposition of the source in question? Gottwald, for example, has pointed to the conceptual problem with a functionalist 'picture' apart from diachronic considerations - that is, how and why certain social configurations developed. I would argue that the theoretical framework of any secondary sources must be carefully considered, rather than avoided, to guard against unstated bias. The avoidance of this not only creates a false objectivity in the data, but furthermore fails to come to grips with conceptual bias, including the conceptual bias of Wilson's own methods. Finally, Israelite society must be more carefully explicated for sociological analysis, and the relation of that society to others must be considered. Although Wilson does mention the role of stress in creating conditions, he does not consider the possible implications of different kinds of stress. Prophecy may be considered in a different light depending on whether social 'stress' is a series of thunder storms, a military defeat, or the annexation of territory by a foreign conquerer, and whether the conquerer maintains his presence, etc.

I do not mean to suggest that Wilson was unaware of these issues, but that his response to these problems should have been more clearly stated. What, for example, was the role of Assyrian imperialism in eliciting Israelite prophetic phenomena? Such a question implicitly raises the possibility that the stress in society is not entirely 'internal', and not therefore a question of mere equilibrium.

### 0.3 Further Methodological Problems

This response to Wilson raises fundamental philosophical issues in hermeneutics which has not been a major aspect of the recent contributions to sociological Biblical analysis.

Hermeneutics as a discipline assumes certain axioms that adapt well to sociological method. The classical philosopher of hermeneutics, Dilthey, makes this point clearly:

"...the first condition for the possibility of a science of history consists in the fact that I myself am an historical being, that he who researches into history is the same as he who makes it..."<sup>11</sup>

By extension, therefore, Betti defines the necessity of sociological analysis:

"Only the mind of the sociologist who has considered the morphological problems of the organization of social life enables an historian of civilization to be in a position to become fully aware of constant, typically recurring factors and developmental tendencies which are operative in the historical change of social structures and which account for the fact that a community existing in a given environment will react in the same way to the same conditions of power and position."<sup>12</sup>

Sociological textual analysis, therefore, implicitly assumes the methods of comparison and generalization. This assumption has been discussed at length by scholars interested in the general issue of social historiography.

All sociological historians, suggests Victoria Bonnell, share the belief in the value of generalizations and comparative analysis:

"Generalizations applied to empirical phenomena can be formulated on three levels: statements applicable to a phenomenon or phenomena in a single case; statements applicable to a phenomenon or phenomena in a class of cases often described as a middle-range theory; statements with universal applicability. Whereas historians are inclined to formulate generalizations of the first type, sociologists characteristically look for

theories that conform to the second or third type of applicability." 13

Sociologists also approach the study of history with explicit 'apparati';

"...sociologists not only aim for broader theoretical statements than do historians, they also tend to rely on...more formal, explicitly conceptual apparatus that is more self-consciously selective of facts... This is not to suggest that the historian proceeds without relying, consciously or unconsciously, on certain preconceived concepts, assumptions, and suspected associations among historical happenings, but rather that these are often less explicit and less abstract than those applied by the sociologists." 14

One of the problems raised by this, however, is the problem of methodological bias in the selection of materials or the selection of questions to be considered. Bonnell isolates and discusses two ways in which sociological historians are open to this problem. The first method is what Bonnell calls 'History mediated by Theory'. In this scheme, the investigator has already determined a framework, a theoretical 'black box' (to use Bonnell's metaphor) which is then brought to source materials to be 'filled' and tested by the empirical evidence.

In attributing this method to Marxism, Bonnell does not sufficiently emphasize that Marx himself, and later Marxists, argued that their 'boxes' were themselves formed from initial observations of empirical events in combination with philosophical reasoning based on Hegelian dialectical theory. Whether one agrees with this or not, the Marxist claim is to be doing science.

Bonnell calls this form or scheme, 'a posteriori' reasoning:

"A posteriori reasoning assumes that a prior condition of the system can be derived from its subsequent state, thus reversing the customary direction of historical inquiry. Instead of extrapolating the present state of affairs from the past, the past is extrapolated from the present" 15.

### 0.3.1 'History Mediated by Theory' - Marxist Exegesis

(a) The single most formidable work along these lines is Norman K. Gottwald's The Tribes of Yahweh<sup>16</sup>. In both its length and scope it is not an easily understood work. Briefly stated, Gottwald's work is concerned with the emergence of Israel in the 12 tribe confederation and the social processes that led to and sustained the structure of pre-monarchical Israel. Gottwald begins with the formative suggestions of George Mendenhall (The Tenth Generation<sup>17</sup>), who suggested that the the structure of pre-monarchical Israel owed as much to a 'revolt' of the indigenous population of Canaan under the rule of Hittite and Egyptian overlords in

the late 2nd Millennium, as it did to Semitic peoples coming from Egypt to 'conquer'. Gottwald's task is furthermore to provide an analysis of this pre-monarchical Israelite society and how it worked, not simply a chronology of events. The length of Gottwald's work is attributable to the vast amount of textual, archaeological and theoretical material which he marshals in defence of his overall argument, drawing on theories about primitive economics and urbanization. Interest in the early beginnings of Ancient Israel has led to a burgeoning amount of material on Nomadism, primitive Ancient Near Eastern urbanization, technological development, and related fields. Gottwald believes that a holistic sociological picture requires references to as much of this kind of material as possible to guide the task of exegesis and analysis.

While I cannot review Gottwald at length(!) my primary concern here is with methodology. In part 10 of his work, Gottwald turns to these questions. ("The Religion of the New Egalitarian Society: Idealist, Structural Functional, and Historical Cultural Material Models").

Gottwald has stated that his goal is to find:

"(1) a method that will plot the correlations between Israelite society and Israelite religion; (2) a method that will mandate the clarification of causal relationships according to laws of probability; and (3) a method that will facilitate the comparative differentiation of the Israelite religion-society complex in a field of other religion-society complexes, both historically and typically."<sup>18</sup>

"Over the range of empirical data for human societies that we can control, religion appears as a type of cultural expression in various forms correlative to various congeries of material conditions..."<sup>19</sup>

This last phrase captures the essence of the point which causes the greatest stir resulting from Gottwald's work. As noted by Walter Brueggeman in a review of Gottwald<sup>20</sup>, The Tribes of Yahweh was consciously the first fruits of an attempt to do a Marxist exegesis of the Bible. It is, however, not the only representative of this type of work.

The growing European school of 'materialistische Exegese' illustrates another Marxist approach somewhat different from Gottwald's. It is more literary in origin, as shown by the extensive use of literary critics like Roland Barthes. In his recent programmatic statement of method, Fussel enumerates important points that materialist exegesis tries to include in the task of Biblical interpretation:

"According to Barthes, the mode of production peculiar to a text, and the structure that emerges from the text, are to be determined by deciphering the sequential codes used, whereas the insertion of the text into a particular situation can be known by the individual or cultural codes.

Sequential codes may be subdivided into three types: the actantial code, analytical code, and strategic code. The working of these codes can be further specified depending on whether they are used in discourse or in a narrative:

1. the actantial code enables us to see who the actors or actants are and what they do.

2. the analytic code shows us how the actants read and analyze the events,

3. the strategic code permits us to evaluate the behaviour of the actants in terms of the attitudes they adopt toward each other.

Once the overall plan of the text is known, the indicial or cultural codes tell us how the individual components of it are related (place names, etc.) in order that we may thus come to grasp the meaning of the whole. The most important thing here is the serial connections among the indicial terms (eg. whether they all have to do with health, sickness, healing and so on, or whether they deal with landed property, money, selling contracts and so on).

The most important cultural codes are the following;

1. the geographical code: it tells us the regions whence the information comes or where the action takes place.

2. the topographical code; it indicates locales, at least in a narrative: a house, the street, the sea, the temple.

3. the chronological code: it specifies the temporal sequence

4. the mythological code: it establishes the connections with the store of myths that were current throughout the entire East

5. the symbolic code: it makes reference to the system of values and norms found in the Bible

6. the social code: it indicates relations to the economic and political instances of society and to practical life generally." <sup>21</sup>

I consider this approach to be unnecessarily cryptic in simply saying that as much of the context must be known as possible, but its value is shown in the variety of evidence that is included in the exegetical task.

### 0.3.2 'History Mediated by Concepts' Paul Hanson's The Dawn of Apocalyptic

The second form of analysis isolated by Bonnell is 'History mediated by Concepts'. Rather than the more elaborate theoretical 'boxes' discussed above, this approach to history employs general concepts to try to illuminate the data. Those who employ this approach may only be satisfied to use the 'concept' as a starting point from which to explain differences between selected cases and may not seek an all-encompassing theory at all.

A recent example of this approach in Old Testament sociological analysis is Paul Hanson's The Dawn of Apocalyptic<sup>22</sup> which is concerned, as the title suggests, with the origin of Apocalyptic literature. Standard approaches to apocalyptic research have tended to focus on listing characteristics typical of such literature (imagery of beasts and mythical monsters, dreams and visions, revelations from heavenly emissaries, etc.) and also certain theological themes (strong dualism, tendency toward universalism, resurrection of the dead etc.) and then finding extra-Israelite sources of such ideas. Zoroastrianism has always been a popular candidate for influence<sup>23</sup> but late dating of apocalyptic literature accommodates other influences as well, such as the many-faceted influences of Hellenism.

Hanson, on the other hand, sees the development of the apocalyptic genre as a logical outgrowth of the changing social conditions of Israelite prophecy - and thus in a direct line with Israelite prophecy. To determine

why the changes occurred from Prophetic literature ( Amos, Isaiah, Hosea) to apocalyptic literature (Zech 9-14, Daniel and other non-canonical works) Hanson suggests inter-necine social struggles between the 'established group' and the 'disenfranchised' group, a division which occurred in the conditions of the defeat and exile of the divided kingdom.

Hanson's concepts are borrowed from Weber, Mannheim, and Troeltsch. Mention of these social theorists, and Hanson's brief discussion of what he is borrowing from them, occur over half-way into the book (pp.211-217). Basically, Hanson holds that destruction disrupts the old power structures, and creates struggles for power in the reconstruction of society. Those that can manage to become 'established' lord it over those that have failed. Hanson borrows a simple class-conflict model from Weber. The lower classes have recourse to a religious response of the powerless, i.e. 'Utopian visions' according to Mannheim (sectarian values according to Troeltsch) as opposed to the rational power interests of the dominant 'Church types' (Troeltsch) i.e. those preoccupied with 'ideology' (Mannheim). Prophecy, following Weber, is attributed to a response of the disenfranchised: "What they cannot claim to be, they replace by the worth of that which they will one day become..."<sup>24</sup>

This dualist, class-conflict model is strictly applied by Hanson throughout his work. His task, then, is identifying the position and literature of what he calls the 'hierocratic party' and the opposing 'visionary party'.

Hanson believes that an important clue to understanding the move from 'classical prophecy' to apocalyptic is the fact that prophecy is firmly rooted in historical circumstances, and deals with 'real' events, whereas apocalyptic literature begins precisely where the dialectic between theology and history begins to break away from historical moorings:

"After 587, the picture changes. Israel's political identity as a nation comes to an end. The office of kingship ends. The prophets no longer have the events of a nation's history into which they can translate the terms of Yahweh's cosmic will. Hence the successors of the prophets, the visionaries, continue to have visions, but they increasingly abdicate the other dimension of the prophetic office, the translation into historical events..."<sup>25</sup>

Apocalyptists are thus the losers in the power struggle, because they must seek recourse outside of history.<sup>26</sup>

Hanson's dominant dual-conflict model, however, leads to some strained stereotypes and assumptions. Priests are strongly contrasted with Prophets. When prophetic activity is associated with the Priestly-dominant group, Hanson considers it merely 'propaganda' to 'lure' defectors from the visionary opposition that is not in power. Credibility is stretched on this point. Priests are seen as devious and susceptible to corruption, and accused of cooperation with Persians - an accusation that Hanson will not modify in favour of maintaining his lines of conflict, even when Priestly concerns turn up in prophetic texts. This is not to suggest, of course, that Hanson himself holds to such a stereo-type class conflict along the lines of;

Priest/Power		Prophet/Disenfranchised
-Willing to be co-opted	vs.	-unwilling to compromise

It should be noted that Hanson's sociological concepts (particularly those derived from Troeltsch) have been subject to criticism and revision.<sup>27</sup>

Apocalyptic literature is thus typified by Hanson repeatedly as 'powerless' responses (p. 219) by those who 'cannot act' and have 'abdicated historical responsibilities' (p.30). One does not have to look far beyond Hanson's dependence on Mannheim and Troeltsch to find a forced dualism that is pushed beyond its usefulness to such an extreme that structure and functions are nearly ignored. For example, Hanson's sociological paradigm, while allowing him to suggest a most compelling argument for yet another internecine Israelite conflict, does not yield a fuller picture of the impact of the Exile and the response to it. I submit that Hanson's sociological paradigm is inadequately limited to a class-conflict concept that requires revision in the light of both recent fieldwork and recent revisions in sociological theory, especially those of B.Wilson (see below). Hanson's struggle is too rigidly defined as only one kind of struggle, and does not take into consideration enough of the circumstances surrounding the Exile to explicate this concept further. This leads, for example, to forced conclusions about the role of the Priests, which I will criticize below. What are missing are both diachronic concepts of the social events that Israel (i.e. 'both' parties) went through, and a fuller synchronic analysis of all the social factors that could be important.

#### 0.4 An Alternative Approach

Somers and Skocpal<sup>28</sup> provide a somewhat more refined approach to sociological comparative analysis. They suggest three 'logics' of comparative analysis. The first, 'Parallel Demonstration of Theory' (illustrated by Eisenstadt's The Political Systems of Empires<sup>29</sup>) is exemplified by the attempt to 'prove' a theory on the strength of the number of illustrative cases. Thus, those who employ parallel demonstrations also construct theories at the outset, giving consideration to the logical and detailed formulation of their constructions before turning to the primary materials.

The second logical method discussed is 'Contrastive Comparison':

...much of the thrust of this variant of comparative history is to suggest that particular nations, empires, civilizations, or religious groups constitute relatively irreducible wholes, each a complex and unique socio-historical configuration in its own right...Contrast-oriented comparativists aim to place historical limits on overly generalized theories, but they do not aspire to generate new explanatory generalizations through comparative historical analysis." 30

Lastly, Somers and Skocpal consider what they call 'Macro-Analytical' comparative approaches:

"Macro-analytical comparative historians proceed by selecting or referring to aspects of historical cases in order to set up approximations to controlled comparisons. Always this is done in relation to particular explanatory problems and (one or more) hypotheses about likely causes."<sup>31</sup>

The particular value of Somers and Skocpal's work is the consideration of methodological drawbacks to each approach. For example, the obvious drawback of simple parallel comparison is that data are subject to prejudiced selection, and then never actually prove the theory, but merely 'show the theory at work again and again'.

Contrastive comparison has the advantage of carefully noting variations in cases, but often at the cost of not making any generalizations of cause and effect at all:

"...descriptive wholism precludes the development of explanatory arguments, even when these are implicitly present, crying to be drawn out of the comparative historical materials. Independent and dependent variables are never explicitly distinguished, and the chronological account is allowed to suffice as the mode of conveying understanding of what happened and why. Worse yet, most (if not all) works of Contrast-oriented comparative history actually smuggle implicit theoretical explanations into their case accounts".<sup>32</sup>

The last point is particularly important, as Cahnman and Boskoff<sup>32</sup> have noted in their text, Sociology and History: "...the selection of facts for descriptive purposes always presupposes some criteria of relevance which in turn are grounded in an explanatory system..."<sup>33</sup>

Finally, Macro-Analytical comparison aims at finding out why some historical cases are more similar to a theoretical form than others. It does not shy away from larger observations of cause and effect, but is methodologically more modest, having attempted to include those cases which are significantly different from the stated theory. Rather than favour one method over another, Somers and Skocpal suggest that the various 'logics' are interrelated:

"...parallel comparative history tends to call forth Contrast-oriented arguments when the need develops to set limits to the scope or claims of an overly generalized social scientific theory. Contrast oriented comparative history may give rise to Macro-Analytic arguments when juxtapositions of historical trajectories begin to suggest testable causal hypotheses. Finally, too, Macro-analytical comparative history can create a demand for the kind of general theorizing that precedes the construction of a Parallel comparative analysis. This happens when there develops an interest in generalizing causal hypotheses beyond a given set of historical cases, in order to encompass all or a broader range - of cases exemplifying the phenomenon to be explained. If the new theoretical claims then seem to overreach themselves, the cycle is very likely to begin again." <sup>34</sup>

#### 0.5 The Social Reality of the Text and Reader

In the present work, I have tried to be aware of the value of different theoretical formulations, and different types of social analysis, in hopes of avoiding the methodological difficulties suggested by Bonnell, Somers and Skocpal. Consequently, one of the emphases of this thesis is the hermeneutical problem of the reader as well as the text. Sociological exegesis adds no new data, it simply attempts a reinterpretation on the basis of the social construction of reality. But attention must be given to the social reality of the reader as well as the text itself, and this may represent the most creative aspect of sociological analysis of the Bible.

Attention to the reader raises the problem of bias. This is classically portrayed as 'Mannheim's paradox' of the Sociology of Knowledge. As Berger and Luckmann have summarized it:

...if the integration of an institutional order can be understood only in terms of the 'knowledge' that its members have of it, it follows that the analysis of such 'knowledge' will be essential for an analysis of the institutional order in question..." <sup>35</sup>

Here we see a potential conflict in sociological analysis of the Bible, and at the same time, become fully aware of the significance of the revolution in perspective that is confronting all theorists of hermeneutics today, whether specifically interested in Biblical studies or not. Wilson and

most of the American New Testament contributions to sociological analysis of the Bible, tend to emphasize static comparison, with little attention to the 'horizon' of the contemporary reader except an attempt to maintain 'objectivity'; i.e. not allowing one's own prejudices to influence the conclusions. This concern was clearly seen in Wilson's guidelines. I cannot see why this is more of a methodological danger in sociological analysis than in, for example, redaction criticism. But even more intriguing is the suggestion by the Marxist-influenced exegetes that one's perspective may be an advantage, rather than a negative 'bias'.

One can begin with the suggestion of Gadamer that:

"...a person trying to understand a text is prepared for it to tell him something. That is why a hermeneutically trained mind must be, from the start, sensitive to the text's newness. But this kind of sensitivity involves neither 'neutrality' in the matter of the subject, nor the extinction of one's own self, but the conscious assimilation of one's own fore-meanings and prejudices. The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text may present itself in all its newness and thus be able to assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings..."<sup>36</sup>

Materialist exegetes demand a further step. Füssel is concerned that an exegete not only have an awareness of the reader's own 'fore-meanings' and his 'prejudices', but that the reader have the correct fore-meanings and prejudices:

"...attempts at a non-idealist approach to the Bible do not originate in the academic world of the university theologian, but rather in the commitment of the leftist Christians who opt for the oppressed in the class struggles of our time and join them in the fight for liberation..."<sup>37</sup>

The Materialist Exegetical case is here over-stated, i.e., there are more appropriate 'biases' than others to bring to the text in question. But I do not consider this a matter of 'ideology' but rather of information. One's 'fore-meanings' can and must be 'trained', as well as self-consciously controlled in modern exegesis. In this way, exegesis is 'Critical exegesis' in the fullest sense. In this thesis, I will argue that the better (or, again to be less ideological, 'most accurate') 'bias'

from which to understand the Exile, and more specifically, the reaction by the exiles in our texts, is from the perspective of the 'Fourth World', that is, the view of social events and values that become operative for a minority in a condition of forced removal, and settlement under imperial control and power. It is this last point that forms the task of Chapter 2.

Therefore, in summary, I see the task of sociological analysis of the Bible to be a formidable one. Not only does the practice of sociological exegesis assume the threat of the distortion from inappropriate assumptions of the reader of a text, it also cautions the reader against drawing conclusions from insufficiently analyzed assumptions about how human groups behave. It is futile to try and remove assumptions, prejudices, and 'fore-meanings', since historical understanding is arguably impossible without them. But it is also futile to insist 'in the end' that the reader must 'allow the text' to dictate when sociological analysis can reveal the defects in our comprehension of what the text is actually saying (which is, of course, simply a restatement of Mannheim's paradox).

It therefore follows that familiarity with cases of human behaviour in forced removal and minority existence will allow a reader of a text to comprehend a text more fully, when that text comes from similar social circumstances. In the following chapters, I will illustrate why this is particularly true in reference to the Babylonian Exile.

Footnotes to Introduction

- <sup>1</sup> Wilson, Robert, Sociological Approaches to the Old Testament, 1984, Philadelphia.
- <sup>2</sup> Rogerson, John, Anthropology and the Old Testament Oxford, 1978.
- <sup>3</sup> p. 27, Rogerson, ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> p. 13, Curtiss, S.I., Primitive Semitic Religion Today New York, 1902.
- <sup>5</sup> Alt, A., "Der Gott der Väter", in Kleine Schriften, Munich, 1953
- <sup>6</sup> p. 66, Curtiss, op.cit.
- <sup>7</sup> p. 28, Wilson, op.cit.
- <sup>8</sup> p. 28-29, ibid.
- <sup>9</sup> p. 29, ibid.
- <sup>10</sup> Wilson, Robert, Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel, Philadelphia, 1980.
- <sup>11</sup> p. 23, quoted in Bleicher, J., Contemporary Hermeneutics London, Boston, Henley, 1980.
- <sup>12</sup> p. 90, ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> p. 159, Bonnell, V., "The Uses of Theory, Concepts, and Comparison in Historical Sociology" Comparative Studies in Society and History 22(1980)
- <sup>14</sup> p.160, ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> p.164, ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> Gottwald, Norman K., The Tribes of Yahweh, New York, 1979.
- <sup>17</sup> Mendenhall, George, The Tenth Generation, Baltimore, 1973.
- <sup>18</sup> p.608, Gottwald, op.cit.
- <sup>19</sup> p.636, Gottwald, ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Brueggeman, W., Review of Tribes of Yahweh, JAAR, 48(1980).
- <sup>21</sup> Füssel, Kuno, "The Materialist Reading of the Bible" in The Bible and Liberation New York, 1983.
- <sup>22</sup> Hanson, Paul, The Dawn of Apocalyptic, Philadelphia, 1975.
- <sup>23</sup> See Boyce, M., on Zoroastrianism in Cambridge History of Judaism Vol. One, The Persian Period, Cambridge, 1984.

- <sup>24</sup> p. 214, Hanson, op.cit.
- <sup>25</sup> p.16, ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> p.26, ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Esp. Wilson, B., Magic and the Millennium; See Chapter 2, Note 9, ad loc.
- <sup>28</sup> Somers, M., and Skocpal, T., "The Uses of Comparative History in Macro-Social Inquiry" Comparative Studies in Society and History 22(1980)
- <sup>29</sup> Eisenstadt, S., The Political Systems of Empires London, 1963.
- <sup>30</sup> p.178, Somers and Skocpal, op.cit.
- <sup>31</sup> p.182, Somers and Skocpal, ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> p.193, ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> p. 3, Cahnman and Boskoff, Sociology and History Chicago, 1964
- <sup>34</sup> p.196, Somers and Skocpal, op.cit.
- <sup>35</sup> p.82, Luckman, T., and Berger, P., The Social Construction of Reality, London, 1967.
- <sup>36</sup> p.125, Bleicher, op.cit.
- <sup>37</sup> p.144, ibid.

## 1.0 The Context of Empire

### 1.1 The Historical Background: The Assyrian Rise to Power

In the standard recent histories of Israel available in English (esp. Herrmann, Bright, and now Soggin<sup>1</sup>) the historical data are considered in the light of the comparison between the available cuneiform records of the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Empires, and the Biblical history provided mainly in 2 Kings, Jeremiah (esp. the 'Prose' sections) Isaiah, and Ezra-Nehemiah, along with the relevant material from the 'P' stratum of the Pentateuch, the Prophets Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and selected portions of the Psalms that may be considered exilic or post-exilic<sup>2</sup>. Ackroyd's survey provides a solid starting point for any historical review of the 'Exile and Restoration'<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, the purpose of this section is not merely to reconsider details of history. Instead, it will be politically and socially focused, dealing with those issues that have more than strictly theological significance, in order to more fully understand the Exile.<sup>4</sup>

As Noth suggested, the Exile is correctly seen as the last event in a series which can be thought of as 'the fall' of Israelite power in the Ancient Near East<sup>5</sup>. The crisis events faced by Judah really begin, therefore, with the threat of the Neo-Assyrians even before the Neo-Babylonian Empire. This threat becomes sociologically, as well as historically, important, as we shall see. Otzen<sup>7</sup> has pointed out that the rise of the Davidic-Solomonic empire was largely possible because of the vacuum left by a declining Egyptian hegemony and the emergent empire of the Assyrians in the North and East. A major change in Assyria arrived with the kingship of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727). Tiglath-Pileser III is considered the true inaugurator of Assyrian power on an 'Empire scale'. He is credited with a major reform of the Assyrian administration and the

Assyrian war-machine. Larson summarizes the major elements of this reform:

"1) the old provincial system was reorganized so that previously existing very large provinces were divided into smaller units to lessen the danger of revolts from 'over-vigorous' governors...2) the central bureaucracy of the king was strengthened by way of a reform of the army and administrative system, and 3) the area under direct, provincial rule was expanded so that a number of new provinces were created in lands situated beyond the traditional borders of the empire..."<sup>6</sup>

In 729, Tiglath-Pileser III secured the throne of Babylon from the troublesome Chaldean tribes, whose historical moment would not arrive for another century. In 738 Tiglath-Pileser had received tribute from most of the states in the Syrian vicinity: Hamath, Tyre, Byblos, Damascus, and Israel (Judah was at that point not directly involved). Upon the death of Jeroboam II (786-746) a series of court intrigues resulted in the brief rule of Zechariah, and 'Shallum' (745), both of whom preceded Menachem. The Deuteronomic Historian says of Menachem, in his stereotypical fashion, that he 'did evil in the sight of the Lord; he did not depart all his days from the sins of Jeroboam' But more specifically, the text recalls a sizeable tribute paid to Tiglath-Pileser III under his Babylonian throne name 'Pul' (פול). In return for this payment of tribute, Israel was spared direct interference (if one does not consider paying such protection money 'interference' 2 K 15:20) and with that, the Deuteronomic Historian once again refers the reader to the regrettably unavailable 'Chronicles of the Kings of Israel' (vs.21). This payment of tribute, however, indicates that Israel was treated as a vassal state, and not ruled as a province of the Empire under the direct rule of Nineveh.

After Menachem's son Pekahiah was killed in a coup led by Pekah ben ~~Amaliah~~, Pekah attempted to lead a more independent Israel from Assyrian domination. 2 Kings 15:29 recounts a campaign of Tiglath-Pileser at that time in the West, but despite the show of force, Pekah attempted an anti-

Assyrian coalition, in league with Edom and Rezin of Damascus. When Ahaz in Judah would not join this coalition, Pekah and Rezin inaugurated the 'Syro-Ephraimite War' against Judah. Trapped on his North and South flanks, Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-Pileser, who crushed the power of the coalition. The account of the altar in 2 Kings 16:10-20, where Ahaz commissioned an altar after meeting with 'Pul', has given rise to considerable debate. McKay<sup>9</sup> notes that Uriah the Priest made no protest about this new altar and thus assumes that the altar was simply a new design which pleased Ahaz, and was not a form of worship imposed by Ahaz at the behest of Tiglath-Pileser. The Assyrians, according to McKay, had no form of burnt offering cult<sup>10</sup>. But surely the literary context of the Deuteronomistic Historian's condemnation of Ahaz leads one to suspect that, while a specifically Assyrian cult is not mentioned, the removal of the old altar and the replacement with a new one certainly had something to do with Ahaz's contact with Tiglath-Pileser, and somehow reflected his new political status in relation to him. Otherwise this story of the altar, mentioned where it is, strikes one as superfluous. McKay focuses on the final phrase of 16:18, which concludes a description of the changes that Ahaz made in the temple with the phrase: מִפְּנֵי מַלְכֵי אַשּׁוּר. The RSV states that this is 'because of' rather than Olmstead's<sup>11</sup> more literal reading of 'before the face of', which he then associates with an actual representation (statue, stele) of Tiglath-Pileser III in the temple itself.<sup>12</sup> In any case, Ahaz's actions are taken in the context of his loss of independence. This is significant irrespective of the imposition of specific cultic practices, as I shall argue below.

Eventually, Hoshea killed Pekah, whereupon Hoshea tried again to withhold tribute and sent to Egypt for aid in an attempt to break free once

again from Assyrian rule. It was to be the last political decision of an independent northern king. There is dispute between the Biblical claim that it was Shalmaneser who succeeded in the conquest of Samaria in 722, and the claim of Sargon II to have deported 27,290 people in his punishing war against Samaria. 2 Kings 17 recounts the bringing of many peoples from various parts of the Assyrian empire in exchange for the deported Israelites. What became of the Northern Exiles continues to be a point of interesting speculation.<sup>13</sup>

The fall of Samaria led to the deportation, or more correctly, the exchange of populations which was in keeping with the Assyrian martial policy inaugurated by Tiglath-Pileser<sup>14</sup>. This exchange of population resulted, according to 2 Kings 17, in a massive religious upheaval with a spread of foreign cults and religious practices. Immediately following the texts that recount the pagan practices of the fallen Northern kingdom, we are introduced in 2 Kings 18 to King Hezekiah. The account of his reign begins with a positive evaluation, comparing him to David, 'his father'. Hezekiah did not immediately withhold tribute from Assyria, but during the political instability which occurred with Sennacherib's rise to power (704-681): "The attention of Sennacherib was almost entirely absorbed by the extremely serious rebellions which had broken out in the Mediterranean districts and in Babylonia as soon as the news of Sargon's death was made public."<sup>15</sup>

According to Roux<sup>16</sup>, Egyptian propaganda had stirred the rebellious hopes of Lule, King of Sidon; Sidka, King of Ascalon; Hezekiah himself; and the inhabitants of Ekron, to sever links with Nineveh.<sup>17</sup> The response of Sennacherib in 701-700 resulted in the siege of Jerusalem which Hezekiah attempted to end by massive payments of tribute (2 Kings 18:14-15).

However, Sennacherib sent his officers, including the 'Rab-shaqe' (רַב־שַׁקֵּה), the 'Turtanu' (תּוּרְטָנֻ), and the 'Rab-sharish' (רַב־שַׁרִּישׁ) to demand the surrender of the city. Although some have seen the content of the 'Rab-shaqe's' speech as a Deuteronomic polemic against Egypt<sup>18</sup> we do have cuneiform evidence of Assyrian army officers who make speeches before the walls of besieged cities<sup>19</sup>, and it would be in keeping with the significance of propaganda in Assyrian war-policy to see this as a means of promoting terror among the general population. Note the appeal by Eliakim, Shebneh, and Joah, to the Rab-shaqe not to speak in the language of Judah, "within the hearing of the people who are on the wall...". The reply is an example of a most calculated propaganda: "Do you think my lord sent me here to say these things to your master or to you ? On the contrary, it was to the people sitting on the ramparts who, like you, are doomed to eat their dung and drink their urine...". A polemical speech follows which echoes a previous speech (18:19-26) even claiming that the god of the Jews cannot defeat the Assyrian monarch, as the gods of 'Hamath and Arpad' were also powerless to stop them. The social implications of the use of martial propaganda are discussed below, in a separate section.

Despite the Deuteronomic Historian's tributes to the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, the history continues to document a steady decline. The description of Josiah's reforms occupies considerable detail but 2 Kings 23:26ff concludes the reform narrative by stating that the reforms were not enough to overcome the evil of Manasseh.

The description of Josiah's abortive campaign at Megiddo, has given rise to speculation over the exact circumstances of his death.<sup>20</sup> Josiah's action becomes more significant in the context of empire. The earliest mention of Assyria and Egypt as allies is found in the so-called 'Gadd Chronicle'<sup>21</sup> which is dated 616 BCE. Seeing the threat of a growing Babylonian-Median alliance, Egypt undoubtedly saw an opportunity to secure the coveted Palestinean trade routes and land by shoring up the failing

strength of the Assyrians at Harran under Ashur-uballit II. No doubt this was intended to preserve a small Assyrian power as a buffer against the advancing Median-Babylonian alliance. Rowten comments:

"Assyria was the mortal enemy of Israel, and Josiah's motive becomes crystal clear if we assume that he was fully aware of the vital importance of delaying the Egyptian advance. In that case, he proceeded to Megiddo knowing only too well the risk involved but in the hope that, by forcing Necho to deploy his forces, he would have effectively sealed the doom of the Assyrian king...the last of the Great Jewish kings laid down his life in a truly heroic and entirely successful bid to revenge the dreadful wrongs his nation had suffered at the hands of the Assyrians..."<sup>22</sup>

Malamat goes even further in suggesting that Josiah's action was a sign that there was a broad strategic plan or military alliance between Judah and Babylon.<sup>23</sup>

This action by Josiah, when combined with earlier contact between Merodach-Baladan II and Hezekiah, may be significant factors in the exilic social alignments and conflicts evident in the book of Jeremiah, and the behaviour of the prophet himself. Was Jeremiah part of a pro-Babylonian 'fifth column'? (See Jer 39:11f).

The fall of Josiah led to a four-year Egyptian presence in Palestine in 609-605, despite their failure to save the last of the Assyrian Empire. On his retreat from the North (it appears, according to Josephus, that he never made it to the Euphrates...) Necho placed Eliakim on the throne, renaming him Jehoiakim. Jehoiakim's fame comes mainly from his encounters with Jeremiah, which included his 'fiery' reaction to the scroll of the Prophet.

#### 1.1.1 The Chaldean Conquest of the West

In 605, the Egyptians once again encountered the Chaldean army at Carchemish. At this battle, the crown prince 'Nebuchadrezzar' was given control of the Chaldean forces, and the Wiseman Chronicles record a resounding defeat for the Egyptians, which is graphically portrayed in oracles in Jeremiah 46ff.

Jehoiakim died in 598, and Jehoiachin, 18 years old (2 K 24:8) had reigned for only three months when the Chaldeans struck. In 597, Jehoiachin surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar, and the Chaldeans took their first group of exiles. While this initial group was small, Malamat comments:

"The true significance of the exile of Jehoiachin is measured not by the quantitative standard but rather by a qualitative one. The ruling classes and elders of the state were exiled: the royal family and

ministers, the wealthy and aristocratic, and the priests and prophets, and above all, the soldiery, craftsman, and artisans..."<sup>24</sup>

Mattaniah-Zedekiah was made 'king' by Nebuchadnezzar (as noted by Weidner, the Ration lists call Jehoiachin 'prince') but Ezekiel continued to date his oracles according to the years of the exile of 'king' Jehoiachin (Ezek. 1:1<sup>25</sup>). In time, Zedekiah also sought to rebel against Babylon, (against Jeremiah's warning). 2 Kings 25:1-2 recounts the resulting siege, which ended with a breach in the wall. Jerusalem itself was occupied. This time, Jerusalem suffered severe destruction. Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar's chosen ruler, tried to escape but was captured and suffered brutal punishment (25:7). This exile, as recounted in 2 Kings 25:11ff and Jer. 52:15ff was more general than the surrender of Jehoiachin. Only some of the 'poorest of the land' (דְּלִיּוֹת הָאָרֶץ) were left to be 'vinedressers' and 'ploughmen' according to the text.<sup>26</sup> Included in the events were executions of some of Zedekiah's co-conspirators (2 Kings 25:18-21). Nebuchadnezzar then appointed Gedaliah the governor (גְּדַלְיָהוּ) who moved his capital to Mizpah, a move possibly indicating the extent of the destruction of Jerusalem. It appears that Jeremiah was also among those who joined Gedaliah.

The Chronicler in 2 Ch. 36:21-22 rather briefly summarizes the entire Exile experience by telescoping it into 'the land enjoyed its Sabbaths', and attention is then promptly turned to Cyrus at the end of the events of Exile.

### 1.1.2 The Conquests of Cyrus

It is inconceivable that the victories of Cyrus of Anshan would have passed unnoticed by the Jews in exile. Deutero-Isaiah's famous hymn to Cyrus (Is.44-45), and the oracles against Babylon (Is.43,47,48), seem to indicate a knowledge that the Persian victory was coming, and there is no

reason to suppose that they were all written after the fact.

The historical sequence of events in Babylon itself, however, suggests that the final ruler, Nabonidus, helped to bring the end on himself.

In 585 BCE Nebuchadnezzar was involved in a truce between Cyaxares the Mede and Alyattes of Lydia. Roux suggested that Nebuchadnezzar's last years appear to have ended in some disorder.<sup>27</sup> Awel-Marduk (Biblical 'Evil-Merodach') ruled two years (561-560) and was replaced by a general, Neriglissar. Neriglissar's son was murdered, and eventually an Aramean of high rank was raised to the throne. Nabonidus was in his 60's (or older!) when he became King, and was the son of a priestess of Sin, the Moon-God. Roux points out that one of our most important sources of information about Nabonidus, the so-called 'Verse Account of Nabonidus' is clearly Babylonian propaganda to vilify this King who alienated the Priests of Marduk by giving so much attention to the Moon God and its temples, and rebuilding E.Hul.hul, the Temple of Sin at Harran. We now have accounts of Nabonidus telling of his dreams<sup>28</sup> and this, in combination with the less-than-flattering picture of the 'Verse Account' and other information, has led modern exegetes to wonder if the fragment from the Dead Sea Scrolls which associates Daniel with Nabonidus, rather than Nebuchadnezzar, is a more accurate tradition than the current book of Daniel. (See below, Chapter 6 for full discussion).

In the Cuneiform Chronicles, Nabonidus is depicted as spending a great deal of time in the Arabian desert oasis of Tema. In the meantime, during Nabonidus' ten-year absence, his son Belshazzar was on the throne in Babylon. Again, we have evidence that Daniel may report on the basis of more accurate information about Nabonidus, as Galling has suggested:

"Man hat neuerdings erwogen, ob nicht der in Dan 5 geschilderte Frevel des Belsazar (Missbrauch der Kultgeräte aus Jerusalem) den Missbrauch von Kultgeräten aus Esagila durch Nabonid zum Vorbild hat, wovon man in königsfeindlichen Kreisen zu erzählen wusste..."<sup>29</sup>

Belshazzar died in the battle of Opis, and Nabonidus was probably killed at the fall of Babylon in 539.

The growing power of Cyrus was undoubtedly the stuff of legend long before the final capture of Babylon. There are a number of fascinating accounts of the childhood of Cyrus, many of which come to us in Herodotus and Xenophon. One of these legends tells of the saving of the child by switching him with a still-born baby to fool the King who wanted his death. The stories are reminiscent of those about Sargon of Akkad<sup>30</sup> and Moses. The Greek historians know of the tradition that Cyrus was an enlightened ruler, but Herodotus tempers his enthusiasm with reports of the levelling of whole cities at the defeat of Croesus the Lydian, and the sack of Akkad

after the victory at Opis<sup>31</sup>.

The fall of Babylon is described in the Nabunaid Chronicle.<sup>32</sup> The Battle of Opis was in late September of 539. By Oct 10, the holy city of Sippar fell without a struggle. The Babylonian governor of Giutium, one 'Ugbarau' (whom Xenophon called Gobryas) defected to Cyrus, and he led the assault on Babylon. By Oct 29, Cyrus was able to march into Babylon as a herald of peace, and the Chronicle relates the laying of branches before him.<sup>33</sup> In the 'Cyrus Cylinder'<sup>34</sup>, and also the Chronicles of Nabonidus, the Persian conqueror relates his great piety toward the conquered city. Cyrus boasted that his soldiers did not draw their swords near the Temple,<sup>35</sup> but Herodotus records that the Persian soldiers diverted the Euphrates and then marched in through the floodgates and into the city thus presenting the Babylonians with a *fait accompli*. But in any case, Babylon was not destroyed, as the prophets had expected. But the event still created excitement in Jewish circles. We know that Messianic language was used of Cyrus in Isaiah, where Cyrus is called God's 'shepherd' (Is. 44:28) and even God's 'anointed' (45:1).

### 1.1.3 The Restoration

When Cyrus was in control of Babylon in 539, he began his policy of returning cult statues to their rightful places. He returned the 'Lady' to Uruk, and we have a contract for work on the Temple of Eanna<sup>36</sup> as well as his claimed support for Esagila, the Temple of Marduk in Babylon. Consistent with this is the Edict allowing the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem, under the mission of Sheshbezzar.

The Edicts of Ezra-Nehemiah have given rise to speculation. Wilhelm Smitten considers the Cyrus Edict of Ch. 1 (Ezra) to be modelled after the more general edict of Darius in Ezra 6. Among his reasons are A) There is less of a Yahwistic stamp to the content of Ezra 6, i.e. phrases like 'The Lord, the God of Heaven (1:2) and 'He is the god who is in Jerusalem'(1:3) etc., B) The factual description of the financial and

material provisions stand out as added later, and C) the use of the word 'Jerusalem' by itself, rather than pairing it with Judah, is more to be expected in Ezra 6 than the pairing in Ezra 1, which is found very often in the Book of Chronicles<sup>37</sup>. Galling, too, has doubts about the authenticity of Ezra 1, but his scepticism must be balanced by the views of Bickerman<sup>38</sup>. But the main doubts about Ezra 1 centre on the actual time of the return of the Jews to Palestine.

The traditional view, as supported by our only Biblical source, Ezra, is that the 'prince of Judah' הַנְּשִׂיךְ הַיְהוּדִים was given a large sum of money and an entourage to return to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus' reign as the conquerer of Babylon. But Sheshbazzar disappears when the first 'Golah List' is given. There, the prominent figure is Zerubbabel, and it is Zerubbabel and Jeshua who are the leaders of the community by Ch. 3 of Ezra. Sheshbazzar in Ez. 5:10ff is described as if he were in the distant past, before the time that Ch. 5 is actually taking place, although it could be argued that the compiler of Ezra-Nehemiah assumed that Zerubbabel, Jeshua and everyone in the Golah List were with Sheshbazzar. The evidence of Haggai, however, suggests that Zerubbabel is to be associated with a later time.

The most prolific writer on the problems of the restoration is certainly K. Galling<sup>39</sup>. Galling believes that Sheshbazzar, while able to return with some of the wealth and a small entourage, was not successful in rebuilding the Temple. Haggai 2:3 referring to the Temple, wondered if it was כְּאִין אֲצִינִיכֶם. This 'as nothing' is taken to be equivalent with Is. 40:7, and thus the Temple was lying in ruins at the time of Haggai, i.e. 520. Indeed, Galling reads Haggai 2:10-14, 20-23 as proclamations made on the day of dedication of the foundation stone of the Temple, and the measuring line of Zech 1:16ff also indicates that work was being done on the Temple itself. If one is attempting to be fair to some historical validity in the work of Ezra-Nehemiah, then the conclusion is that Sheshbazzar failed in the attempt to rebuild the Temple in 539 under

Cyrus, and Ezra is not to be read as assuming that Zerubbabel was in the entourage that accompanied Sheshbazzar (or, if so, it is mistaken).

Alt had already suggested that the main return of the exiles probably came about as a result of Cambyses' campaigns in Egypt, when the Syrian lands were first firmly under the control of the Persians<sup>40</sup>. While Galling wants to date the return later yet (based on a reading of Zech 2 as referring to Jews still in Babylon after the defeat of Babylon by the Persians) he thus agrees that a return under Cyrus was highly unlikely, given the uncertainties of his authority in Syria at the time. Sheshbazzar must have found the same opposition in Palestine that the later returning exiles found under Zerubbabel, as recounted in Ezra 4:

"Dass der Diaspora-Jude Scheshbassar, der 538 zum Wiederaufbau des Tempels nach Jerusalem kam, von der politisch und finanziell zuständigen Verwaltung in Samaria für diesen Wiederaufbau offensichtlich keine Gelder erhielt, obwohl ein Bau-Eddict des Kyros vorlag, ist nur denkbar, wenn man sich damals in Samaria dem neuen Oberherrn gegenüber relativ unabhängig wusste, bzw. bei Nichtbefolgung des Ediktes keine Repressalien befürchtete. Es ist mir nicht zweifelhaft, dass dem ganzen Westen, nicht nur den Phönikern, erst der nach Agypten ziehende Kambyses das Unabänderliche der neuen Situation deutlich machte..."<sup>41</sup>

Galling further reasons that Haggai's message of why the drought had afflicted their crops was addressed to those who had only recently arrived back in the land, about 521 or 522. Otherwise, if the Jews had had many fertile years before that, with only one or two bad years, the warning of Haggai would have fallen on deaf ears.<sup>42</sup> Also, one must assume that Haggai is scolding Jews who have been concerned with their 'panelled houses' for the last few years, but surely not for the last 18 years! Finally, Zech 5:1-4 is taken to refer to land disputes with those who stayed behind, indicating recent arguments. Thus, Alt wanted to date the main return to the time of Cambyses (Cambyses was in firm control of the upper and lower kingdoms in 525). Galling now believes that a logical moment would be at

Darius' successful quelling of the revolt of Nidintu-Bel, or the self-proclaimed 'Nebuchadnezzar III'. At this point, reasoned Galling. Zerubbabel could have appealed to Darius on the basis of Jewish loyalty to the Persians during the troubles.

It is certainly the case that Haggai and Zechariah make much more sense when read in the context of recent returning Exiles, as Rudolph originally suggested, and this also seems to make sense of the shadowy figure of Sheshbazzar, and his eclipse by Zerubbabel, if Zerubbabel came much later. Finally, however, the Golah list itself gives us clues. The picture of the return under Sheshbazzar is a small entourage which required a donated expense account from the provincial coffers in order to succeed, and whose attempt to rebuild, as we see from Haggai, was considered as good as no start at all. In contrast, the Golah List indicates wealthy Jews, able to pay large donations to the work of the Temple:

"Diese Gruppe hatte es in Babylonien zu erheblichem Wohlstand gebracht und die Jahre der Freizügigkeit die sie als 'Befreite' in Babylonien unter der milden Hand der Perser verbrachten, ermöglichte ihnen, vielleicht auch durch Verkauf von Liegenschaften an Babylonier, Perser, und Diaspora-Juden (die zum Bleiben entschlossen waren) zu Geldsummen zu kommen, die sie dann beim Hinaufzug mitnahmen..."<sup>43</sup>

The general upheaval of the beginning of the reign of Darius may also have been the occasion of Haggai's triumphant proclamation about Zerubbabel in Messianic terms. Sauer<sup>44</sup> has commented on Haggai's Messianic proclamation, which he considers to be 'in bewusstem Gegensatz' to the denial of further Davidic kings implicit in Jeremiah's earlier prophecy, but also methodologically in opposition to Deutero-Isaiah's image of a peaceful Messiah who suffers - an image which is more in line with Zechariah's image of Zerubbabel as one who will rule not by might or by power, but by the spirit of God. Thus, if a politically opportune moment was to occur for the new David, it may well have been during the struggles of Darius. The

text of Ezra 6 is occupied with the completion of the Temple, and then the celebration of the Passover, and thus we are brought to the end of Zerubbabel's career in the Bible, and we hear no more of the Exilic community at all.

The text of Ezra jumps in Ch. 7:1 to the reign of Artaxerxes. We are thus left with a gap in the historical accounts of some 70 years before the story of Ezra's mission to Jerusalem. A possible source for this period may be the book called Malachi. As noted by Herrmann<sup>45</sup> the two major concerns of Malachi are improper cult observance, and the problems of mixed marriage. I hope to show that the preoccupation with mixed marriage is yet another sign of a community preoccupied with its own existence, in Chapter 5 below. If Malachi does indeed come from the period before Ezra-Nehemiah, then we have evidence of a concern that will reach crisis proportions in the community of Ezra. What is of particular interest in these events is how the exile community reacts to the return, and how this reflects the experience of the exile itself. This will be the concern of Chapter 7.

The final date of our period is also debated, i.e. 458, or the 7th year of Artaxerxes.<sup>46</sup> The story of Ezra's mission to restore the normative law of the 'God of Heaven' is contained in Ezra 7-10 and then resumes with the dramatic reading of the law in Neh 8-9. Nehemiah, on the other hand, begins his mission in 445. Thus, the view is that Ezra came with a small group, and his attempts at reform appear to fail. Nehemiah appears much more authoritatively some time later, and takes major architectural, administrative and military steps at reorganization. Thus, it would appear that Nehemiah was able to succeed where Ezra was not. But does Ezra's reappearance in Neh 8-9 suggest that, in reality, they worked together, or that this section should have appeared in the book of Ezra, and their work has been artificially mixed together? Noth, for example, believed that Nehemiah came first, and his 'political' reform prepared the way for Ezra's 'spiritual reform'.

From this historical overview, there are a number of issues that are of particular significance for sociological analysis. For the remainder of this chapter, I will comment briefly on these points, which include the numbers involved in the Exile, the character of the population left in Palestine during the Exile, and some of the attempts to read varied kinds of evidence for the actual treatment of the Exiles themselves during the Exile.

## 1.2 - Assyrian and Babylonian Martial Tactics and Propaganda

We have noted that Assyrian propaganda was aimed at the demoralization of the enemy by claiming that their own god(s) had abandoned them. This was the claim against Jerusalem as well. But how far did the Assyrians, or the Neo-Babylonians after them, carry this? Were the subject populations of these two empires subject to the imposition of foreign religious cults by the conquerors? This has been the subject of a lively debate. It is important to consider this as an aspect of the 'Context of Empire' before and during the Exile. A 'crisis' in the life of a social group is compounded, and made all the more unsettling, if it is a crisis composed of a series of events rather than just one event (see below, Section 2.2). In the light of this, it is important to see how the contact with 'Empire' and military power began even with the Neo-Assyrian conquests in Palestine.

Cogan begins his analysis with the Assyrian claim that a conquered enemy was weakened because it had been abandoned by their own gods:

"The earliest suggestion on the part of the Assyrian conquerer that his enemies' gods were instrumental in predetermining the outcome of battle in Assyria's favour is found in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. Twice Sennacherib describes the abandonment of the foe by their own gods preceding their downfall. Referring to seven rebellious cities on the border of Qummah, Sennacherib wrote:

'Their gods abandoned them, rendering them helpless.'

In like manner:

'Kirua, ruler of Illubru, a faithful vassal of mine, whom his gods had abandoned...'. " 47

Cogan further notes that there was also a Neo-Assyrian ideology of the superior power of Ashur because of Ashur's ability actually to defeat the other gods:

"It was the duty of every god, said Sargon, to honor Ashur. Thus, when Assyria's enemies were defeated, it was not merely because they had been abandoned by their own gods, angered at some unspecified wrong; rather the enemy was overcome because his gods had left their homes to journey to Assyria in order to dutifully praise Ashur...

...the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions tell of victories by Assyria's armies accomplished through the intervention of foreign as well as native Assyrian gods. Boastfully, the claim is put forward that the

enemy's gods had abandoned their faithful in submission to Assyria's Ashur..."<sup>48</sup>

The martial spirit is clear in the policies of Assyrian treatment of vassal people's cults, as cited by Cogan in a number of instances. Often, the foreign gods were captured so that guarantees of loyalty could accompany their return<sup>49</sup>. This would certainly symbolize superior might, but:

"...the evidence points to a policy of selective capture of statues. It seems clear that many small shrines and their images were irreverently destroyed, while other religious objects were spared and taken off to Assyria. Presumably the treatment of each god and statue accorded with the importance attached to them by the Assyrian conquerer and his advisors; those items most revered by the vanquished nation were exiled..."<sup>50</sup>

Frequently, the cult of the gods could continue in the statues' absence<sup>51</sup>. Nevertheless, in the instance of Ashurbanipal's return of an older Marduk statue, the return of the old and revered image was greeted with great enthusiasm:

"Did the Assyrians object to the replacement of deported statues? Apparently not; the transfer of the divine images to Assyria was but the formal aspect of submission and did not imply the abrogation of native cults..."<sup>52</sup>.

But Assyrian symbols of power were expressed in more tangible ways, too. Cogan also noted the placing of symbols in the realm of the conquered nations and areas:

"To concretize the induction of new populations into Assyrian citizenship the... 'Weapon of Ashur' was erected in the province center. There seems little question that the weapon was the official military emblem of Assyria...[even]...vassal states were not without their symbolic reminders of Assyrian rule. In every land through which the Assyrian army marched, steles were set up to mark the limits of Assyrian domination..."<sup>53</sup>

What Cogan finally denies, despite all the explicit political symbols of domination (which was obviously a major concern of the Assyrians, attested in both in Biblical and cuneiform sources) is that the Assyrians 'coerced Judah or Isreal into the adoption of specifically Assyrian cult practices. McKay arrived at precisely the same conclusion, citing the absence of any

reference in the Biblical material of any specific Assyrian deity:

"The very fact that the Assyrian gods were not considered worthy of special mention in the account of the reforms [of Josiah]...suggests that they neither enjoyed a privileged status in the Judean cult, nor formed a peculiar focus for the reformation. No clear indication was found that Ahaz or Manasseh were compelled to introduce Mesopotamian cults to Judah..."<sup>54</sup>

But McKay disagrees with Cogan's view of the political nature of the capture of foreign gods. McKay asserts:

"...the idols are included in lists of booty, the components of which have little or no religious significance. On the contrary, these lists would suggest that the idols were taken, not for religious reasons, but as lucrative spoils of war. And nowhere is it suggested that confiscated gods were replaced by Assyrian deities..."<sup>55</sup>

McKay, however, can be taken to represent the conclusions of both his own work, and that of Cogan, when he writes:

"...it is significant that the theory that Assyrian vassals were required to worship Ashur in their state sanctuaries finds so little support in Assyrian records, and that mainly in a particular interpretation of one or two isolated texts which are probably best explained in some other way...it is of little consequence...whether Assyrian gods were occasionally worshipped by subject races, for their presence may signify nothing more than cultural diffusion. It is also immaterial whether some symbol of Assyrian overlordship, such as a treaty document, had to be placed in the vassal's shrine, for such objects do not require to be worshipped. Again, statements to the effect that the victor's god is more powerful than the god of the vanquished do not imply the imposition of worship..."<sup>56</sup>

Herrmann Spieckermann's research has led him to significantly different conclusions from McKay and Cogan<sup>57</sup>. In the chapter of his work entitled, "Religionspolitische Massnahmen der Assyrer gegenüber Juda und anderen besiegten Völkern", Spieckermann paints a picture of the martial tactics of Assyrian practice in darker colours than either Cogan or McKay.

According to sources like ABL 736<sup>58</sup> the Assyrian garrisons were 'hated'. Furthermore, the garrisons ensured the payment of the heavy tribute:

"Der jährliche Tribut...war allemal geeignet, die Prosperität der eroberten Länder nicht zu gross werden zu lassen, da die Assyrer einen schier unersättlichen Bedarf an Pferden, Rüstungsgegenständen, Stoffen,

Holz, (edel) Metallen, aber auch an Viehbeständen und Naturalien hatten...Nicht von ungefähr stehen mehrere Erwähnungen Judas in assyrischen Texten aus der Spätzeit im Zusammenhang der Tributablieferung..."<sup>59</sup>

The point is that there were specifically religious associations with the collection of this tribute payment:

"Die Präsenz assyrischer Götter vom Briefformular bis zum Vasalleneid und die drohende Vernichtung der eigenen Götter(bilder) und Kultstätten im Falle der Unbotmäßigkeit das war die Realität assyrischer Herrschaft für alle, die mit ihr in Kontakt kamen..."<sup>60</sup>

Thus, it is Spieckermann's belief that the altar set by Ahaz was one 'in addition' to the Yahwistic altar. The additional altar was to make sacrifices for the Assyrian rulers, while the other remained a Yahwistic altar. In contrast to Cogan and McKay, therefore, Spieckermann writes:

"Manches jahwefremde Kultsymbol, das unter Hiskia und Manasse den Weg in den Jerusalemer-Tempel gefunden hat und dort bis zum 18. Regierungsjahr des Josia geblieben ist, war ein Stück des religiösen Kompromisses, den die religionspolitische Pressionen Assurs erforderte, wenn der betreffende Vasall sein Volk vor schlimmeren Massnahmen bewahren wollte..."<sup>61</sup>

Indeed, Spieckermann believes that a consideration of the Assyrian materials means that one must assume that the Assyrian gods replaced the local gods in conquered territories. Therefore, by the end of the Assyrian presence in Palestine:

"...musste Juda jedoch gut 100 Jahre lang erfahren, welche bittere Aufgabe Jahwe diesem Werkzeug zugedacht hatte. Dabei war für Juda ausser der militärischen Präsenz Assurs und der wirtschaftlichen Strangulierung durch Tributzahlungen die religiöse Selbstdarstellung der Grossmacht von Bedeutung, da sie nicht nur in ihren Provinzen, sondern auch von ihren Vasallen den Reverenzerweis für die assyrische Reichsgötter verlangte. Trat er auch nicht an die Stelle der Verehrung der einheimischen Gott(heiten), so wurde er doch als zusätzliche kultische Pflicht verlangt, die die jeweilige Führung des Vasallenstaates zu erfüllen hatte." <sup>62</sup>

Related to this, Weinfeld has suggested a different approach. Weinfeld compares the actions of Hezekiah and Josiah, particularly the cult centralization, to the actions of Nabonidus as represented in Persian-influenced sources, when Nabonidus removed many of the urban deities of Babylon and other cities:

"It is plausible to assume that when the Persian threat drew near, Nabonidus feared that the Babylonian cities would betray their allegiance and surrender to the enemy. To forestall this possibility, he decided to withdraw all the gods from the Babylonian cities and have them transferred to the metropolis. Nabonidus was well aware of the fact that by doing so he will have made these cities religiously dependent upon the capital and thus bring the people to closer political identification with the ruling city and thereby strengthen their determination to defend it..."<sup>63</sup>

If, as McKay and Cogan suggest, the actions of Hezekiah and Josiah had a primarily religious motivation, why was cult centralization not an aspect of previous Israelite worship? Weinfeld points out:

"The war against polytheism and syncretism which entailed the recognition of one god was waged in Israel for centuries yet it never occurred to anyone to destroy the high places of this one god and to establish the cult in one single altar...[Elijah]...considered the destruction of altars to be a religious crime whose gravity was equal to the execution of Yahweh's prophets (1Kings 19:10,14)."<sup>64</sup>

Thus, Weinfeld would argue that Hezekiah increased the devotion to the central shrine, and thus sought to prevent both their political and religious surrender to Assyria:

"This action stands in contrast to the one taken by Jeroboam. Jeroboam had instituted the cult of calves and built the houses of the high places (1 Kings 12:29-31) to divert the people from the temple of Jerusalem (vss. 26-27)."<sup>65</sup>

This appears to be further verified in the specific mention of the cult centralization in the speech of the 'Rab-shage' in 2 Kings 18:22, which Weinfeld takes as a Deuteronomic-prophetic editorial insertion. As I have said, I think that this speech could be historical, although possibly edited to fit the Deuteronomic concerns.

The interesting aspect of Weinfeld's theory is that he suggests a political basis for Hezekiah's and Josiah's centralization program without holding to the view that the centralization involved the ejection of Assyrian cultic practices from the population of Judah.

The salient factor, I believe, is that after an extended discussion of the Assyrian 'Macht-Spruch'; the punishing tribute which required robbing the very temple walls (2 Kings 16:8,17ff, 2 Kings 18:15); taxing the people heavily (2 Kings 15:20, 2 Kings 18:14ff) and finally the physical removal of significant numbers of the population itself; it seems hardly reasonable to insist, as if it were a matter of great importance, on the notion that the Assyrians or Babylonians did not also impose the specific worship of Assur or Marduk.

I consider Spieckermann's view far more alive to the actual conditions of being a conquered people. 'Freedom of religion' has a rather hollow meaning, if it means freedom to worship in a Temple stripped of its luxury and beauty, and possibly containing documents or images of the conquering power boasting of their mighty victories over gods and people. Thus, the idea that such freedom of religion would at least strengthen the resolve of the people to resist (66) seems a minor point, and tends to exaggerate the leniency of Assyria. Finally, the important point is that, from the time when Tiglath-Pileser III asserted the power of Neo-Assyrian armies in Mesopotamia, the power of the dominating Empire was clearly a part of everyday life, and it would have had religious significance if any symbol of foreign domination was found in Judah, whether it was worshipped or not.

We do better, therefore, to understand the social context of Empire, and begin to see how the Jews were already becoming acquainted with the taste of limited freedom and the propaganda of defeat even before the Exile of the southern Kingdom became a reality.

Empire suggests certain socio-political realities, and Larson sums this up graphically:

"The fully developed Assyrian empire may be somewhat flippantly described as a vacuum cleaner, a huge military and administrative apparatus designed to secure a constant flow of goods from the periphery to center..."<sup>67</sup>

A significant aspect of the Assyrian war-machine which has left a lasting legacy both in extant texts, and also in Biblical history, is the use of propaganda, as I have already indicated. The 'calculated frightfulness' of the Assyrian war tactics, may be seen in practices such as the following, cited in a cuneiform text:

"(Against Suru of Bit-Halupe) 'I built a pillar over against the city-gate and I flayed all the chief men who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skins...Ahiababa I took to Nineveh...I spread his skin upon the wall of Nineveh...'"<sup>68</sup>

It is interesting to note that the last grisly 'example' was taken back to Nineveh itself. Mario Liverani, in his analysis of 'The Ideology of Assyrian Empire', has commented on the fact that the aims of propaganda in relation to empire were directed not only toward the 'enemy':

"Without any doubt the main receivers of the ideological propaganda were the whole of the Assyrian population, in so far as they provide the human material for the war machine and for the production machine. The propaganda must achieve the arduous aim of prompting them to perform an active role not a passive one; that of the ruler, not of the ruled, without reaping the annexed benefits. It is essential to avoid, or at least to check the tendency of, the lower classes to rise in the inner core of the empire; it is also essential to avoid a union between the lower classes and the conquered peoples. It is essential to get the instruments of imperialism to be efficient, self-convinced and enthusiastic, as if they were working in their own interest against the foreigners, whilst in fact they are working with the foreigners to the advantage of the ruling class..."<sup>69</sup>

These kinds of analyses give the modern reader the critical orientation so as not to confuse propagandist history with 'annalistic' or 'objective' history. If there was concern to direct propaganda toward the Assyrian heartland itself, then one can conclude that the dominated populations in the outlying areas were only too familiar with this propagandist effort as well, whether in texts, or in pictorial stelae<sup>70</sup>.

Liverani suggests that empires, and specifically the Assyrian empire, attempted to explain and justify the imbalance presupposed in empire building, the need to see the tasks as right and just in conquering land and people, the latter reflected in the common Neo-Assyrian refrain in inscriptions about the conquered race, "I counted them among the Assyrians..."<sup>71</sup>.

Liverani's analysis is most significant in reminding the modern reader that political conflict is at the same time totally enmeshed in the ideological (i.e. religious) justification of empire. It becomes difficult credibly to separate 'religious' from 'political' concerns. In the next section we must consider the most significant physical as well as symbolic representation of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian power: the policy of deportation itself.

### 1.3 - Deportation as a Martial Tactic of Empire in the First Millennium

Deportation was an act of Empire, or 'propaganda by the deed'. As it was a policy largely perfected by the Neo-Assyrians before the Neo-Babylonians, it is important to consider the Assyrian practice. Fortunately, we are now able to benefit from Oded's 1979 monograph on Neo-Assyrian deportation<sup>72</sup>. Although most of Oded's study involves Neo-Assyrian texts and practices, he often makes comparisons with Neo-Babylonian practice and materials, and it is clear that we can make significant comparisons between the martial practices of the Assyrians and those of the Chaldean rulers of Babylon that followed them. Certain differences, however, will be noted.

Analysis of the policy of deportation is dependent on six major sources, as discussed by Oded, including 1) Royal inscriptions, 2) Chronicles, 3) Administrative and legal texts, 4) reliefs, 5) The Hebrew Bible, and 6) the ancient historians. These materials, however, often raise problems. The problem with the Royal inscriptions is that they use stereotypical phrasing to describe different historical events, and one must contend with royal exaggeration in numbers and scale of conquests<sup>73</sup>. Among the administrative and legal texts, the fragmentary condition combines with the 'terse contents' to make conclusions difficult.

Oded has estimated that over 3 centuries in which Assyrian deportation was practised, 4,500,000 people were forcibly uprooted and exiled. Sennacherib deported the largest number, followed by Tiglath-Pileser III, and then Sargon II. The largest single deportation was 208,000 taken from Babylonia in the south, into Assyrian territory in the North. These numbers dwarf even the highest estimates for the Babylonian Exile of the Jews from Judah.

Significantly, it is clear that whole families were deported by both the Neo-Assyrians, and the Neo-Babylonians. This is concluded from A) the typical phrase, "people, great and small, male and female..."<sup>74</sup>, B) the reliefs, and C) Administrative lists of deportees (including the so-called Weidner Texts<sup>75</sup>, which were ration lists which referred specifically to

young King Jehoiachin and sons, sons which he did not have when he was deported, according to 2 Kings. I would also add, D) Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, advising them to "Take wives and have sons, and take wives for your sons and give daughters in marriage..."(Jer 29). Citing 2 Kings 15:29, 17:6, 24:14-16; Jer 52:28-30, Oded suggests that the Neo-Babylonian system appears to have been more selective, rather than simply deporting large portions of the populations. It is clear that the purpose of taking whole families is to remove the major incentive to return to the homeland and thus to encourage settlement. In the case of those Judeans who stayed after the restoration, this policy appears to have succeeded.

The condition of the earlier Assyrian exiles appears to reflect their economic importance. Chains were rare, and animals and supplies are depicted in the reliefs. Oded further cites commands of rulers to take care of prisoners and prevent the soldiers from taking advantage of them.<sup>76</sup>

Josephus, however, in his review of the history of the 'prisoners of war' taken to Babylon, spoke of binding, and possibly chains. How far this can be taken to be historically reliable, and how far it is reconstruction on the basis of his time period is unclear:

ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἅπαντας  
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαβούτας αἰχμαλώτους  
 νέους τῆν ἡλικίαν καὶ τεχνίτας δεδεμένους  
 ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτοῦ

Note also the language about 'fetters' in Jer. 40:1:

𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤁 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤀

Compare Nahum 3:10:

𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤁 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁 𐤕𐤓

(77)

It is furthermore interesting to note that deportees' communities had a typical 'middle minority' role (see discussion of this concept in Section 2.4) which is supported by a cuneiform letter (ABL 915), a letter by 'exiles' requesting protection from the local population. Oded suggests:

"The hostility between the deportees and the local population increased, whenever the national sentiment of the local population, and their desire to throw off the Assyrian yoke, grew. The deportees did not share the national aspirations of the local population. Liberation from Assyrian rule could only be detrimental to them..."<sup>78</sup>

In sum, Oded considered the aims of deportation to be decidedly imperialist:

"The Assyrians' aim in this intensive drive to increase the population of cities and to repopulate ruined sites was to strengthen their economy, to keep trade routes under their control, to ensure the security of their realm, and to facilitate the management of the complex, ramified administrative system that held the empire together...and makes two points fairly certain, A) the deportations were not used as a means of acquiring slaves. The Assyrian kings did not sell the deportees as slaves, and only seldom did they reduce them to slavery, and B) the Assyrians had no overall ideological programme of merging nations and uniting mankind culturally and spiritually, in contrast to the aim attributed to Alexander the Great...the purpose of the Assyrian mass deportations may be described as imperialistic...to dominate the four rims of the earth'..."<sup>79</sup>

While I disagree with the difference implied by Oded between an ideological programme, and imperialistic goals, it appears that slavery was not the goal ( But see Excursus: Section 2.4.1). While deportees were sometimes presented to the Temple or to officials of the royal army, they appear not to have been considered a special or separate class. This, suggests Oded, is because of the stereotypical phrase about 'counting them among the Assyrians, together with the citizens/subjects of Assyria'.<sup>80</sup> However, this phrase is not consistently used, and the reliefs from a later period depict hard physical labour, and information increases about distribution of the spoils of war among Assyrians.

With regard to the general practice of deportation, we have no reason to doubt, from the less plentiful evidence that is available from the Neo-Babylonian era that the Chaldeans were anything but effective learners in the martial 'school' of the Neo-Assyrians. While specific details of practice differ ( compare, for example, the centralization policy of the Chaldeans whereby exiles were brought into Babylonia, with the Assyrian practice of exchanging populations) the imperial power exhibited in these

actions is more starkly presented in the Neo-Assyrian materials only because of the wealth of extant archaeological data from that period.

Biblical traditions of proclamation against Babylon lead one to believe that Babylonian policies were severe. The words of the oracles in Jeremiah 50:1-51:58, threaten punishment of Babylon for its severity (50:15-16,29,51:20-22) and idolatry (50:2,36, 'A sword for her diviners', 51:44, etc.). A tradition of religious temptation is associated with Babylon in Ezekiel, Daniel A and B, and long into the Intertestamental and Common era<sup>21</sup>, and as I will discuss in more detail below, the imagery of 'prison' and 'prisoners' is a significant metaphor from the Exilic period. All of these observations support my contention that the details of the Neo-Assyrian empire serve to illuminate, even if they are not actually identical with the tactics and policies of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (which cannot be said with confidence until more details are available). Most important, exile was a punishing experience, more effective than any symbol left in the homeland, which reminded the Jews that they were conquered.

Given these general remarks about the policy of deportation, we can see the debate about the numbers involved in the Babylonian Exile of the Jews in a better perspective. Unfortunately, there are factors which make any conclusions on this question highly doubtful. First, we do not know if only men are counted in the text, although many scholars have assumed this to be the case. The text of Kings uses only 'am' (אָמ) as do Jeremiah and Chronicles. The 'Golah List' of Ezra 2 // Neh. 7, which lists families, apparently counts only men, so this seems a fair assumption, given the predominantly patriarchal structure of the time. Second, if families are to be estimated (and we have established that they were definitely included among the exiles) by what number does one multiply? A wife and two

children sounds too modern. Three children ? Six ? Estimates will obviously vary widely, depending on one's decision on this matter. Certainly, the ancient Hebrews considered large families to be a blessing<sup>82</sup>. Thirdly, we must contend with the problems of determining the population of Jerusalem and Judah, so as not to 'allow' too high a figure for the number of exiles - assuming (as most scholars now do) that the majority of the population was left in the land. Finally, there are the problems of the total figures in the text themselves, and of how many different events of 'exile' there were.

First, let us consider the numbers themselves. 2 Kings 24:14 says that there were 10,000 captives, but then in vs. 16, it lists 7,000 'men of valour', and 1,000 craftsmen. Jer 52:28ff lists the following: In Nebuchadnezzar's 7th year, 3023 Jews, in his 18th year, 832, and in the 23rd year, (582!) 745, yielding a total of 4,600. On the other hand, the Golah list of the return suggests the number of those who returned (if that is what this list really is) as 42,360.

In a very interesting suggestion, Wurz<sup>83</sup> has noted the frequency of citations in the Bible that separate Jerusalem from the surrounding 'cities of Judah'.<sup>84</sup> On this basis, Wurz wonders whether Jeremiah 52:28 records an earlier deportation from the countryside ('Cities of Judah') of roughly 3,000 before the larger deportation from Jerusalem itself, which would accord with the second figure of 2 Kings 25, roughly 7,000. Thus, the first figure in 2 Kings 25 is the total of the two, or roughly 10,000 for the total of this exile. Wurz himself believes that the total number may be between 70,000 - 80,000 for all the exiles, from all 'four' exile events (the earliest he considers is reported in Daniel 1:1, and hinted at in Josephus Ant. 10.6.1 87, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar's 'fourth year')<sup>85</sup>

The usual figure is taken to be 'a typical family' times the 4,600 who are assumed to be only men, and thus the result is in the vicinity of 20 - 25,000 (4-5 members of an immediate family)<sup>86</sup>. However, if only 'important' men were counted, heads of households, etc., then the total figure could easily be much higher, and without too much imagination, could

approach the higher figures suggested by Wurz. If Albright<sup>87</sup> is correct in arguing on the basis of archaeological remains that the population of Judah in the 8th century was approx. 250,000, and fell to roughly half that number between 597-586 then surely we can find a reasonable middle ground. But, once it is granted that a large enough body of people were exiled in order to form large 'communities' of disaster and exile victims, then the specific numbers become less relevant. The more important question is whether the number left in the land was so small that the continued life of Judaism was necessarily with the Exilic community. Therefore, The next issue for consideration must be the state of the land of Palestine during the Exile.

#### 1.4 - The Condition of Palestine During the Exile

The books of Chronicles, with their emphasis on the land 'enjoying its sabbaths (2 Chr. 36:21) suggest that the land was completely desolate. In some measure, this is supported by archaeological evidence. As Weinberg notes<sup>88</sup> the damage reflected in Jerusalem itself is extensive:

"The most recent excavations by Kathleen Kenyon yield a picture of ruin and desolation that confronted the first returnees of 539-8. While some people had no doubt continued to live in Jerusalem, the archaeological picture is one of their squatting among the rubble, which increased as the terrace walls...collapsed through lack of care and the debris accumulated in impassable piles until the time of Nehemiah's arrival in 445, for he gives a description of ruins over which his beast could not pass (Neh 2:14) a picture vividly supported by the 'tumbled mass of stones' especially on the east slope, which the recent excavations have disclosed...<sup>89</sup>

Lakhish received terrible punishment, with no signs of renewed activity until 450. Beth'el in the North, and 'En Gedi in the south show further signs of destruction, although not as total as in Jerusalem itself. There is, however, some archaeological evidence to the contrary. As Stern points out:

"...we can conclude that in the Babylonian period, despite the destruction of the Temple, the culture of the Israelites continued. Some 70-80% of every pottery group from this time consists of vessels which are

usually attributed to the latest phase of the Israelite period...During the course of the 6th century B.C. an increase in the number of 'Persian' vessels and a decrease in the number of 'Israelite' vessels can be witnessed...no typical characteristics have been distinguished so far for vessels of the Babylonian period...."<sup>90</sup>

Do we also have literary evidence for ascribing continued importance to the community that remained in Judah? We have already noted archaeological evidence to either side of the issue, and opinion has shifted toward the community that remained as a source of the major history book of the Bible, the Deuteronomic Historian. This was originally suggested by Noth:

"...the Babylonian group represented a mere outpost, whereas Palestine was and remained the central arena of Israel's history, and the descendants of old tribes who remained in the land, with the holy place of Jerusalem constituted not only numerically the great mass but also the real nucleus of Israel..."<sup>91</sup>

The most definitive recent defence of the view that Judah remained the center of activity has come from Enno Janssen. Janssen suggested four reasons in addition to Noth's arguments (Ackroyd considers Janssen's arguments to be more convincing than Noth's<sup>92</sup>) in support of a Palestinian authorship for the Deuteronomic History. (A) Noth thought that the sources of the Deuteronomic Historian were in the land, especially when the author deals with the 'Lokaltraditionen' from the area of Bethel and Mizpah: "Offenbar, waren sie dort zu Hause..."<sup>93</sup> (B) Noth believed that the Deuteronomic Historian did not speak of a renewal of hope, but spoke in very dark tones in the depth of the crisis. To this, Janssen adds

(C) the Deuteronomic Historian's 'Paranetic' concern to preach against 'Canaanization' of the cult would be sensible only where such pagan practices were a threat, "d.h., im Lande!".

(D) Solomon's speech (1King 8:33f) refers to the Temple as a place of prayer rather than offering, which may imply that offerings had ceased when it was destroyed.

(E) The vivid descriptions of the destruction of the land suggest a people who saw this destruction, and the terms used are similar to those used for the destruction of Canaanites in the land. Lastly,

(F) Terms such as אֶרֶץ and אֲרָץ are hardly found in the Deuteronomic Historian:

"Darüber hinaus ist festzustellen, das die Fragen der Gola, nämlich die Heimkehr und die Neuordnung im Lande, im deuteronomistischen Werk nicht behandelt werden. Der Deuteronomist redet vom Besitz und Verlust des Landes..." 94

Jeremiah is clearly concerned with events in the land, and remains the most important source for the political information about Gedaliah and the apparently 'pro-Babylonian' factions. But some have suggested that the book of Jeremiah was redacted in Egypt<sup>95</sup>. Lamentations, on the other hand, is clearly from 'the land'.

If Janssen is correct, there is good ground for considering that there was, among those who remained behind, a prolific group of writers, and more importantly, a zealous group of faithful worshipers of God. This is particularly important in the light of Janssen's thesis that a large part of the remaining population interpreted the exile as punishment for Josiah's anti-syncretistic actions. This suggests that those who remained in the land and remained faithful Yahwists confronted a resurgence of syncretistic practices (perhaps also noted in Ezekiel's vision of his return to the Temple in Ezek 8).

The discussion regarding the cultic practice of those left behind tends to focus on two key passages, i.e. Solomon's speech which refers to prayer instead of sacrifice, and Jer 41:4-5, where a pilgrimage to the Temple site is apparently mentioned. Continued post-Exilic sacrifice has been considered by D.R.Jones<sup>96</sup>. Since Ezra 3:2-5 does not mention an old altar, the standard conclusion was that all sacrifice, all ritual, had ceased. This was certainly the intention of the Babylonians who destroyed the Temple. Welch, however, had suggested otherwise.<sup>97</sup> He was mainly concerned with the re-establishment of the Temple community, but his most interesting contribution is his suggestion that Nehemiah 10:1b. ff and 29ff refers to a covenant made by those Jews who still lived in Palestine between the fall of Jerusalem and the return (in 522-20) of a substantial

number of the **לְעַ** under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

Welch reasons that Nehemiah legislated after the practices mentioned in vs. 10, and thus one cannot reason that these passages deal with Israelites acting in obedience to Nehemiah's legal enactments. Furthermore, in reference to vs. 33-38 regarding the upkeep of the Temple, Welch wondered why the Temple would require ministrations and tithes if the upkeep of the Temple had been guaranteed by the Persian authorities according to the edicts of Cyrus and Darius. Further, Welch argues:

1) The 'Separation' mentioned in this passage is between those who are ready to maintain the law of Moses, and the **בְּתוֹכָם מֵעַמִּי הָאֲרָצוֹת**. Welch maintains that there is no mention of the Exiles, and certainly there is no mention of the typical term, **לְעַ**. But there most certainly is the term **שָׂרְיָהוּ** at the beginning of vs. 29, which may well be a technical term.<sup>98</sup>

2) Nehemiah expelled the High Priest's son on the basis of an earlier law; he did not expel him and then pass a law to this effect (Neh. 13:28-29).

3) The 'pact' (as Welch saw it) included a voluntary action to avoid contact with foreigners, whereas Nehemiah actually passed a law to this effect.

4) Vs. 32ff discusses tithes for the Temple, which is the same problem mentioned above about the Persian support at the restoration.

5) Finally, the force of the final verse **וְהָיָה נֶעְדָּב אֶת-בֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ** is taken to refer to the Temple as it was left by Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>99</sup>

Jones has taken up Welch's central point; some form of cult continued in the Temple ruins. The problem is that Ezra 3:3ff indicates a new altar, implying that no other altar was there in its place before. Ezra 6:3 is taken to be a reference to altar practices before the exile, not immediately before the rebuilding of the Temple. Ezra 4:2 certainly does appear to suggest that a group of people were offering some form of sacrifice until the restoration - but the implication of 'since Esarhaddon brought us here' would call this passage into question, since this refers to a time preceding even the beginning of the Exile by almost a century (the fall of Samaria, 722). Furthermore, the classic passage in Jeremiah which mentions celebrants from the North uses the terms **מִנְחָה** and **מִנְחָה** which can refer to cereal and incense offerings in the absence of animal sacrifice, and we may note with Jones that the Elephantine sanctuary was permitted these forms of sacrifice even after their inquiry to the Palestinian officials.<sup>100</sup> Thus, whatever forms of ritual practice these are, they are not necessarily indications of full animal sacrifice, but may indicate some use of the Temple ruins.

Jones further argues on the basis of what he sees as an emerging Deuteronomic 'anti-Temple' or 'non-Temple' piety which was 'outside of sacrifice'. This can be illustrated in Psalms, such as 40:6-8, 51, 69, and 102, as well as the Solomonic prayer mentioned in 2 Kings 8:46ff. All of this results in Jones' conclusions, against Welch, that sacrifice must have ceased in order for this kind of piety to arise.

A key point would be whether the theology of 'non-temple piety' was formulated in Palestine, or during the Exile. Naturally, the exiles would formulate some kind of non-Temple piety - since for them, there was no Temple, even if some kind of cult continued in the ruins of the Temple back in Palestine. As I have further shown in Chapter 7 below, yet another source of conflict may well have been those who returned from Exile finding another group with a separately developed cultic tradition that used the

Temple ruins, or developing a non-Temple theology when the Exiles have looked forward to the rebuilding of the Temple. The fact that a community in Palestine continued to exist with its own ritual traditions, and the likelihood that there was a resurgence of pagan ritual and worship, supports a view of social conflict in the post-exilic community, by drawing many possible lines that such a conflict may follow, e.g. exiles vs. pagan Palestineans or exiles vs. Yahwistic cult of the Temple ruins. This will be pursued in more detail in Chapter 7 below.

Finally, Graham has gathered the textual and archaeological evidence available in an attempt to see how the economic activity may have continued in Palestine under Babylonian rule. Taking the references to כְּרָמִים 'vintners' in 2 Ch. 26:10; 2 K 25:12; Jer 52:16; and Is 61:5 (but not Joel 1:11) Graham points to workers in service of authority. Evidence of jar-handles from Mozah and possibly Gibeon also suggests continued agricultural activity in Palestine after the Exile. But whether this was independent or in the service of Babylonian rule, is unstated. Graham believes that the use of terminology suggests service of the King rather than independent work<sup>101</sup>.

The work on Palestine during the Exile, however, does not justify Noth's belief that the Exiles were 'merely an outpost'. As I will show, their unique social and religious attitudes became major determinants in the post-exilic reconstruction. Janssen's work does, however, create even more support for religious and social conflict at the return, as he himself sees in this work.

## 1.5 - Evidence for Life in Exile

Since the task of discovering the Biblical evidence for the life of the exiles is the main concern of the rest of this thesis, my comments here are limited to the evidence usually cited in research on the Exile.

As we have stated, we have no direct evidence of Neo-Babylonian treatment of deportees generally, with the interesting exception of the so-called Weidner texts.<sup>102</sup> These texts are lists of oil and grain rations given to the specifically mentioned Jehoiachin, the 'prince' of Judah (a title which is to be expected, since the Babylonians had placed Zedekiah on the throne of Judah in his place.) The problem with this 'ration list' is that we have no way of determining for certain the number in Jehoiachin's entourage, and thus one is not able to decide whether the portions are generous or not. Weidner himself assumes that:

"Diese Ausgabe von Öl an Jojachin, die Prinzen und die (vornehmen) Leute aus Juda, schliesst wohl die Annahme aus, dass sie in strenger Haft gehalten wurden. Man kann sich vorstellen, dass sie in der Südburg selbst, wo unsere Texte in Gewölbbebau gefunden wurden, untergebracht waren. Sie wurden gewiss bewacht, werden sich aber kaum über schlechte Behandlung zu beklagen gehabt haben..."<sup>103</sup>

For the reasons given above, I cannot go along with Weidner's confident view.

There has been other work with 'name' (Onomastica) texts from Mesopotamian sources as well, but strained assumptions have been defended solely on the basis of ethnic names, e.g. theophorous names in the case of the Jews. The use of onomastica in determining social factors strikes me as perilous, but worthy of consideration. The discovery in 1893 of a number of documents in Nippur that turned out to be 'business records' from a 'company' known today as the 'Murashu family'<sup>104</sup> has stirred a great deal of interest particularly because of the presence of clearly Hebrew names among the some 2,500 names cited therein. Already in 1910, Samuel Daiches

attempted to glean demographic/historical information from these names.

Daiches considered 38 names to be Hebrew, and:

"...out of the 38 names, 11 names do not occur at all in the OT, and 16 names occur only in post-exilic books, 3 names occur only once and only twice in the OT, and 5 occur equally frequently in pre and post-exilic books. There can be no doubt therefore, that the large majority of the Hebrew Murashu names were formed by the Jews during the exile..."<sup>105</sup>

The majority of the theophorous elements are based on אל rather than

שק. Daiches believed that this was intended to make a clear theological distinction from שק, which was a widely used Semitic term for a divinity.

Daiches perhaps strained the evidence, when he concluded: "We thus see that the Babylonian Jews were firm in their belief in God and were greatly attached to their land and brethren..."<sup>106</sup>. A more interesting suggestion,

however, was Daiches' view that the name שבת reflected the growing importance and popularity of the Sabbath as a diaspora 'mark' of the Hebrews. This same point is picked up more recently in onomastic studies.

Naomi Cohen has made the same point about 'Sabtai.'<sup>107</sup> More extensive is

M.D. Coogan's monograph which cautiously agrees with Daiches:

"The argument from silence is a weak one, but it is possible to see in its popularity among the Jews of the Diaspora a reflection of the priestly theology which stressed the Sabbath so intensely; the Sabbath as an institution would assume greater importance with the development of the synagogue..."<sup>108</sup>

Coogan believes that the exile had three major influences on the onomasticon of the Jews. The first is the use of loan names, i.e. sesbassar, Zerababel, salti'el, bil 'san, and interestingly, mordokay (marduk-a), built from the divinity name of Babylon's patron god, Marduk. Most of the names, with the notable exception of Mordecai, are neutral and non-theophorous, such as bebay (Ez. 2:11, 8:11, 10:28; Neh 7:16, 10:16). Such an apparent reticence to use theophorous names may show, "...a religious sensitivity, an unwillingness on the part of at least some to adopt Mesopotamian deities as theophorous elements."<sup>109</sup> Secondly, Coogan cites

'lexical' influences. Roots that were rare turn up with more frequency in exile. Some of these may be due to homonyms, that is, names that are Hebraic, but sound sufficiently like Akkadian names to attract little attention, like 'el and 'aqub ( sounds like Akk. qabu ). Lastly, Coogan notes the use of phrase names, e.g. bo-az and b<sup>e</sup>sal'el.

But Oded has pointedly objected that onomastic evidence is not rock-solid. Zerubbabel, for example, who was a Davidic son in whom Messianic hopes were placed, had a distinctly Babylonian name. Furthermore, Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh Necho both changed names in the act of dominance over a vassal (Daniel, 2 Kings 23:34, 2 Kings 24:17), and in the case of Jehoiakim, it was a change to a good Hebrew Yahwist name !. Indeed, in the book of Daniel, emphasis is placed on the fact that despite the change of the name of the Jews, they were still loyal and observant Jews (note Mordecai in Esther). One therefore cannot be certain about using onomastic evidence to draw sociological or theological, much less demographic, conclusions. A 'pagan' name does not necessarily mean a rejection of practice or faith.

However, the argument for the increasing popularity of certain names is a different matter, and seems to be on somewhat more logical ground. Coogan, for example, suggests that the increasing use of the names with the root 'SLM' is possibly significant. Following Daiches' remarks on the name שָׁלוֹם and names with SKN, Coogan commented:

"...the root [SLM] occurs with such frequency in personal names that we may speak of a fad in the naming of children, a euphemistic tendency related to the absence of shalom in the last decades of Israel's history..."<sup>110</sup>.

Furthermore, Porten's study of the Elephantine documents reveals that the Egyptian Jewish community, while not exiles in the same sense as the deportees of Assyria and Babylonia, also had an increasing use of the names

such as Haggai and שגתי:

"The association of Sabbath and Passover with the covenant between God and Israel had the effect of making their observance clear evidence of belonging to the community of Israel. Conversely, a failure to observe either was tantamount to exclusion from the community..."<sup>111</sup>

Zadok has pointed out that the use of the theophorous element YHW in onomastica can be considered a certain sign of Jewish ethnicity, since other West Semitic groups did not use this element during and after the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>112</sup> Zadok concludes from his onomastic survey of the Murashu documents, that in the Achaeminid period, Jews tended to be small landholders, and minor officers, but the majority were small farmers and agriculturalists. This conclusion is based on the kind of contracts in which their names appear. He furthermore concludes that by the time of the mid-Achaeminid period, the social circumstances did not differ significantly between Jews in Mesopotamia and Jews in Palestine.<sup>113</sup> Do the names of Jews reflect social conditions under the Chaldean rulers? Zadok believes that conditions must not have been much different from the later Achaeminid period, but one must keep in mind that the onomastic evidence comes from a much later period.

The noted Soviet scholar, M.A. Dandamayev, has written on the social construction of Neo-Babylonian society. In his article, "Social Stratification in Babylonia: 7th to 4th Centuries"<sup>114</sup>, Dandamayev suggests a four-part division of Chaldean society. First, there is the person with full civil rights, the 'mar bene'. This social standing, however, included a wide variety of occupations, both rich and poor together. The significant aspect of this seems to be the political power of this class:

"The mar bene were members of the assemblies of Babylonian cities which were invested with jurisdiction in cases involving property and family law as well as matters related directly to the temples. But sometimes only the Elders (sibutu) that is, the most influential of the citizens, acted as representatives of the assembly, and made decisions

themselves, instead of gathering all the members..."<sup>115</sup>

Those that did not own land within the city's lands, had no part in civil government. This landless class would include free-born persons, but foreign officials and aliens (merchants, craftsman) were included in this category as well. Dandamayev suggested that these had no full civil rights. Such persons possessed means of production, but did not exploit any others. This category then merges into the third, which Dandameaev called, 'glebae adscripti', and which included those who were assigned to officials, or to Royal and Temple lands. They were not slaves that could be bought and sold, but were without civil rights. Fourth was slavery proper. Dandamayev, however, has found no evidence for a large slave class. As opposed to Rome and Greece, the economy was not suited to absorb large numbers of slaves:

"That there was no predominance of slave labour in any branch of Babylonian economics is not the main point; more important is that the labour of the free tillers of the ground (farmers and tenants) was the basis of agriculture, and that free labour also dominated in handicraft. The reason was that slave labour proved not to be effective, and required constant supervision..."<sup>116</sup>

J.M. Wilkie has considered what he believes is evidence that the state of exiles was not uniform during the period of Exile. This is a significant departure from the typical chorus about the Exile, that life could not have been too bad for them.<sup>117</sup> We are, however, finally unable to make definite conclusions about how 'life was', apart from the Biblical text itself. What the Biblical texts can reveal about the life of the exiles is the task for the main examination of key texts in the chapters which follow. Finally, however, we must consider some of the issues in the study of the Babylonian Exile in Biblical scholarship up to this time.

## 1.6 Biblical Scholarship of the Exile: From Theology to Sociology

It is not difficult to generalize about the significance of the exile in Old Testament scholarship. It is usually considered a watershed event, but often (since Wellhausen, at least) is seen to herald a steady decline from the pristine greatness of Prophetic-Deuteronomistic religion, to 'priest-dominated, legalistic religiosity'.

As recently as 1945, for example, G.R. Berry could write of the otherworldly desperation of the post-exilic Jewish community<sup>118</sup>. The creativity of this era is focused on exiles' expectations of a possible restoration. An obvious example of this is the study of messianism as the hope for restoration personified.

(see Gershom Scholem, Pg.3ff, The Messianic Idea in Judaism, p.41ff  
Baltzer, Klaus, "Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage", Studien zur Theologie der Alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen, R. Rendtorff and K. Koch, 1961, Neukirchener Verlag; Ch. 5, "The Making of Messianism", in Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology, Bernhard Lang, Almond Press, 1983, Sheffield, and Ch.6 below, and now, J. Neusner, "Messianic Themes in Formative Judaism", JAAR June (1984) for a later period.)

However, emphasis on the Exilic hope for restoration, by the very nature of this term, tends to highlight what once was, and the depth of the loss. The implicit 'norm' becomes the power of the Josianic (revived Davidic) state.

One of the most important historical-theological surveys of the period is P.R. Ackroyd's Exile and Restoration.<sup>119</sup> Ackroyd consciously deals with this tendency to view the Exile negatively, and against this sees his task as an attempt to:

"...see all sides of the picture. We may neither ignore the narrowness because of our realization of the richness of thought which also exists, nor pick out the highlights - Jonah and Ruth and their like - and think of their authors as voices crying in the dark. So, too, with the exilic age..."<sup>120</sup>

In his conclusions, Ackroyd tries to see the theological interpretation of the necessity of Exile (esp. in the view of prophets like Jeremiah) as

essential to a view of the restoration. This provides the context for understanding the nature of the restored community. The Exile taught theological lessons. This is essentially the view of the major recent works on the Exilic Period.

See on this, R.S. Foster, The Restoration of Israel (1970, London), T.M. Raitt, A Theology of Exile, (1977, Philadelphia), J.D. Newsome, By the Waters of Babylon, (1979 Edinburgh), Ralph Klein, Israel in Exile A Theological Interpretation, (1979, Philadelphia)

An emphasis on theological responses to the Exile, however, creates two related problems. Emphasis on the restoration community's theology can easily be dictated by contemporary concerns to see the most 'relevant' and 'interesting' aspects of that theology. Ackroyd's comments show that he is acutely aware of this problem, but he does not challenge the basic judgement between the 'positive' and the 'negative' aspects in contemporary exegesis and commentary, but calls for 'balance':

"We are to see not only the great creative personalities of the period...and then contrast these baldly with the disasters...of the second century B.C., the party strife, the apostasy, the Hellenization. The Ideals and the realities lie side by side. The handling of the law which is so important an aspect of post-exilic religion...is expressed both in the delight in the works of God which is always an element of true worship...but may issue in the casuistry of the worst forms of Pharisaism. Side by side with the concern for the existence of a holy people..we see the narrowness of Zealots...It is a zeal often uncontrolled and harsh, but where would we be without our extremists ?..." 121

The second problem follows from the first; would a different judgement of the 'positive' and 'negative' theological value of the Exilic writers be different if the interpreter had a different hermeneutical orientation ? Merely changing from a theologically-oriented analysis of the Exile to a sociological one does not immediately deal with the problem of perspective.

In order to see this more clearly, an examination of the most important sociological approach to, and analysis of, the Bible is instructive.

### 1.6.1 Max Weber's Ancient Judaism.

A careful consideration of Weber's work makes it clear that these essays, originally published in the 'Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialforschung' in 1917-1919, represent a original overview of many of the sociological and exegetical problems of recent study. In the very first few paragraphs, Weber provides a programmatic statement:

"The problem of ancient Jewry, although unique in the socio-historical study of religion, can best be understood in comparison with the problem of the Indian caste order. Sociologically speaking Jews were a pariah people, which means, as we know from India, that they were a guest people who were ritually separated, formally or de facto, from their social surroundings. All the essential traits of Jewry's attitude toward the environment can be deduced from this pariah existence - especially its voluntary ghetto, long anteceding compulsory internment, and the dualistic nature of its in-group and out-group morality..." <sup>122</sup>

The concept of the 'Pariah People' forms the goal toward which Weber's analysis of Ancient Judaism progresses. It was Weber's contention that the event of the Exile was only the completion of a religio-ethical development which led to this religion of a 'Pariah People'.

Weber tried to identify conflicts in the social matrix of Israel. He began by noting the class difference between the landed aristocracy who provided 'knight-like' warriors with expensive weaponry, among the class of the 'gibborim'. This landed power class, rooted in the familial, or 'sib' leaders, formed the power base of the early Israelite tribes.<sup>123</sup> It was this sib leadership (always a council) that was opposed to monarchic tyranny and leadership, and their power and prominence was inversely related to royal power, which was a later innovation in the life of Israel<sup>124</sup>. Below the landed elite were the peasants. This somewhat transparent class structure is based on Weber's belief that the economic pressures of village and city structures were changing the traditional sib/familial relations. It was the coincidence of city existence and the growing 'technologizing' of warfare toward sophisticated (and expensive)

weaponry such as chariotry, that led to centralized power and warfare, making it an occupation of those who could afford it. The peasants 'remembered' that they were once the main military force, but under the growing sophistication, they were effectively 'de-militarized'.<sup>125</sup>

The social status that was of particular interest to Weber, however, is the 'stranger' and 'sojourner' -the "metic-like" tradesman, artisan, and herdsman. Weber considered the lengthy legal discussions of such 'gerim' as evidence of their importance in Israelite society. Included in this class were the Levites, a 'sojourning guild' of strangers, a tribe among tribes, whose contact with peasants provided the basis for religious development, in Weber's analysis.

The Patriarchal Narratives are stories reflecting this 'gerim' existence, and ultimately derived from these herdsman and other metic-status people. They belonged, along with peasants, among the 'non-militarized' (and thus powerless) strata of Israelite society.<sup>126</sup>

These class distinctions are crucial for Weber's entire analytical picture of Ancient Judaism. It was, for instance, the needs of the lower strata, particularly the relations of peasants and guest peoples, that led to an 'in-group' morality (such as the prohibition against usury of fellow Jews) unique in Israel<sup>127</sup>.

The development of Prophecy was a mirror of these class developments and consciousness. From their earlier function as an element of the ritual of warfare the ecstatic war-prophets come to represent the de-militarization of the lower classes by their own non-military predictions of God's warfare by miracle as opposed to warrior technology:

"The Israelite peasant...experienced the political and economic domination of the king and the patricians and his own increasing reduction to debt bondage. The Seers and prophets... the popular heirs of the military Nebiim, now without commissions, hallowed the time when Yahwe

[sic] himself as war leader led the peasant army, when the ass-riding prince did not rely on horses and wagons and alliances, but solely on the god of the covenant and his help...

The pacifistic form of the patriarchal legends, which had their source in the circle of de-militarized small stock-breeders...hallowed...the ancient... social rights of the Yahwe confederation...[and]...were supplemented by the specific crusading legends of the actually likewise de-militarized prophets. The prophets fought in common with Yahwe only in fantasy. They were no longer military dervishes and ecstatic therapeutics and rainmakers, but a stratum of literati and political ideologists...in times of decreasing power and external threat, the old democratic memories soon came to life. The utopian fantasies of their champions were saturated the more with bloody images of Yahwe's heroic feats the more un-military they had become in fact..."<sup>128</sup>

Weber traced the evolution of Yahweh from 'war-god' (with a possible henotheistic relation to other gods...) towards the monotheism (or 'monolatry') of late classical prophecy<sup>129</sup>. This evolution of the war-god to Universalism was an important aspect of his view of the later 'Pariah People', because it is only when the One God is conceived of, that the problem of this god's relation to foreigners is resolved through the concept of the 'Chosen People'. Monotheism, in short, creates a theodicy of particularism.<sup>130</sup>

Prophecy, in turn, had a great deal of influence on the growing priestly concerns. As ecstatic warrior-prophecy first arose in the pre-technical era of warfare, it had a connection with the masses who at that time participated directly. The decline of this form of prophecy is an open door to a new kind of influence on the masses in their changed circumstances, the 'Torah teaching' Levites. It was the Torah teaching function of the Levitical 'stranger guest' priests among the peasants that fulfilled the continued need of pure Yahwism in its struggle against the 'foreign' innovations, such as Kingship and control by the wealthier class, but also foreign religion:

"They (sexual taboos) were merely expressions of the conception of the sexual sphere as an area specifically controlled by demons, as suggested by sexual orgiasticism everywhere to the representatives of rational cults and religions. But the extent and manner in which Israelite ritual and legends, and precisely when under Yahwistic influence, handle this sphere, is indicative of quite extreme positions. It can be explained only from the antagonistic bias against Ba'al orgiasticism, in the same way in which we had to attribute hypothetically the rejection of all speculation about a beyond, to a bias against the Egyptian cult of the dead..."<sup>131</sup>

Thus, Weber believed that the development of Yahwism itself was predominantly the innovative religion of the 'guest peoples' - metics, herdsman, Levites- which was forged with the help of the intellectual allies such as the Prophets against the pressures of Kingship and foreign domination.

The Patriarchal Narratives present this 'religion of the wanderers' in its most potent folklore form, and it is the concern of this stratum of people ( who, of course, had most contact with non-wandering natives of the lands in which they travelled ) that are reflected also in legal traditions about strangers ( "Because you, too, were once strangers..." ).

The Prophets developed this religious ideology not only by romanticizing the exploited as 'God's chosen' and romanticizing stranger status in the Exodus, but also the justification of suffering and defeat as logical outcomes of a sojourning people whose God can teach them through defeat as well as victory, suffering as well as joy. The hammering of the prophets against fatalistic religion - expressed either as God's own defeat or as God's abandonment of His people - prepares the way for the Priestly creation of a 'Pariah people' who can adjust to exile or defeat, and still see in it the hand of their God. This also explains why, when not presenting a peaceful picture of restoration, the prophetic vision of the 'Day of Yahweh' is a violent event, as was the miraculous deliverance of the Exodus; an act solely from the Hand of God who came to the aid of those who were physically/militarily subordinate. For Weber, this explains why

the perspective of the priests and prophets is 'de-militarized'. Warfare as an activity of the King and aristocracy became not only the symbol of power and privilege but also the major source of the danger of imposed foreign influence<sup>132</sup>. Prophecy appeals to the only form of warfare still available to the powerless, i.e. miracle:

"The prophets are not interested in the royal army. Their future kingdom is a kingdom of peace...[Even though]...Amos promised to Judah dominion over Edom and over those people which are called by Yahwe's name (9:12). The old popular hope of world domination recurred repeatedly. Increasingly, however, the idea gained currency that the political aspirations of Israel would only be realized through a miracle of God, as once at the Red Sea, but not through autonomous military power, and least of all, through political alliances. Ever anew the wrath of the prophets turned against such alliances. The basis of the opposition was again religious. It was not simply because of the danger of strange cults that such antipathy was felt, Rather, Israel stood in the 'berith' with Yahweh..."<sup>133</sup>

The prophets reflected an ethic of pre-monarchical "utopianism" of no use to practical politics. The peace promoted by prophetic utterance was a peace without elites:

"They expected, above all, external prosperity of all sorts, and in addition, revenge on the enemy. After its consummation the horses and chariots and all apparatus of kingship, its pomp and palaces of its officials, will vanish. A Saviour prince riding on an ass in the way of the ancient cantonal prince will make his entrance into Jerusalem. Then the military machine will be superfluous and the swords beaten into ploughshares..."<sup>134</sup>

Even the idea of a 'Messiah', an Exilic innovation according to Weber, was an inarticulate synthesis of the Davidic monarchy, incorporating non-monarchical themes like the suffering servant.<sup>135</sup>

In the final section of Ancient Judaism, Weber details the emergence of the peasant-powerless ethic after the removal of the King and State into a full-blown Pariah religion:

"The prescriptions concerning the reception of total strangers, first of the Egyptians and Edomites, into full ritualistic communion, as found in the present revision of Deuteronomy (23:8) derive probably only from Exile times. In place of the ancient organization of settled warriors with the berith-bound guest tribes of affiliated gerim, there increasingly appeared

now a purely ritualistic organization, a territorial organization at least in theory, with Jerusalem as the postulated capital."<sup>136</sup>

With this, Weber noted a change in the earlier 'doctrine' that wealth was an indication of God's blessing:

"The military Israelite peasant and herdsman increasingly became a pacifistic...poor man threatened with debt bondage, pious seers displaced the war prophets, the king, forced labor, the knight, the patrician creditor and landed rentier took the place of the patriarchal rural princes. Charity ethics...[toward]... neighboring kingdoms influenced the religious exhortation of the Torah teachers. Obviously, the way of life of the rich and eminent was neither ritually nor ethically immaculate. Moreover, their prestige decreased with the waning power of the state. Even in Zephaniah the poverty of the remnant of the people after judgement day is connected with their piety...under the influence of the Levitical exhortation, Yahweh was increasingly viewed as the God who helped the miserable and oppressed to get justice without, of course, any overtones of natural law demands for equality."<sup>137</sup>

Weber's discussion of the Exile adds no particular insights to our earlier survey of the traditional scholarly positions, but he does discuss the continued development in the Exile of the in-group/out-group ethic. The political development, as a consequence of the segregational ethics, was decidedly in favour of the Priests. Weber points to the virtual absence of Kingly emphasis in, for example, Ezekiel's restoration programme:

"...the priests came increasingly to the fore, alongside some prophets...the Christian bishops during the time of the great migration of peoples developed their power for similar reasons..."<sup>138</sup>

The purity laws of the Priests reflect social isolation:

"...So in the objection to the use of mixed seeds in the field, mixed threads in weaving, and bastard animals. It is possible that these prohibitions were at least partially linked to ancient superstitions of unknown origin. But generally, it is more probable that one and all of the prohibitions represent late theological constructions of formalist minded Priests occasioned by the taboo of 'mixture' with the Gentiles..."<sup>139</sup>

In contrast to the Elephantine exile community, Weber considers the 100 year dominance of the Babylonian Jewish community to be the result of this theoretical combination of prophetic influence and priestly segregationism<sup>140</sup>. The extent of the transformation to a confessing

community is even finally evident in the new exilic and post-exilic concern with the process of proselytism (that is, the allowing of outsiders to enter the in-group status) and the growing importance of the Sabbath as a sign of visible piety, a badge of membership that is public:

"In Exile times the strict observance of the Sabbath came to the fore as one of the most important 'differentiating commandments' for, in contrast to mere circumcision, it furnished a sure and generally visible sign that the respective person actually took his membership in the community seriously..."<sup>141</sup>

Finally, Weber believed that the rise of the Priests represented a rationalism that could no longer tolerate the instability of prophecy. The crisis of the Exile required explanation, which the prophets certainly did provide, but it also called for stability, something the prophets were not particularly concerned with<sup>142</sup>. For Weber, the development of Judaism is rooted in the evolution of a basically archaic religion (the peasant ecstatic tribal warrior religion of the pre-monarchical Israel) as it faced urbanization and bureaucratic power. Yahwism, and then Judaism, came from the struggle of the ancient spirit of the people's religion (Yahweh as war-god) against technological power. Echoes, yet again, of German 19th century romanticism.

#### 1.7 - Prolegomenon to a Sociological Analysis of the Exile

In Weber's analysis there is a stark absence of a strong connection between the external events and the Theology of that time period, except in the few cases which we have had occasion to note. Thus, we are led to a series of 'interesting coincidences' rather than the risk of an explanation which considers political realities.<sup>143</sup> For example, the description of such developments as 'in-group morality' and rise of the Priests is in the context of an omission (or denial?) of significant outside pressures in the situation of Exile. While one can be sympathetic to the attempt to

balance the strength of religious belief against material, social, and ecological factors, such a perspective begs the question about these strongly held beliefs. WHY were they held strongly at that time? Focusing attention on these 'material' questions will be more productive, especially for sociological analysis.

It comes as no surprise that Weber considers the prophetic spirit to have 'saved' Israel in Exile from falling into meaningless ritualism, dominated by the Priests.

It appears to me that Weber fails fully to appreciate the development of Priestly codes and concerns, not so much as internal power-struggles, but as alternative strategies of resistance to outside dangers presented by the realities of Mesopotamian imperialism, and the social realities of Exile. When Weber does refer to the Priestly proscriptions regarding 'mixed seed', he does see possible implications for mixing with 'foreigners' as we have seen above; but he was not able to see these expressions as creative responses to socially imposed realities. It was left to Turner and Douglas to bring out these aspects (as I show below, Chapter 5).

Finally, the comparison with Indian religious traditions, while in many ways illuminating, created the image of a static society of divided classes not readily applicable to the turbulent times of the first millennium Syro-Palestine. Weber's lack of emphasis on a possible dialectic between outside, material pressures and internal religious developments created a false picture.

For our purposes, this is nowhere more evident than in Weber's brief consideration of the Exile. The Exile was simply the culmination of internal theological struggles in Ancient Israel, with literally two or three pages given to consideration of the possible conditions of the Exile.

This is a direct result of his attempt to explicate a 'pariah' religion from the raw materials of earlier pre-crisis elements of Israelite traditions. I cannot agree with this thesis. The changes brought about by Exile can be better understood, I shall argue, by both a careful sociological analysis of the religion of Ancient Israel, and an attempt to understand the dynamics of exile as a unique challenge to religious and social structure. One gains the impression from Weber that the post-Exilic Jewish 'Pariah Religion' was developing without Exile anyway.

The key to Weber's analysis must be his concept of the 'Pariah' religion. What is a Pariah religion? More importantly, how does it come about and function? If I am correct, then Weber's bias was his assumption of immutable internal directions of Israelite religion. He based this view solely on a natural progression of events dictated by the theological concepts of Israelite faith of the lower classes. The modern equivalent of this is to see minority group behaviour as a result more of 'racial tendencies' i.e. behaviour flaws, or ideological beliefs of the minority themselves, rather than a response (either creative or otherwise) to real outside events. This is not so much an ideological criticism as an empirical lacuna in the exegetical model Weber constructed from his comparison with Indian society. The Brahmins are "high caste" with a self-imposed law of purity to maintain their power position. This is a crucial difference from Israelite history. (Similar criticisms have been made, for example, against Evans-Pritchards' study of Nuer Religion in Africa because he totally neglected the dynamic of European colonialism and its possible influences or pressures on the culture of the Nuer.<sup>144</sup> )

Weber's analysis, like the other theological analyses which focus on restoration of former national glory, shares with the Marxist oriented

studies, the idea that the most significant social determinant for exilic theology and structure was what was missing from it i.e. its statelessness as well as landlessness. The goal of restoration Theology in a good deal of Christian (and Jewish) analysis of exile is understood to be the return to power, the struggle to regain landed, national status, most clearly expressed in the norm of the Davidic state. Marxist conflict models share this concept of restoration, which typically informs the meanings of 'liberation'. The significance of the Exile is therefore focused on the theological and sociological adjustment to deprivation.

However, an entirely different sociological approach had been argued already in the late 19th century by the noted Jewish historian Simon Dubnow:

"It is becoming clear that the Jewish people during the millennia have not only 'thought and suffered' but have in all possible circumstances proceeded to build their life as a separate social unit; and, accordingly, that to reveal this process of the building of its life as a separate social unit is the primary task of historiography..."<sup>145</sup>

By identifying the sociological mechanisms of minorities who are confronted with the culture of power, I hope to show how the behaviour and theology of the Babylonian Exile can be illuminated, as a creative response to social realities, and not merely the desperate struggle of a culture in decline. This forms the major methodological shift and the most original contribution which I hope to make in this study of the Jewish/Israelite response to Exile. A consideration of the creative responses of minorities to forced removal, and minority existence will suggest new perspectives on social dynamics that I submit have not previously been considered.

<sup>1</sup> S. Herrmann, A History of Israel in Old Testament Times Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1981 (Revised) Tran. J. Bowden; J. Bright, A History of Israel 3rd Ed.; J. Soggin, A History of Israel London, 1984, B. Oded, 'Judah and the Exile', Israelite and Judean History Ed. Hayes and Miller, SCM Press, London, 1977; G.R. Berry, 'The Unrealistic Attitude of PostExilic Judaism', JBL 64(1945); 'The Old Testament Historiography of the Exilic Period', Studia Theologica 33 (1979) pp. 45-67; 'The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion', W.G. Lambert, The Seed of Wisdom FS T.J.Meek. Univ. Toronto Press; 'The Sixth Century B.C.: A Creative Epoch in the History of Israel', D. Winton Thomas, Journal of Semitic Studies Vol 6(1961); 'The Death of Josiah' S.B. Frost, JBL Vol 87, 1968; 'Carchemish and Jeremiah', C.F. Whitley, p. 38ff, ZAW 80 (N.F. 39) 1968; Dubnov, Simon, History of the Jews: From the Beginning to Early Christianity Vol. 1-3, Trn. Moshe Spiegel, New York, 1967.; 'Son of Man, Can These Bones Live?', D.N. Freedman, Interpretation 29(1975); The History of Israelite Religion George Fohrer, Tr. D. Green, London 1973; Hebrew Religion Oesterley and Robinson, SPCK, London 1930; 'Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History', R.Braun, Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament, Supple. VI Vol. 30, 1979; 'Edom and Judah in the 6th - 5th Centuries BC', J.M. Myers, Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright Ed. Goedicke, Johns Hopkins Press, 1971; 'The Prophecies of Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE', R.E. Clements, VI 30(4); Die Wiederherstellung des Jüdischen Gemeinwesens nach dem Babylonischen Exil Johannes Nikel, Freiburg, 1900; Das Jahrhundert nach dem Babylonischen Exil mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die religiöse Entwicklung des Judentums Adolf Rozenzweig, Berlin 1885; 'Die Chronologie des persischen Zeitalters der Jüdischen Geschichte', Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft Abraham Kuenan, Tr. K. Budde, Leipzig, 1894; E. Meyer, Die Entstehung des Judentums, Halle, 1896; 'Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem babylonischen Exil', Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1895, Wellhausen; 'Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage', Balzter, Studien zur Theologie der Alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen Rendtorff, and Koch, 1961, Neukirchner Verlag; C.H. Gordon, The World of the Old Testament SPCK London 1935; Studie zur Nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia, H.C.M. Vogt, 1966, Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag; The Cambridge History of Judaism Vol. One, The Persian Period, Ed. Davies and Finkelstein, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984, Galling, K., Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter Tübingen, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Recent theories suggest that the 'J' source is exilic.

The first work to appear on this theme is perhaps the most formidable in scope and depth. Thomas Thompson's The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives (Berlin and New York, 1974)

It has often been suggested, especially by the Albright school, that the Patriarchal narratives reflect aspects of the 2nd millennium which we can recognize from archaeological data, especially from texts such as the Nuzi tablets. But Thompson charges that those scholars who have placed the patriarchs in the first half of the second millennium, have considered only the material from that time period, and not the material from later eras.<sup>4</sup>

After an analysis of migration and settlement patterns in the second millennium, Thompson rejects the common assumption that these patterns resemble the Patriarchal milieu:

"...we cannot be justified, no matter what the linguistic affiliations are, in speaking of the Early West Semites in Ur 3 and the OB period as a single unified group...If migrations and movements can be seen, it is from the peripheral regions into the settled areas. No movement whatever is discernible which resembles a movement from Ur towards the NW to Harran. If a trend is to be noticed, it is in the opposite direction!...In no way does this resemble the traditions about the patriarchs in Genesis...We do not have what might be described as a general wandering of nomadic groups (among whom we can somehow imagine the family of Abraham); we have rather a picture of West Semitic immigrants..." (p. 87, Thompson)

In 1975, Van Seters argued in Abraham in History and Tradition (New Haven, and London) that nomadic existence was possible only in the first millennium, since that is the earliest record we have of the domesticated use of the camel as a 'beast of burden'; and not until the 8th and 7th Centuries, notes Van Seters, did this caravaning use become common. Furthermore, the familial structure of the Patriarchal stories suggest households augmented by subordinates, slaves, etc., in contrast to Ishmaelities, who were considered truly nomadic.

In a related article, "Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Period" (VT, 22, 1972) Van Seters cites the statement in the exilic prophet Ezek. 20:5-6 and points out that the promises of God are made to those in Egypt, but not to earlier figures. Indeed, in Ezek. 33:24, Abraham does turn up, but in a context where the condition-less promise given to him for a nation as his progeny in 'J' is contradicted. The exilic prophets know only of an exodus tradition. Finally, Van Seters argues that Deuteronomy knows of patriarchs in the context of the conditional giving of the land, while J sees the promises given to the patriarchs as unconditional.

Finally, in 1976, H.H.Schmid's work, Der sogenannte Jahwist (Zurich) appeared (with a title that rather reveals the iconoclastic perception that Schmid had of the implications of his work...) . Schmid works with the Moses material. Beginning with the generally recognized feature that the image of Moses in the E-Hosea-Deuteronomy matrix appears to be influenced by the view of the Prophets that these documents reveal, Schmid considers the call of the prophets, and compares these elements with the call of Moses. These elements include, Andeutung der Not, Auftrag, Einwand, Zusicherung des Beistandes, and finally, 'Zeichen' (p. 19-21). The fact that J follows this pattern for the call of Moses, proves for Schmid that J must have known the Prophetic materials. Otherwise, we are left with the clear difficulty that patterns such as those found in materials like Ex. 3, Ju. 6, and 1 Sam. 9 (which suggest a common literary pattern) do not appear again until the written prophets. Schmid asks whether we are supposed to believe that this was simply 'forgotten' in the supposed meantime.

Even by literary standards going back to Gunkel, long speeches between man and God suggest a Deuteronomistically influenced speech style. Schmid concludes:

"... 'Der Jahwist' von Ex. 3f. bezeichnet Mose zwar nicht als כֹּהֵן zeichnet ihn aber mit Darstellungsmitteln die ihm auf weite Strecken aus der Prophetie zugeflossen sind und in dieser Verwendung in der Regel nicht älter sind als die Schriftprophetie...Ja mehr: Sowohl die Einzelheiten des vorausgesetzten Prophetenbildes als auch die Art der in Ex. 3f. vorliegenden Geschichtsinterpretation und die ihr entsprechenden sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen hatten ihre engsten Parallelen im Bereich deuteronomischer

und vor allem deuteronomistischer Theologie..."

I do not consider it appropriate to argue these points in detail here (that would be a separate thesis). I am certain that the exilic dating of elements of J material would have added a few interesting source materials for this study, but would not provide us with substantially contradictory materials that would seriously modify my conclusions from analysis of exilic material. Nevertheless, I could imagine how analysis of the familial structure of the Patriarchal materials, for example, may substantiate my theories about the impact of the exile on social structure. Interestingly, the suspicion of Van Seters and Thompson that the 'ger-like' existence of Abraham may have exilic overtones, would confirm fairly impressively the sociological insights of Weber's Ancient Judaism when he pointed out precisely this aspect of the 'landless' Patriarchs as significant for the exilic-post-exilic nature of Judaism. In reaction to Schmid's work on Moses, and in relation to my own work on elders, I was impressed with the potential light that could come from explaining the story of the appointment of 'elders' to 'ease Moses' burden' as related not only to the exilic role of the elders, but also to the significant number of elders, the important number '70'.

Finally, the often noted 'pacifistic ethos' of the Patriarchs in 'J' (Von Rad) would combine with the 'demilitarized' nature of the P narratives, and the additions to Isaiah (Chs. 2,4,9,11,19,etc.) as well as Jeremiah's attitudes, which would tend to confirm the interesting theories on precisely this issue of Lind (Yahweh is a Warrior, Herald Press, 1982) although shifting this attitude to the exilic, rather than the pre-monarchical period, which was Lind's thesis.

I have determined, however, that a detailed study of the sociological conditions suggested by J material should follow the successful debate begun by a sociological analysis of known exilic materials, and therefore will not be considered as primary materials in this study.

<sup>3</sup> Ackroyd, Peter, Exile and Restoration London, 1968

<sup>4</sup> See the notes on page 59 about theological work on Exile.

<sup>5</sup> see p. 289, Martin Noth, The History of Israel 2nd Ed., London 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Ginsberg, H.L., 'Judah and the Transjordan States from 734 to 582 BCE', Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume Jewish Theological Seminary of America, N.Y. 1950.

<sup>7</sup> Otzen, Benedict, 'Israel Under the Assyrians', Mesopotamia No. 7, "Power and Propaganda", ed. Larson, Copenhagen, 1979.

<sup>8</sup> p. 86, Larson, Mogens Trolle, 'The Tradition of Empire in Mesopotamia', op.cit. n.8

<sup>9</sup> McKay, John, Religion in Judah under the Assyrians SCM, Studies in Biblical Theology, 1973, see Ch. 2, "The Reign of Ahaz..." for this discussion. Also, Morton Cogan, Imperialism and Religion SBL Monograph Series, Vol 19, Chico. 1974.

<sup>10</sup> p. 78, McKay, ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in McKay, Olmstead, History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest, N.Y. London 1931.

<sup>12</sup> This is surely an exaggeration on Olmstead's part. This phrase יָצָא is used over and over again in the chapter, and in wider context, none of which has the meaning that Oldstead is suggesting. As BDB suggests this phrase can have a causative meaning, which McKay does not seem to make much of, which is surely a reaction too far in the opposite direction.

<sup>13</sup> On this issue, see A. Alt, 'Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums', p316ff, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel Munich, 1953, Vol 2, and McLaurin, "The Beginnings of the Israelite Diaspora", Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1971 for another view, specifically with regard to the Northern Exiles, also, C. Gordon, "Colonies and Enclaves", Pubblicazioni Dell'Instituto Per L'Oriente Nr. 52, Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida (Vol. 1,2) Roma 1956; and the article by Stephanie Dalley, which the author was kind enough to let me read before publication, "Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Army of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II" which makes interesting reference to Samaritans in the Neo-Assyrian army, scheduled for Fall, 1985, Iraq.

<sup>14</sup> Interesting to note that the Rab-Shaqe describes the deportation itself in terms meant to make it sound almost inviting !

<sup>15</sup> p. 295, Roux, Ancient Iraq George, Allen, and Unwin, 1964, London

<sup>16</sup> p. 295, Roux, ibid.

<sup>17</sup> p. 295ff., ibid.

<sup>18</sup> On this issue, see, Weinfeld, 'Cult Centralization in Israel in the Light of a Neo-Babylonian Analogy', Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol 23, 1964.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 21ff, H.W.F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters", Iraq Vol 17, 1955.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the various views, see A. Malamat, 'The Last Wars of the Kingdom of Judah', JNES, No. 13, Vol 9, 1950, p. 220 ff. See also, "Jeremiah and the Death of Josiah", M.D. Rowton, JNES 10(1951)

<sup>21</sup> p. 223, Malamat, ibid.

<sup>22</sup> p. 129, Rowton, op.cit.

<sup>23</sup> pp. 218-219, Malamat, op.cit.

<sup>24</sup> p. 223, ibid.

<sup>25</sup> p. 529, Ernst Kutsch, 'Das Jahr der Katastrophe: 587 v. Chr.; Kritische Erwägungen zu neueren chronologischen Versuchen, Biblica Vol 55, 1974.

<sup>26</sup> See 'Vinedressers and Plowmen' 2 Kings 25:12 and Jeremiah 52:16, J.N. Graham, Biblical Archaeologist March 1984.

- <sup>27</sup> p. 351, Roux, op.cit.
- <sup>28</sup> Gadd, C.J., 'The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus', Anatolian Studies Vol 8(1958) pp. 35ff.
- <sup>29</sup> p. 11, K. Galling, Studien zur Geschichte Israels im Persischen Zeitalter 1964, Tübingen.
- <sup>30</sup> See Brian Lewis, The Sargon Legend American Schools of Oriental Research, Dissertation Series No. 4, 1980, Cambridge, Ma.
- <sup>31</sup> See J.M. Cook, The Persian Empire JM Dent and Sons, London, 1983.
- <sup>32</sup> The Nabonidus Chronicle is among the texts found in James Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Princeton University Press, 3rd Ed., 1969.
- <sup>33</sup> See ANET p. 306ff, ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> The Cyrus Cylinder is found on page. 315 of ANET ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> p. 306, ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> See Weisberg, D.L., Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaeminid Mesopotamia Yale Univ. Press, 1967.
- <sup>37</sup> p. 167ff, Wilhelm Th. in der Smitten, 'Historische Problem zum Kyrosedikt und zum Jerusalemer Tempelbau von 515', Persica Vol 6, 1972-4.
- <sup>38</sup> Bickerman, Elias, 'The Edict of Cyrus', JBL Vol 65, 1946, See also, J. Harmatta, "The Literary Patterns of the Babylonian Edict of Cyrus", Acta Antiqua 19(1971) Budapest.
- <sup>39</sup> Galling, op.cit.
- <sup>40</sup> Alt, op.cit.
- <sup>41</sup> p. 40, Galling, op.cit.
- <sup>42</sup> p. 57, ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> p. 105, ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Sauer, George, 'Serubbabel in der Sicht Haggais und Sacharjas', Das Ferne und Nahe Wort FS L. Rost, Berlin 1967, BZAW 105.
- <sup>45</sup> p. 307, Herrman, op.cit.
- <sup>46</sup> The problem of 'Artaxerxes' becomes clear (or unclear!) by skimming over the list of the Achaeminid Kings:
- Cyrus
  - Cambyses
  - Bardiya (Smerdis)
  - Darius
  - Xerxes I 486-465

Artaxerxes I (Arshu?) 465-424  
Xerxes II 424  
Sogdianos 424-423  
Darius II (Ochos) 423-405/4  
Artaxerxes II (Arsakes) 405/4 - 359/58  
Artaxerxes III (Ochos) 359/37 - 336  
Artaxerxes IV (Arses) 338/7 - 336  
Darius III (Kodomannos) 336-330 (p. 266, Cook, op.cit.)

<sup>47</sup> p. 11, Cogan, op.cit.

<sup>48</sup> p. 20-21, ibid.

<sup>49</sup> p. 22, ibid. see his Footnote 1 on page 36 also.

<sup>50</sup> p. 22, ibid.

<sup>51</sup> p. 23-25, ibid.

<sup>52</sup> p. 34 and 40, ibid.

<sup>53</sup> p. 53 and 56, ibid.

<sup>54</sup> p. 43, McKay, op.cit.

<sup>55</sup> p. 61 ibid.

<sup>56</sup> p. 65,66 ibid. and compare Cogan, p. 113.

<sup>57</sup> Spieckermann, Hermann, Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit Göttingen, 1982.

<sup>58</sup> p. 309, ibid.

<sup>59</sup> p. 312, ibid.

<sup>60</sup> p. 362, ibid.

<sup>61</sup> p. 369, ibid.

<sup>62</sup> p. 374, ibid.

<sup>63</sup> p. 205 Weinfeld, op.cit.

<sup>64</sup> p. 204, ibid. - One could object against Weinfeld that cult-centralization was not practised earlier for the simple reason that Israelite religion had not yet 'evolved' in the direction eventually taken by those who advocated centralization. Weinfeld would undoubtedly argue against such an 'evolutionary view'. Is David's action in building the shrine and including the Ark from Kirjeat-Jearim a similar action? Yet, Weinfeld is surely correct in seeing Jeroboam's shrine projects as the 'opposite' motivation to cult centralization. The problem, of course, is seeing historical events 'behind' the polemics of the Deuteronomic Historian.

<sup>65</sup> p. 206, ibid.

<sup>66</sup> p. 380ff, E.W. Nicholson, 'The Centralization of the Cult in Deuteronomy', Vetus Testamentum Vol 13, 1963.

<sup>67</sup> p. 100, Larson, op.cit.

<sup>68</sup> See H.W.F. Saggs, 'Assyrian Warfare in the Sargonid Period', Iraq 25, 1963, esp. page 149ff.

<sup>69</sup> see Mario Liverani, 'The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire', Mesopotamia No. 7 op.cit.

<sup>70</sup> See the interesting article on the art of propaganda by the placement of stelae in the palace, Julian Reade, 'Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art', Mesopotamia No. 7, other articles include work on Achaeminid Art.op.cit.

<sup>71</sup> p. 307, Liverani, op.cit.

<sup>72</sup> Oded, Bustenay, Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire 1979, Wiesbaden.

<sup>73</sup> Note Tadmor's warning, "The Assyrian Royal inscriptions, being by their very nature official documents of self-praise, demand from the historian a judicious critical approach", p. 13, H. Tadmor, 'History and Ideology in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions', Orientalis Antiqui Collectio XVII, Roma 1981.

<sup>74</sup> p. 23, Oded, op.cit.

<sup>75</sup> See, E.F. Weidner, 'Jojachin, Konig von Juda, in Babylonischen Keilschrifttexten', Melanges Syriens Offerts à Monsieur Rene Dussaud Tome Second, Paris, 1939.

<sup>76</sup> p. 38, Oded, op.cit.

<sup>77</sup> p. 212ff, Josephus, Vol VI, VI-Antiquities, Ralph Marcus Trs., Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>78</sup> p. 46, Oded, op.cit.

<sup>79</sup> p. 59, 76, Oded, ibid.

<sup>80</sup> p. 81, ibid. In contrast, however, see Oates, "When the King of Assyria says of a conquered nation, 'With the people of Assyria I counted them...' it seems to mean that they were thence-forward privileged to share in increasingly heavy burdens of forced labour and military service. In such circumstances, they would be loyal as long as the military success of Assyria assured them a certain prosperity, but they had no visible motive for risking their lives in its defense if it was hard-pressed. Once the weakness of Assyria became apparent, then the subject peoples had little to lose by changing sides..."

<sup>81</sup> See the fascinating article on the continued Exile concept in the late

Exilic and Intertestamental period by M.A. Knibb, 'The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period', Heythrop Journal Vol XVII 1976, pp. 253ff.

<sup>82</sup> See Lawrence Staeger, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel", upcoming in BASOR for archaeological arguments for family size.

<sup>83</sup> Wurz, Heinrich, "Die Wegführung der Juden durch König Nebukadnezar II", Th.D. Dissertation, Wien, 1958 (Unpublished).

<sup>84</sup> p. 69 and 74, ibid. Such as Isa 40:9; 44:26; Jer 4:16; 9:10; 25:18; Zech. 1:12; Neh 8:15, 'cities of Judah' Jer 7:17; 34:11; 6:13 etc.

<sup>85</sup> p. 36, ibid.

<sup>86</sup> ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Albright, quoted in Weinberg, p. 79, 'Post-Exilic Palestine; An Archaeological Report', Saul S. Weinberg, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities IV, 1971, p. 78ff.

<sup>88</sup> Weinberg, and now see, Ephraim Stern, Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 BC, Aris and Phillips, Warminster, Wiltshire, England, and the Israel Exploration Society, 1982 (Hebrew Edition 1973).

<sup>89</sup> p. 80-81, Weinberg, ibid.

<sup>90</sup> p. 229, Stern, op.cit.

<sup>91</sup> p. 296, Noth, History op.cit.

<sup>92</sup> p. 21ff., Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, op.cit.

<sup>93</sup> pp. 17-18, Enno Janssen, Juda in der Exilszeit Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums, Göttingen, 1956.

<sup>94</sup> p. 18, ibid.

<sup>95</sup> p. 116ff., Nicholson, E.W., Preaching to Exiles Blackwells, Oxford, 1970.

<sup>96</sup> D.R. Jones, 'The Cessation of Sacrifice after the Destruction of the Temple in 586 BC', JIS Vol XIV, 1963.

<sup>97</sup> Adam Welch, Post Exilic Judaism, 1935, Edinburgh, Blackwood & Sons.

<sup>98</sup> See Hasel, Gerhard, The Remnant Andrews University Monographs, Vol 5 (Michigan) 1974 for an interesting discussion of this term which has become particularly meaningful in his own tradition of the Adventists.

<sup>99</sup> p. 74ff, Welch, op.cit.

<sup>100</sup> pp. 14-15, Jones, op.cit.

- <sup>101</sup> Graham, J.N., "Vinedressers and Plowmen" Biblical Archaeologist 1984
- <sup>102</sup> See note 79, above.
- <sup>103</sup> p. 927, Weidner, ibid.
- <sup>104</sup> Hilprecht, Clay, Business Documents of Murashu and Sons of Nippur Univ. of Penn, for full bibliography and helpful introduction, see M.W. Stolper, "Management and Politics in Later Achaemenid Babylonia: New Texts from the Murasu Archive (Vol 1 and 2)", Dissertation, 1974, Univ. Mich.
- <sup>105</sup> p. 28, Samuel Daiches, The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions Jew's College, London, Pub. 1912.
- <sup>106</sup> p. 35, ibid.
- <sup>107</sup> Cohen, Naomi, 'Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity', Journal for the Study of Judaism Vol 7, No. 2, 1976-77.
- <sup>108</sup> p. 124, West Semitic Personal Names in the Murashu Documents Michael David Coogan, Scholars Press, 1976 (Harvard Semitic Monographs, No. 7).
- <sup>109</sup> p. 120, ibid., and also see his, 'Life in the Diaspora' in Biblical Archaeologist 1974, Vol 37, p. 6ff.
- <sup>110</sup> p. 85, Coogan, op.cit.
- <sup>111</sup> p. 124, Porten, B., Archives from Elephantine The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony. Berkeley, 1968 See also pp. 22-23 of Ran Zadok, The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaeminid Periods Univ. Haifa 1979.
- <sup>112</sup> On this, see Zadok pp. 4-5, ibid.
- <sup>113</sup> p. 50, 74, and 88, Zadok, ibid.
- <sup>114</sup> Muhammed A. Dandemayev, in Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, see also, 'The Neo-Babylonian Citizens', KLIQ Vol. 63, 1981.
- <sup>115</sup> p. 48, 'The Neo-Babylonian Citizens' ibid.
- <sup>116</sup> p. 443, 'Social Stratification' ibid.
- <sup>117</sup> See Wilkie, J.M., "Nabonidus and the Later Jewish Exiles", JIS 2(1951).
- <sup>118</sup> Berry, G.R., "The Unrealistic Attitude of Post Exilic Judaism", Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 64, 1945.
- <sup>119</sup> Ackroyd, Peter, Exile and Restoration, ibid.
- <sup>120</sup> p. 7, ibid.
- <sup>121</sup> p. 6-7 ibid.

<sup>122</sup> p.11, Weber, Max, Ancient Judaism (H. Gerth and D. Martindale, Tr.) 1967, Macmillan, originally published in 1921.

<sup>123</sup> p. 16-19 ibid.

<sup>124</sup> p. 19, ibid.

<sup>125</sup> p. 25-26 ibid.

<sup>126</sup> p. 55-57, ibid. Weber also suggested that there might be significance in the difference between Southern Mountain herders, and Northern peasant farmers.

<sup>127</sup> p. 64 ibid.

<sup>128</sup> p. 111-112, ibid.

<sup>129</sup> p. 138, ibid.

<sup>130</sup> p. 135, ibid.

<sup>131</sup> p. 190 ibid.

<sup>132</sup> p. 246, 260 ibid.

<sup>133</sup> p. 281, ibid.

<sup>134</sup> p. 322, ibid.

<sup>135</sup> p. 331 ibid.

<sup>136</sup> p. 337 ibid.

<sup>137</sup> p. 370 ibid.

<sup>138</sup> p. 348 ibid.

<sup>139</sup> p. 351 ibid.

<sup>140</sup> p. 356-369, ibid.

<sup>141</sup> p. 354 ibid.

<sup>142</sup> p. 380 ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Gottwald thinks that Weber leaves himself a theistic 'escape hatch' rather than define social causes p. 680ff, Tribes, op.cit.

<sup>144</sup> See "The New Left Critique of Anthropology", in Talal Adad, Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter, London.

<sup>145</sup> p. 27, Dubnow, Simon M., History of the Jews: From the Beginning to Early Christianity, trs. from Russian by Moshe Spiegal, South Brunswick, N.Y. (and London) 1967.

## 2.0 Sociological Paradigms for the Study of Exile

### 2.1 Introductory Comments

Without attempting a detailed history in Chapter One, I have tried to emphasize those aspects of the context of the Exile which provide significant background for textual analysis. Before turning to selected texts, however, we must consider the social constituents of the Exile.

First, the event was certainly a crisis. Crisis itself has been a fruitful subject for analysis by sociologists. It was also a crisis which centred on a self-consciously religious group, and this means that the work of sociologists and anthropologists of religion is relevant, especially their work on the religious response to crisis in terms of intra-group reactions and leadership patterns, but also their analysis of the symbol structures of religion and how these change. As noted above, many Old Testament commentators have referred to these ancient Israelite exiles who went to Babylon as 'prisoners of war', 'refugees', or even 'slaves'. Each of these terms is associated with socio-anthropological assumptions, some of which I will consider below.

In outline, we can say the following about the events of the Exile. We know from the folklore of the post-exilic community, and indeed the activities of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Priestly concerns of Ezekiel, that self-preservation was a major concern - preservation not only of traditions and values, but perhaps on occasion even physical survival. The success of this preservation can be considered 'reconstruction' and 'resistance', that is - reconstruction in the sense of maintaining identity in a new circumstance, and resisting pressures of a human or ecological nature that would threaten the continued existence of this reconstructed identity.

Furthermore, we know that various kinds of literature were unique to the Exilic-Post-Exilic period. We know of many difficulties and conflicts in the post-exilic community. One could continue with more specific 'social' aspects of the Exile event which would lend themselves to analysis. I have created an outline with 4 sections which represent the specific sociological/anthropological aspects of the Exile which I consider the most significant for a sociological study of the Exile. Under each heading I mention some of the specific questions that will be dealt with in those sections.

#### Preview Outline of Sections 2.2 - 2.6

In Section 2.2, I comment on the importance of crisis, and the meaning of a crisis in the life of a social group. Among the questions that must be asked are the following:

- What kind of crisis ?
- What are the dynamics of group responses to crisis ?
- What are the patterns of religious response to crisis ?

In Section 2.3, after the discussion on the meaning of crisis in sociological analysis, I will discuss the importance of the kind of crisis that mass deportation represents. I will cite research on refugee movement and behaviour, in order to try and understand why it is important to clarify what kind of crisis is mass deportation. Among the points to be considered are:

- Does the group nature of the exile affect the response ?
- Are there historical analogues ?
- Does it matter what class or office of person was exiled ?

In Section 2.4, I will cite literature on the survival and behaviour of minority groups, and begin to suggest possible factors in the survival of ethnic identity. I will use the term 'Ethnicity' to refer to 'Ethnic identity'. This is the longest section of this chapter, because I deal with two complicating factors. Not only are we dealing with the survival of the Ethnicity of a minority group, but a minority group that has been conquered and lives in domination as a conquered people. Therefore, I will proceed in three steps, A) Ethnicity, B) Ethnicity of a minority, and C) Ethnicity of a minority under conditions of domination. Among the relevant question to ask in this area are:

- How did they maintain their identity ?
- What were the structures of leadership ?
- What patterns of practice were carried over, and what patterns were new whether religious, political or literary ?

- What can we learn from the experiences of displaced person camps, ghettos, reservations, and refugee camps about behaviour patterns ?
- What did it mean to be a minority in lower Mesopotamia ?
- Were the Exiles 'slaves' ? [See Excursus in 2.4.1]

In Section 2.5, I will comment briefly on some aspects of the return from Exile, and the special problems this can create. Among the important points to consider are:

- What kinds of difficulties are faced between those who experience a long-term crisis and those who do not ?
- How does the social/religious life of post-Exilic Israel reflect the experience of the Exile ?

These four topics form the outline for the sociological analysis in this chapter, which guides a systematic analysis of secondary literature. In Section 2.6, after the analytical work in the previous sections, I will focus on 3 (really 4, but one is a sub-section of the first) "Mechanisms for Survival" that are exemplified by groups that successfully maintain their Ethnicity in minority conditions under pressure. These mechanisms will be illustrated from various cases. The importance of these Mechanisms for Survival is that these patterns of social behaviour, once identified, become the most significant paradigms for the study of texts from the Old Testament on the Babylonian Exile. Each of these 'Mechanisms' will then be illustrated in the Chapters that follow - each Chapter dealing with a different Mechanism' as illustrated from the Exilic texts.

## 2.2 The Babylonian Exile was a Crisis

One of the most important analyses of the religious response to crisis events is Michael Barkun's Disaster and the Millennium.<sup>1</sup> Our interest in Barkun's work is in regards to his specific attention to the dynamics of the crisis events themselves as well as the responses to them.

Barkun investigated why certain kinds of crises create spectacular behavioural responses, and others do not. He concluded that:

"There are four kinds of disaster situations from which millenarian movements are not likely to emerge: those that leave a substantial portion of the perceived primary environment intact, those where the environmental damage is quickly repaired, and those indefinitely prolonged within the same social unit, and those which occur in the absence of ideas of future change..."<sup>2</sup>

Barkun suggests that it is when multiple disasters occur that the necessary conditions for a need for religious explanation also occur. Borrowing a term coined by Anthony Wallace<sup>3</sup>, Barkun suggests that the crisis must affect the 'mazeway' of the people, that is, the sense that one has of meaning and order:

"The true society is that aspect of the perceived world that the individual feels he must preserve...social change likely to destroy the true society must be highly focussed and intense... a particularly intense form of collective stress situation..."<sup>4</sup>

Barkun's emphasis on sustained crisis conditions is further support for our view that the Exile must be seen in the 'Context of Empire', that is, as an event which was a part of the decline of Judean power that began with the rise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, fully a century before the Exile itself, and inspired the concerns for 'Theodicy' that are evident in the Deuteronomic Historian's long history of the 'decline' of Judah and Israel.

It is not enough, as suggested by the school of 'Relative Deprivation', to say that people are upset when their expectations concerning their overall well-being remain basically unchanged, but their perceived capabilities for realizing these expectations decline<sup>5</sup>. This fails to have predictive value; it does not give any indication of where the breaking point is between stress and breakdown. Wallace added the element of stress to

deprivation, stress of such magnitude that previous explanations of 'order' appear to break down:

"Disaster, by removing the familiar environment removes precisely those frames of reference by which we normally evaluate statements, ideas and beliefs. Belief systems which under non-disaster conditions might be dismissed now receive sympathetic consideration...it is small wonder that among persons so situated doctrines of imminent salvation should find such a ready acceptance. Warning may mitigate effects, but not if they are not accepted."<sup>6</sup>

The literature on the religious response to crisis has generally focussed on the term 'millennialism'. This term however, should not be construed to be an anachronistic reference to the exclusively Christian term meaning the 'thousand year reign'. Sociologically, millennialism is most widely defined in terms of mass movements which, while experiencing social uprooting or confusion themselves, seek solace in a prediction that these catastrophic changes precede better social conditions. Such movements are associated with various kinds of social change, but the specific aspect of millennialist movements that has maintained the interest of sociologists of religion is the vast number of cross-cultural cases consisting of the same pattern of responses. This is demonstrated in Bryan Wilson's Magic and the Millennium<sup>7</sup> which represents the most sophisticated analysis of religious movements from virtually all kinds of societal, economic, and religious settings.

Wilson's task in Magic is to redirect sociological interest in millennial-type phenomena in important new directions. First, Wilson has succeeded in marshalling evidence so diverse as to correct the unfortunate Western, largely Christian bias of previous attempts to analyse religious movements as social movements (i.e. Richard Niebuhr<sup>8</sup>, Ernst Troeltsch<sup>9</sup>, etc.). By incorporating phenomena that did not 'fit' these previous categories (Older categories, such as Troeltsch's famous 'Sect types' and 'Church types' for example) Wilson is able to expand the typology of

movements into seven different although often co-existent ideologies. Wilson writes of 'ideologies' rather than movements, because he has pointed out that a movement's 'response to the world' encompasses more varied kinds of dynamics which may not be adequately categorized as organized 'movements'. Wilson suggests seven different 'responses to the world' as follows:

1) Conversionist - "The world is corrupt because men are corrupt: if men can be changed then the world will be changed...salvation is seen not as available through objective agencies, but only by a profoundly felt, supernaturally wrought transformation of the self..."<sup>10</sup>

2) Revolutionist response - "...only the destruction of the world, of the natural but more specifically the social, order, will suffice to save men. This process of destruction must be supernaturally wrought, for men lack the power if not to destroy the world, then certainly to re-create it. Believers may themselves feel called upon to participate in the process...but they know that they do no more than put a shoulder to an already turning wheel..."<sup>11</sup>

3) Introversionist response - "...the world [is] irredeemably evil and salvation [is] to be attained only by the fullest possible withdrawal from it. The self may be purified by renouncing the world and leaving it..."<sup>12</sup>

4) Manipulationist response - "...the manipulationist response is to seek only a transformed set of relationships - a transformed method of coping with evil...Salvation is possible in the world and evil might be overcome if men learn the right means, improved technique, to deal with their problems..."<sup>13</sup>

5) Thaumaturgical response - "The individual's concern is relief from present and specific ills by special dispensations. The demand for supernatural help is personal and local: its operation is magical..."<sup>14</sup>

6) Reformist response - "...recognizes evil but assumes that it may be dealt with according to supernaturally-given insights about the ways in which social organization should be amended. Amendment of the world is here the essential orientation..."<sup>15</sup>

7) Utopian response - "...to reconstruct the world according to some divinely given principles, to establish a new social organization in which evil will be eliminated. This response differs from the demand that the world be overturned (revolutionist) in insisting that men re-make it..."<sup>16</sup>.

Wilson states, in his programmatic introduction, that what all people seek is some form of 'salvation', that is, deliverance from the present

unacceptable conditions. Whether one explains the needs for salvation as 'relative deprivation' in the perception of the people involved or not, does not ultimately matter for Wilson's typology; Wilson is careful to point out that responses must fit the 'plausibility structure' of a given society. These must therefore be considered in the context of society, not as independent features.

Millennialism, or indeed, Wilson's 'responses to the world', require and depend upon alternative explanations being available to explain the tragedies. New explanations, new 'mazeways' (Wallace), can lead to possible 'revitalization'. As Wallace suggests:

"Revitalization movements are defined as deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture. The revitalization movement as a general type of event occurs under two conditions: high stress for individual members of the society, and disillusionment with a distorted culture gestalt....the movement is usually conceived in a prophet's revelatory vision, which provides for him a satisfying relationship to the supernatural and outlines a new way of life under divine sanction."<sup>17</sup>

This approach to religious/social responses to crises has suggested itself as a paradigm for a consideration of Prophecy, beginning most importantly in Weber's analysis of Prophecy and Charisma, but is clearly a possible mechanism in Wilson's typology as well. I am specifically interested in an analysis of what a crisis means, i.e. upsetting the world of expected causes and responses, the 'mazeway'. This was the key, for example, to Robert Carroll's work on the rise of prophecy to explain 'cognitive dissonance' (using Festinger's concept) in When Prophecy Failed<sup>18</sup>. Prophecy, because of its literary nature, must be a study of individual responses, or at best, the responses of a prophet and his disciples. But my interest is in the group nature of the Exile as crisis. It is not simply the crises of an individual that create group events, but the presence of crises so devastating that a group turns to the prophet and

listens, rather than dismissing him/her (as the evidence seems to suggest for most of the careers of the prophets) The prophet, after all, is not alone.

One way of conceiving of the depth of group crisis is to consider crisis as a crisis of identity. For example, in his recent work, Identity and the Sacred, Hans Mol sets out a theory of religion, religious change, and continuity, by anchoring religion firmly in the individual/social need for identity. Hence, Mol defines religious struggle itself as the 'sacralization of identity'<sup>19</sup>:

"Sacralization is the inevitable process that safeguards identity when it is endangered by the disadvantages of the infinite adaptability of symbol-systems. Sacralization protects identity, a system of meaning, or a definition of reality, and modifies, obstructs, or (if necessary) legitimates change...

Maximization of order and continuity in the interpretation of reality are prerequisites for identity. Moral rules in turn are the almost visible outlines and concretizations of that order. They are the living tissues covering the bones..."<sup>20</sup>

Mol's formulation provides a helpful transition from the purely individual idea of identity, to a sociological functionalist view of religion as social sacralization of identity and is therefore in dialogue with the philosophical/methodological problems raised by sociology. But what I am interested in is conceptualizing the process of 'sacralization' of identity (in Mol's terms) to the specific conditions of crisis and the challenge to the 'mazeways'. Mol has suggested that 'mechanisms' can be seen at work in conditions of social crisis and interaction. One can assume, therefore, that an analysis of such 'mechanisms' would be a most significant tool for understanding the nature of, and response to, a social crisis.<sup>21</sup>

Barkun and Wallace suggested that a crisis can threaten the very sense of 'group identity' itself. In terms of the exegesis of Biblical texts of the Exile, the sociological research on crisis and identity reformulation

means that we must be open to dramatic changes in religious symbolism and social structure. One of the most important accepted canons of Biblical study has been the identification of continuity in Israelite faith and practice. For example, questions are asked about the roots of prophecy in Judges, or in Moses, or the attempt to find pre-monarchical 'precedents' for the later Kings. These approaches stress continuity. But if we begin our analysis of Exile with sociological studies of crisis, then the Biblical exegete must be prepared to see unique 'mechanisms' and dramatic changes, as means of reconstruction in the face of foundation-shaking events. It is only of limited value, therefore, to insist on an exegetical plan guided by the investigations of phenomena of continuity in motifs and institutions. The exegesis of the Exile as a crisis must be open to both change and continuity.

We can see in the book of Lamentations, while a product of those left behind<sup>22</sup>, witnesses to the depth of the crisis which the Chaldean defeat incurred. One of the powerful themes of Lamentations was precisely the unexpected nature of the defeat. The reader of Lamentations, therefore, becomes familiar with what Wallace calls 'mazeway' disruption. Although 'Lamentation' literature is common among displaced peoples, they are more amenable to religious analysis than sociological analysis, although a sociological analysis of 'lament' literature would be an important approach to this genre. One could compare, for example, Okihiro's work on the 'lament' type literature that was essentially created from the Japanese-American internment<sup>23</sup>, and Baskauskas' discussion of the theology of the Worrier Christ that emerged in the Lithuanian immigrant neighbourhoods:

"...Just as the Ibo petrified their grief in a posture of misery or ritual lament, always particularly liable to see themselves as victims marked for tragedy, so, too, the Lithuanian refugees focused on the Christ figure as portrayed in the Worrier...and saw a purpose in the vale of tears

of their refugee experience..." 24

What I am more specifically interested in, however, are the behavioural responses rather than the ideological or religious responses which such a study of 'Lament' literature would deal with. More significant, however, is the essentially individual nature that a study of religious responses entails. But the individual in crisis is a member of a group, and when the group as a whole experiences crisis, as we have seen, the behaviour patterns are considerably different. In contrast to analysis of the individual, anthropological studies have focused on context analysis, focusing not only on the individual in relation to the group, but the group in relation to other groups. Therefore, I want to consider crisis as a crisis not only for religious explanation, but of ethnic group self-definition.

2.3 The Babylonian Exile was the forced removal of a sizeable population which lasted at least one generation.

Once we understand the importance of crisis, we can proceed to an analysis of the kind of crisis that the Exile represented. As we have seen in our historical reconstruction, the Exile represented military defeat, and continued military domination, which clearly reminded Judeans that they were no longer an independent people. Furthermore, for those deported to Mesopotamia, the crisis added the further dynamics of minority consciousness which continued to create social conflict after the exile as well. (The 'punishment for disobedience' in Deut 28 describes powerlessness in the face of 'foreigners', Dt. 28:32,43 and 49. The awareness that the Exiles were among 'foreigners' was very great, and continued to be a legacy of the Exile long into the Inter-testamental literature, see Baruch, The Epistle of Jeremiah, etc. See also Janssen)

The nature of the crisis in 587 BCE is important. According to recent research, refugee and minority groups are formed in significantly different ways. If a minority/refugee group is formed by the migration of individuals, the resulting relation of 'immigrants' to each other, and to the host society, is significantly different from those formed by groups together.

William Peterson has constructed a general typology of migration that summarizes the conclusions of his research on a sociology of refugees. In the following chart, the agents which interact to cause the migration are listed in the first column. For example, the need to escape adverse weather conditions obviously results in what Peterson calls 'ecological push' to migrate. The 'Class' of the migration is self-explanatory in all four examples. The final column requires some explanation. Peterson's chart suggests a critical difference between 'innovative' and 'conservative' types of migration. This does not imply a value judgement, but simply the difference of who made the primary decision to move. If the people made the decision, then it is 'conservative', that is, they are trying to preserve something, or prevent something from happening. If, however, the people had little or no say in the decision to migrate, then Peterson classifies the migration as 'innovative'. This is clear in (2), where the agents are Man and the State. If the decision is NOT made by the people, but forced on them, as in a military campaign, then the result, suggests Peterson, is a social form of either 'slaves' or 'Coolie' labour:

Peterson's Typology of Migration

Agents in Relation	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type	
			CONS.	INNOV.
1. Nature vs. Man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wander-range	flight
2. State vs. Man	Migration policy	Forced or Impelled	Displacement (Flight)	Slave Coolie
3. Man vs. 'His Norms'	Higher Aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
4. Collective Behaviour	Social Momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

(25)

Peterson's typology helps us to locate the elements on line two which relate to the Babylonian Exile as the result of a military campaign. Furthermore, his work helps us to see the significant social-psychological difference between the two types under point (2), as Peterson states:

"The difference is real...between the Nazis' policy (roughly 1933-38) of encouraging Jewish emigration by various anti-Semitic acts and laws, and the later policy (roughly 1938-45) of herding Jews into cattle-trains and transporting them to camps..."<sup>26</sup>

This 'decision' aspect can also determine the kinds of group structures found in the immigrant community itself, and the perceived relationship to 'home'. Egon Kunz has clarified this, by identifying three types of social relationships to 'home' among refugees. The first type is found when an individual feels himself 'with' the majority, in opposition to the events at home that led to his decision to flee; 'home' is desired, but the present political or social reality that led to flight is not<sup>27</sup>.

In analyzing the social response and development of an example of the kind of socio-psychological response to a forced exile, of the 'conservative' rather than 'innovative' type Baskauskas has observed the processes of grief in the loss of homeland among Lithuanian refugees in the American states after World War 2. This is a most revealing case. The expected need to preserve the culture of 'home' results in a reification of

memory in the context of hope:

"...a major factor in blocking, or at least delaying, the integration of refugees is their failure to realize for years that departure from their former homes is final, that there can be no return and that they must remain in the country of relocation and rebuild their lives there. They instead fervently believe that their exile is temporary and that all of a sudden a radical change in the international situation will upset the status quo and enable them to return to their homes...

...the Lithuanian refugees...continued for years to speculate and anticipate when such an upheaval would occur and would interpret the news of the international arena in the light of such a reversal of their fates. This speculation of the future return and disbelief of the permanency of the present situation occurred while the refugees struggled to meet their survival necessities: providing food, shelter, clothing for their families...this period of conservatism was further marked by an intense radicalized desire to preserve the totality of their culture in the new milieu..."<sup>28</sup>

The second type is the individual who did not identify with the majority at 'home' and includes social and religious minorities:

"What is common among them is their knowledge that events have irrevocably alienated them from their fellow citizens of the past, and unlike the majority identified refugees, they seldom entertain the hope, and only rarely the wish, to return to live among their former compatriots..."<sup>29</sup>

This is a crucial point, since Biblical scholars must try to identify as many factors as possible in identifying analogous cases for study. This point of the 'attitude to home', therefore, rules out a great many groups, including religious minorities, whose exile is self-imposed and who rarely entertain the hope of returning to any kind of homeland. Thus, for example, the German or Swiss Mennonites, or the Russian Dukhobours, or other religious sects, often have little sense of a 'national homeland' from which they feel alienated temporarily, (not simply 'missing home').

The final category includes the exiles who, for various political and/or philosophical reasons, do not feel any kinship with the population:

"These self-alienated persons might retain some attachments to the panoramic aspects of their homelands, but their attitudes are overwhelmingly shaped by ideological considerations and their departure is a logical result of their alienation..."<sup>30</sup>

As one would expect, those from Kunz's first type are more prone to shock, authoritarian attitudes, and indeed millennial expectations, because they had not previously been in a minority situation, and thus had neither experience nor 'mobile identities' to draw upon, as is the case with the minority groups of type two (religious minorities as example) or the 'experienced alienated' of type three (famous 'Exile' authors, Thomas Mann, James Baldwin, etc.<sup>31</sup>).

Kunz and Peterson help us to see examples of these types for more significant comparison. What emerges from this research on refugee patterns, is the important criterion that the Jewish exiles in Babylon did not come from a social situation where they were already a minority, although they had been faced with a military threat for a century or more. The dynamics of the return from Exile, quite to the contrary, as well as the exile itself, take on a different set of sociological aspects, for the returned exiles had two generations of minority existence, and therefore can be expected to exhibit features somewhat different from Kunz's first 'type', and including socio-psychological aspects of 'experienced alienated' groups<sup>32</sup>. These socio-psychological elements suggest interesting alignments of social conflict in the post-exilic community, which I will consider in Section 2.6, and in the Biblical material in Chapter 7.

#### 2.4 - The Babylonian Exiles were resettled in a foreign environment and had to preserve Ethnic Identity (Ethnicity)

To understand this dynamic of the Exile and deal with the questions that were raised in the outline above, I will present a three-part discussion which includes, A) the problem of the preservation of self-definition, B) Identity in a minority context, and C) A minority under domination. We must begin with the identity of ethnic and minority groups.

Some combination of identifiable, cultural patterns is clearly necessary in anthropological analysis of ethnic identity, such as a combination of kinship patterns, symbol systems, language and other forms of communication, artistic motifs, as well as religious traditions. To understand how to differentiate one group from another, many anthropologists have recently focused on the term 'Ethnicity'. To approach the literature on the term 'ethnicity' as a defining and differentiating concept for social groups, however, is to step into an intellectual minefield. The relevance of this term, however, in my analysis will I hope become clear.

My concern with 'ethnicity' is defended on the basis of the importance of context for social group analysis. As stated by Cohen:

"In operational terms, situational ethnicity can be observed in the interaction of two or more persons from separate groups in which labels are used to signify the socio-cultural differences between them. It results from multiple memberships in differently scaled sociocultural groupings, one of which is used to signify the differences between actors in the situation. However, the situational character of ethnicity is only a starting point for theorizing. As long as we believe that the emergence and persistence of ethnic differences is not a random event in any particular instance, we must be prepared to ask what factors determine its qualities and variation..."<sup>33</sup>

Can we be more precise about our use of the term 'ethnicity' ?

Ethnicity is defined in different ways by those who have written with the term prominently in the title (Schemerhorn, Francis, Epstein, Smith, See Bibliography) The work of E.K.Francis is particularly impressive as it is an attempt to synthesize a comprehensive theory. Francis defines ethnicity as:

"...the fact that 1) a relatively large number of people are socially defined as belonging together because of the belief in their being descended from a common ancestor...2) on account of their belief they have a sense of identity, and 3) they share sentiments of solidarity. Shared ethnicity extends genealogical relationships to a wider population whose precise genealogical nexus is unknown or disregarded. Three basic propositions may be added;

1. Shared ethnicity becomes salient in social action orientation a) if there is a contrast effect between two or more groups of people interacting in a given social context, and b) if the contrast can be interpreted in ethnic terms.:

2. the saliency of shared ethnicity as a principle of societal organization differs with the general type of society. Shared territory may serve a similar function in organizing and legitimizing a societal unit.

3. Where genealogical principles of social organization are dominant, there is a tendency to socially define a population sharing a common territory in terms of shared ethnicity..."<sup>34</sup>

The importance of groups in contact is illustrated by the work of Frederick Barth<sup>35</sup> which reoriented the entire debate on ethnicity. Barth, a Scandinavian Anthropologist, is noted for his field studies on the Swat Pathan of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Barth's difficulty in identifying clear social or tribal units among these mountain dwellers in interaction with other 'groups' led to his theory of "Boundary Maintenance". Barth criticized the typical anthropological techniques of determining an 'ethnic group' or a 'culture'. This had consisted of listing traits that pertain to this or that group, in otherwise arbitrary collections or lists:

"...we are led to imagine each group developing its cultural and social form in relative isolation, mainly in response to local ecologic factors, through a history of adaptation by invention and selective borrowing. This history has produced a world of separate peoples, each with their culture and each organized in a society which can legitimately be isolated for description as an island to itself..."<sup>36</sup>

But, as Barth points out, such a process appears to freeze groups in time, not allowing for chronological change, or else explaining change by sometimes doubtful cultural 'borrowing' (often without direct evidence). Thus, attention is focused on an assemblage of traits, but:

"...what is the unit whose continuity in time is depicted in such studies? Paradoxically, it must include cultures in the past which would clearly be excluded in the present because of differences in form - differences of precisely the kind that are diagnostic in synchronic differentiation of ethnic units. The interconnection between 'ethnic group' and 'culture' is certainly not clarified through this confusion..."<sup>37</sup>

Related to this is the problem of environmental adaptation to

different ecological niches by sections of an otherwise homogenous ethnic group, thus differentiating groups entirely on the cultural 'trait list':

"The same group of people, with unchanged values and ideas, would surely pursue different patterns of life and institutionalize different forms of behaviour when faced with the different opportunities offered in different environments...Likewise we must expect to find that one ethnic group, spread over a territory with varying ecologic circumstances, will exhibit regional diversities of overt institutionalized behaviour which do not reflect differences in cultural orientation. How should they then be classified if overt institutional forms are diagnostic ?<sup>38</sup>

Barth then makes his deceptively simple suggestion for the basis of defining ethnicity: "To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense." To make the point clearer:

"It makes no difference how dissimilar members may be in their overt behaviour - if they say they are A, in contrast to another cognate category B, and they are willing to be treated and let their own behaviour be interpreted and judged as A's and not B's; in other words, they declare their allegiance to the shared culture of A's. The effects of this, as compared to other factors influencing actual behaviour, can then be made the object of investigation..."<sup>39</sup>

This suggestion is based on a simple, but largely unattended observation with which Barth began his article:

"First, it is clear that boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories. Secondly, one finds that stable, persisting and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. In other words, ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundation on which embracing social systems are built." <sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, ethnicity is maintained by a group process:

"...the sanctions producing adherence to group-specific values are not only exercised by those who share the identity. Again, other imperative statuses afford a parallel; just as both sexes ridicule the male who is feminine, and all classes punish the proletarian who puts on airs, so also can members of all ethnic groups in a poly-ethnic society act to maintain dichotomies and differences. Where social identities are organized and allocated by such principles, there will thus be a tendency toward canalization and standardization of interaction and the emergence of

boundaries which maintain and generate ethnic diversity within larger, encompassing social systems." <sup>41</sup>

One significant dynamic of the experience of Israel in Exile is their consciousness of being among 'foreigners' irrespective of the outward similarity of first millennium Palestinian cultural traits and first millennium Babylonian cultural traits, including mutual intelligibility or un-intelligibility of Semitic languages involved. As Barth points out:

"The important thing to recognize is that a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintenance processes..."<sup>42</sup>

The radical change heralded by Barth's essay realigned the debate about ethnicity on a research strategy of examining contact between cultures. Barth's ideas, however, have not gone unchallenged. Van den Berghe, for example, points out the methodological difficulty that Barth's view can not, apparently, be proven wrong:

"...if the analytical categories used in social science must always be defined by the natives, who, in turn, are, by definition always right. The problem for those of us who try to formulate scientific propositions, is that natives do not always agree with each other, even within cultures..."<sup>43</sup>

Van den Berghe's discomfort with Barth's theory having no 'empirical' basis in the groups themselves, apart from interaction, is verified in other work. Handleman, in response, has attempted to schematize the subjective observations:

1) Groups are perceived as most similar when members of A claim identity in B, and members of B accept the claim.

2) Groups are perceived as less similar when members of A claim common membership with B in C, and B acknowledges A's claim, where C has common language, religion, common descent, and/or is a broadly based cultural category.

3) Groups are perceived as less similar than in levels 1 and 2, if members of A claim common membership with B in C, and B acknowledges the claim, were C is a common national identity.

4) Groups are perceived as less similar than in levels 1, 2, and 3, when members of A claim identity in B, but B rejects the claim.

5) Less than 1-4 when members of A claim common membership with B in C, and B rejects the claim and C is either a common linguistic religious,

cultural descent or national group.

6) None of the above conditions are met. (44)

Epstein, in Ethos and Identity<sup>45</sup> suggests a helpful synthesis:

"Just as in the case of the individual the notion of personality is accompanied at the level of self-perception by the sense of ego-identity, so ethos has as its counterpart the sense of collective identity, the consciousness of belonging to a group that exists in time..."<sup>46</sup>

"It is now commonly agreed that it is meaningful to talk of ethnicity only where groups of different ethnic origin have been brought into interaction within some common social context...ethnicity serves as a system of social classification...in terms of which people structure their environment and govern certain of their relations with others. From a socio-centric point of view, these categories are 'objective' external to the individual, compelling him to take cognizance of them..."<sup>47</sup>

Epstein neatly brings into focus the relevance of this discussion of the concepts of ethnicity, religion and identity:

"...In a word, as the whole corpus of his writing attests, in dealing with questions of identity formation, one is dealing with a process that is located in the core of the individual, and yet in the core of his communal culture..."<sup>48</sup>

In a competing viewpoint, however, Anthony Smith and Clifford Geertz both represent variations of the notion that at the root of ethnic identity is political ambition, or in Marxist terms, the class or economic struggle. As Smith has said in The Ethnic Revival:

"As an ideological movement, nationalism seeks to attain and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of a social group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'...the revival of ethnicity therefore, is strongly bound up with the widespread acceptance of nationalist ideologies in the modern world, and with the rise of self-conscious nationalist movements."<sup>49</sup>

Both Smith (and Geertz<sup>50</sup>) limit their discussion to modern phenomena and see ethnicity as a tool in nationalist aspirations. But Epstein insists that such political considerations are not the whole issue:

"To see ethnicity as essentially a political phenomenon...is to make the same kind of methodological error as those who earlier defined it in terms of culture; it is to confuse an aspect of the phenomenon with the phenomenon itself..."<sup>51</sup>

This notion of defining social movements as potential nationalist groups is a bias which can distort the picture. Must a group attain the outward appearance of a Western, industrial, institutional bureaucracy in order to be considered a self-defined entity? In Society Against the State, which deals with American Indian political life, Pierre Clastres states:

"...the model to which political power in these societies is referred and the unit by which it is measured are constituted in advance by the idea...which Western civilization has shaped and developed. From its beginning our culture has conceived of political power in terms of hierarchized and authoritarian relations of command and obedience. Every real or possible form of power is consequently reducible to this privileged relation which a priori expresses the essence of power...in fact, power exists totally separate from violence and apart from any hierarchy..."<sup>52</sup>

In short, it has been the value of sociological historiography to bring, as evidence, examples of 'ethnic groups' whose judicial processes and leadership structures differ so dramatically, that many were not even recognized to have such structures of leadership until more subtle and careful observations were made. In short, ethnicity and identity can be ends as well as means.

In his review article on the problems of 'ethnicity', Cohen takes Barth's emphasis on context seriously, refusing to see in it an arbitrary basis for analysis of group interaction:

"I would define ethnicity as a series of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. The process of assigning to groups is both subjective and objective, carried out by self and others, and depends on what diacritics are used to define membership..."<sup>53</sup>

Therefore, we can confidently speak of 'ethnic identity' whenever a group in question uses certain terms to differentiate itself from another, although this is only the opening question in a more complex analysis, as Handleman tried to show. The perception of uniqueness serves the

ubiquitous need for identity, which, as we have seen, is an irreducibly social process.

In conclusion, the preservation of identity in the context of intercultural contact is an important focus for a sociological analysis of the Babylonian Exile. But there are two further elements of this preservation process for the Jews in Exile that must be considered. First, the Jews were a minority in a foreign environment, and second, they were forcibly settled in that foreign environment. Both of these elements must be considered further.

#### 2.4.1 Identity in a Minority Context

Having considered the term 'ethnicity' as lodged in the self-identification of an ethnic group, I want to turn to more careful definition of the social realities of the ethnic group in question. We have already stated that we are dealing with a group in Exile, and as a Minority. What are some of the mechanisms of ethnicity that are unique to an exiled minority ?

When the process of establishing relevant ethnic characteristics approaches a stabilization of the social group which has experienced a crisis, then the emphasis changes to a realization of the importance of the 'diaspora' itself, rather than the group thinking of themselves as a temporary 'piece' of the homeland. One way of stabilizing in 'Diaspora' is the creation of 'ghettos'. Thus, an immigrant society may insulate itself into a voluntary ghetto in order to preserve identity. Abu-Lughod, in her study of Migrant adjustment to urban life in Cairo, speaks of the literal creation of villages within the city itself as an aid to accommodation to the new location:

"...[with] a lower capacity for assimilation they tend to build for themselves within the city a replica of the culture they left behind...it would take a keen observer indeed to distinguish between a village within Cairo and one located miles beyond its fringe..."<sup>54</sup>

In considering the case of Medieval Jews in Eastern Europe, Wirth, in his classic study, The Ghetto, suggested that segregation was originally the result of the cultic needs as well as social expediency of Jews who live in close proximity with others:

"The ghetto was not, as sometimes mistakenly believed, the arbitrary creation of the authorities designed to deal with an alien people. The ghetto was not the product of design, but rather the unwitting crystallization of the needs and practices of the customs and heritages, religious and secular, of the Jews themselves. Long before it was made compulsory, the Jews lived in separate parts of the cities in the Western lands of their own accord..."<sup>55</sup>

It must be added, however, that the medieval ghetto can also provide an example for our discussion of the dynamics of domination, in the next section. These examples of isolation, to recall Kunz and Peterson, reveal a minimal level of independent response to otherwise imposed conditions of Exile. The voluntary ghetto may well be a form of economic slavery open to exploitation by dominant populations, but it can also be a defensive mechanism to maintain boundaries under pressure. The ghetto, may be self imposed in the beginning, but it can then become sanctioned by the state.

The phenomenon of self-chosen isolation as a method of social survival after mass movement can furthermore result in the creation of sub-cultures like that of many religious minorities (Amish, Jainists, Dukhobors, Hutterites, some Mormon groups, Parsees, Christians in Muslim countries, etc. etc.) When the reconstruction of society is completed, the sub-culture is then totally independent of the homeland. This can happen in cultures that are relatively 'open' as well as explicitly hostile to the sub-culture/exiles/refuges in question.

Although the social isolation of a minority group may not be symbolized by fences or armed guards, the fears of the minority who have created their strict social boundaries may not be a groundless paranoia. To employ a metaphor from American immigration, the Amish farmer, as a representative of an ideologically closed religious 'sub-culture' has a different outlook on surrounding society than a typical Norwegian farmer who immigrated to the USA because of higher aspirations rather than religious or social persecution. The Amish, too, have a history of 'real conflict' with 'outsiders' which has led to a Theology of separation. Each

of the two different 'farmers' in the country may be considered foreigners by the surrounding 'majority' culture, but the Norwegian farmer sees his Norwegian associations as merely an aid to settle in a new homeland, while the Amish feels much more a constant challenge and conflict, and his isolation is chosen as a means of defence. An indication of this social defence is seen in the Amish attitude toward the use and possession of 'modern' technology of surrounding society:

"In the type of technology they utilize and in the organizational innovations they have selectively introduced, the Amish have demonstrated a remarkable sensitivity to and control over the process of change...the use of horses, kerosene lamps, and one-room schoolhouses cannot be explained as a repudiation of modernity. Nor does the use of unsophisticated technology indicate an absence of self-consciousness or an uncritical approach to existing social institutions. In fact, in the context of contemporary United States, its use represents the very essence of self-conscious choice."<sup>56</sup>

This difference between the 'Amish' and 'Norwegian' farmer, and the effective mechanism of self-chosen isolation, is clarified by pointing to what some sociologists have called the 'institutional completeness' of the groups in question. Groups in movement, in order to maintain themselves, will strive to maintain all aspects of society (not merely language, food, folk culture, and other 'indicators'). As Francis suggests, the difference is between what he calls 'secondary' ethnic groups, and 'primary' ethnic groups:

"Ethnics of the secondary type...who enter the host society as isolated individuals or as small bands of migrants, depend entirely on the host society for the satisfaction of almost all basic needs. They are at once forced to adjust to an unfamiliar setting, the painful process of transculturation, in order to function properly and to find their niche in the host society. Accordingly, a primary group gives the impression of being a fragment of the parent society, maintaining some segmental and relatively loose relationships with the host society..."<sup>57</sup>

Using an example from his work with Catholic Syrians in the USA, Kayal states:

"It seems that 'acculturation without assimilation' cannot take place unless institutions are developed which can legitimate and transmit a belief in collective communal uniqueness to a population which perceives itself as benefitting from this 'cultural distinctiveness'. Religious differentiation in and by itself cannot maintain successful boundaries unless it can reinforce and establish some form of legitimate isolation. If there is linkage with the dominant society...then assimilation can only be retarded but not avoided..."<sup>58</sup>

This creation of high level unity can be dramatic in conditions of threat or interaction. This is illustrated in Jane Murphy's experiences in the Displaced Person Camps after World War 2. Murphy referred to 'true society' (which is what we have called, after Wallace, 'mazeway') which built up in the camps. There were marked problems of social alienation (alcoholism, loneliness) after release from these camps, because of the lamented loss of the true society, the 'mazeway', that had built up in the intensive camp experience<sup>59</sup>.

Francis helps to clarify the significant difference between secondary and primary groups. To pursue this further, Francis lists attributes of both:

"By 'secondary group' we understand subgroups of the host society whose members participate directly in the host society in some dimensions, particularly on the level of [economic commerce], but indirectly through the mediation of the ethnic group in other dimensions, particularly on the level of [ritual, eating, etc.] and...[kinship ties through marriage]...

By 'primary ethnic groups' we understand viable corporate units which, after their transfer from the parent to the host society, tend to continue to function in the host society as closed subsocieties able to satisfy the basic social needs of their members. Participation of their members in the host society accordingly tends to be indirect in all dimensions...

Economic factors tend to be of paramount importance in the formation of secondary ethnic groups, political factors in the formation of primary ethnic group...

Primary ethnic groups start the process of adaptation to the host society with a full set of institutions necessary for their functioning as a viable sub-society. They tend to lose these gradually, first in the political sphere, then in the economic sphere...

Members of secondary ethnic groups are not so much concerned with the preservation of their separate collective identity as with the enjoyment of social rewards on equal terms with the charter members of the host society...

Members of a primary ethnic group are mainly concerned with its maintenance, which depends on the strength of separate institutions, and on the preservation of distinctive characteristics. They do not clamor for equal treatment with the majority of the host society, but for the recognition of their separate collective identity...

The social controls exercised by secondary ethnic groups over their members tend to be more feeble than those exercised by primary ethnic groups because of the more comprehensive institutions at their disposal...<sup>60</sup>.

Francis hinted that the primary groups tend to be formed through political

events, which verifies Peterson's typology on refugee groups. The political forces that can form primary minority groups is further illuminated by a consideration of Armstrong's typology of 'Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas':



One important aspect of Armstrong's definition of 'mobilized' diasporas is the relative freedom of the mobilized diaspora to seek the greatest number of advantages possible in the physically restrained circumstances, although not in circumstances of coercive restraints, such as those faced by cultural, racial or ethnic minorities. Armstrong uses an 'exchange' model for his analysis of the symbolic relationship of mobilized diaspora elites and dominant elites. The sub-categories of 'Mobilized diasporas' in Armstrong's views, are 'archetypical diasporas' who have no majority in any homeland (historically Jews and Parsees), and the 'situational diaspora' of the Volga Germans, Chinese in Indonesia, Lebanese in Africa, which are only diasporas when not 'at home'.

As Armstrong puts it, the sub-category: 'archetypical diasporas', have a sense of identity far more invested in sacred categories, sacred languages and myths, the maintenance of 'scriptures'. However, the language skills of diaspora members, whether situational or archetypical, has made them stereotypically 'court translators' as well as traders and practitioners of other 'mobile skills' requiring linguistic diversity. This has been the case for Jews, Chinese, Lebanese in Africa, Copts, Armenians, and many others who have found themselves in similar social circumstances:

"Within the multiethnic polity, the mobilized diaspora is temporarily indispensable for the dominant ethnic elite...thus the first Arab caliphs

found it necessary to employ Christian secretaries for civil administration: as late as the fourteenth century the Egyptian Coptic minority monopolized the secretarial roles..."<sup>61</sup>

Over an extended period of time, however, the existence of a homeland puts the other sub-category: 'situational diasporas', under the suspicion of disloyalty (Japanese-Americans during WW2). This is especially the case if the homeland is outside the political control of the dominant elite.

The main differences between mobilized and 'proletarian' diasporas, suggests Armstrong, are the relative hope for advantage, and the relative freedom of operation. This is seen in Armstrong's use of exchange theory for Mobilized Diasporas, and his use of conflict theory in the discussion of proletarian diasporas - the significant differences being the presence of physical coercion.

Because of their lower social status, and less perceived 'needs' beyond possible low-wage or 'coolie' labour, proletarian diasporas tend, in Armstrong's view, to become more and more culturally isolated, and suffer continued discrimination.

The use of two different conceptual models, however, has biased Armstrong's views, since he fails to see the coercive character present in both his 'mobilized' (whether situational or archetypical) and 'proletarian' communities. There appears to be, in historical experience, similarities between the two groups, the only difference being the relative economic success of one group in ameliorating their conditions. But even 'better conditions' may not mean that a conflict is absent. Armstrong's view of post-colonial situations as the source of proletarian diaspora conditions fails to see the 'colonialist' violence that is often perpetrated upon the more financially resourceful (or simply fortunate) mobilized diasporas. This cannot be illustrated better than by pointing out Armstrong's failure to make reference to the persecutions of virtually every 'mobilized' diaspora (whether situational or archetypical) which he uses for examples, such as the Jews, Copts, and Armenians.

In their research on modern minorities in the situation that Armstrong would call a 'Mobilized Diaspora', the significance of persecution is made by Turner and Bonacich's discussion of their concept of 'Middleman Minorities':

"The prominent social characteristics of middleman minorities include a) the clear tendency to be migrants to a recipient society; b) the propensity to form and maintain a separate community or district in the recipient society; c) the desire to maintain distinct cultural traits, such as language, values, and religious beliefs, and d) the propensity to cultivate high degrees of internal solidarity through extended kinship ties, school and religious organizations, and preference for endogamy; and e) the tendency to avoid politics; except when directly related to their interests...

Middleman minorities also tend to have somewhat tense and hostile relations with the majority population. They are frequently singled out as targets of (a) violent attacks, (b) discriminatory laws severely limiting their political power, (c) informal practices of discrimination, and (d) a series of distinctive unfavorable stereotypes about social 'clannishness', and economic 'shrewdness' and 'unscrupulousness'...

Thirdly, and probably most important in terms of distinguishing middleman minorities from other kinds of minorities, are distinctive economic traits: a) The tendency to concentrate in a limited range of middle rank entrepreneurial economic roles, such as trading, small business and independent professions, b) the tendency to keep capital liquid and avoid investment in capital intensive production, and c) the ability to use pooled kin labor, to work extremely long hours, and to be thrifty, d) and the maintenance of intragroup economic organizations, such as rotating credit associations and business leagues..." 62

If, as I have argued, conflict is a key element of minority 'Diaspora' existence, and the resulting 'Mechanisms for Survival' that the group employs, then it is essential to understand the importance of groups in conflict in more detail.

#### 2.4.2 - Minorities under Domination

Among the relevant aspects of the Babylonian Exile community, was the fact that it was not only a minority, but it was a conquered minority, under domination.

In his essay on the cultural changes of the American Indian, Edward Spicer set out 5 different 'models of contact'. The important aspect of these models is the difference between 'directed' and 'non-directed' contact; 'directed' referring specifically to relations of domination. Spicer's categories are as follows:

A) Non-Directed Contact - 1) The Incorporative Model

B) Directed Contact - 1) Assimilative (Replacement) integration

"Both acceptance and replacement are involved in the process; however, the distinctive feature consists in the acceptance and replacement of cultural behaviours in terms of the dominant society's cultural system. This means an absence of modification which harmonizes what is accepted with a divergant system."

#### 2) Fusion (Synthesis)

The end product of culture is completely different from the preceding two cultures before they came into contact.

#### 3) Isolative Integration

"In isolative integration the accepted elements lack linkage with other complexes, despite serving very similar or identical functions. The lack of linkage leads to their being isolated within the culture in a distinct sub-system of means..."

#### 4) Bi-Culturalism

A maintenance of separation of values, but practising both... 'When in Rome...' etc.

(63)

) Spicer's work is a modification of the 1940 essay produced by Ralph Linton on the subject of acculturation, but Spicer's views clearly set forth the kinds of influence one can find in inter-cultural contact situations under various circumstances. This range clearly shows a variety of strategies available.

Since we are not concerned with peaceful, or 'non-directed' contact (i.e., the Norwegian farmers) we proceed to consider Spicer's four points under 'directed contact'. To 'assimilate' in Spicer's terms, is to replace one practice native to the minority with a practice to achieve similar results or functions, practised by the majority. This need not result in a loss of identity on the part of the minority.

In 'fusion', the minority culture incorporates by choice or force, so much of the dominant majority practice, belief system, symbol system, etc., that the resulting 'culture' is entirely different from either the majority

or minority systems.

When a trait, practice, or belief is integrated by 'isolation', it is clearly kept secluded from even those areas it resembles in the minority system. Thus, an imported religious practice is not associated with the totality of minority religious concepts, but on the contrary, kept quite separate. This is illustrated graphically in indigenous art and production of artifacts for non-native 'tourist consumption', by Graburn in his discussion of the artwork of what he calls the 'Fourth World'. Graburn points out that an indigenous tribe can continue to produce copies of what was originally a sacred object, but the tribe is able to keep the facsimile ideologically separate from the original, including the meaning of the original in cult or ritual. It is, in the religious sense, understood as a mere 'copy' - with more economic than cultic value. This form of adaptation can preserve the cultural and ethnic boundaries in situations of contact.<sup>64</sup>

The final model suggested by Spicer is biculturalism - the attitude where one takes on two value systems, depending on where one is. It is important to note that all four of these systems under directed contact leave some degree of independent action for the dominated, even though it may be very small.

F. Barth, too, commented on the processes and conditions of inter-cultural contact and influence. First, we recall that Barth suggested that the acceptance of many foreign elements into native practice, such as in Spicer's 'assimilation' model, need not mean the end of a self-conscious ethnic group.

Barth is concerned with three strategies of minority survival, which resemble Spicer's although they are not as clearly differentiated. Barth

believes that a minority may attempt to 'pass' and become fully integrated, although not disintegrated as a self-conscious entity. Second, they may accept minority status, but express those native elements in other, protected, departments of their lives (similar to Biculturalism, and isolative integration). Lastly, the group may take the offensive, assert their ethnic identity, and attempt to forge a new place in society for themselves, as with fusion in Spicer's plan. Barth, however, sees this as a source of creative movements from 'nativism to new states'. The interesting aspect of this last strategy, which brings it closer to Spicer's 'fusion' model, is that a minority group must mould its identity from the raw materials of its 'native' culture, but this identity must be functional in the new situation.

In a recent investigation of the survival of American Indian culture under the 'directed contact' of white colonial and mission pressure, 'Strategies for Cultural Autonomy of Massachusetts Praying Town Indians' (a praying town was the segregation of 'converted' Native Americans into townships apart from their 'heathen' brethren), Elise Brenner discusses the further aspects of cultural resistance:

"...the adaptation to the exploitation of the change agents is an active and not a passive action. The strategies are usually based on passive resistance and opportunism of the client population coupled with a willingness to experiment with and manipulate the hierachical society. The native group is able to make choices and implement its own decisions into modes of action. Such was the case among the Cherokees..." 65

Related to this mechanism, Bernard Siegal has written about 'Defense Structuring'. We have seen how aspects of native culture can be made significant in the presence of stress, or the need for reconstruction. Siegal suggests that the symbols that are selected reflect the societal need for unification, and boundary maintenance (Siegal's discussion appears to agree with, and supplement, Barth's notions of boundary maintenance).

Siegal also believes that strong authoritarian controls are present in threatened groups, maintained by perpetuating a high level of anxiety among the group members. This is softened, however, by a promotion of inward harmony and solidarity:

"Just as they discourage or forbid behaviour that reduces their capacity for swift mobilization of effort in coping with threat, defensive groups also emphasize solidarity, harmony, and interdependency in various ways: by seductively warm mother-child relationships, by communal ceremonials, and by collective expressive behaviour. They also sanction various kinds of indirect outlets for tension release, especially through humour and moral judgements directed outward and malevolent associations and mythology directed inward."<sup>66</sup>

Siegal sees 'defense structuring' as imposed by authoritarian figures within the threatened group. Indeed, he further speculates whether such groups exemplify a personality flaw toward 'dependent personality'. Accordingly, in Siegal's view, the groups engaging in 'defensive structuring' create the conditions of isolation. Siegal goes to great pains to stress the 'perceived' threat of the group in question. It is difficult, with an emphasis on merely 'perceived threat', to see the creative response of a group to actual outside threats. This is clear if we look at the factors of boundary maintenance from the perspective of the minority, rather than from that of the dominant population; or what the minority 'would normally be' if they were not a minority (i.e. a state like the majority). The work on refugee typologies that we have considered proves that attention to the outside factors is a critical aspect of 'defense structuring' of the group, and their statelessness is not implicitly pathological.

In his book on ethnicity, Van den Berghe describes the Babylonian Exile as a case, not of slavery, but rather an example of colonialism. This is because Van den Berghe considers the forced removal and relocation of groups 'en masse' to be significantly different from slavery which is

necessarily individualistic. To focus the concept more sharply, we borrow Graburn's definition of the Fourth World:

"The Fourth World is the collective name for all aboriginal or native peoples whose lands fall within the national boundaries and technobureaucratic administrations of the countries of the first, second and third worlds. As such, they are peoples without countries of their own, peoples who are usually in the minority and without the power to direct the course of their collective lives."<sup>67</sup>

Thus, we are attempting to see boundary maintenance, defensive structuring, or 'response to the world', as a form of "Fourth World" consciousness; creative strategies of resistance and reconstruction of identity in the face of coercive power and crisis. As Balandier has suggested:

"...in offering a picture of the varied responses to the colonial situation history shows us how much the situation can reveal to us. Colonialism appears as a trial, a kind of test imposed on certain societies or, if we may call it such, as a crude sociological experiment. An analysis of colonial societies cannot overlook these specific conditions. As certain anthropologists have perceived, they reveal not only the processes of adaptation or rejection, the new guideposts set up for society whose traditional models have been destroyed...but they also disclose the 'points of resistance' among colonial peoples, the fundamental mental structure and behaviour of such a people. They touch society's bedrock..."<sup>68</sup>

The resulting dominated culture is a synthesis of the former cultural expressions of the colonized people, and the colonizer's view as well. Drawing on the social psychologies of dominated peoples, especially the work of Fanon, Mannoni, Memmi and others, M.Caulfield<sup>69</sup> calls for a realization that cultural reconstruction under domination is resistance, and ultimately leads to the means by which the colonizers are defeated in their attempts to dominate totally. Taking another example from the experience of Native American Indians, Clemmer considered the Hopi American Indian resistance to exploitation by 20th century American government interests. The response of the Hopi community is summarized by Clemmer as follows:

"...it was determined that younger Hopis were not fulfilling their proper roles in Hopi social and ceremonial activities and that Hopi culture was suffering deterioration as a result. The war had indeed forced many young men into the armed forces, thus leaving performance of traditional religious ceremonies and social functions largely to older men. It was decided...that the chiefs and religious leaders would make concerted efforts to fulfill their own roles as social and religious pace-setters and revitalize Hopi culture. Results of these efforts were an increase in initiates to religious societies; the passing on of secret knowledge to younger people; the assured continuation of religious ceremonies that were about to disappear; and the start of a counter-campaign to the white man's acculturative pressures that would articulate resistance in political language and action that the white man would understand..."<sup>70</sup>

Here, Clemmer illustrates motifs we will have occasion to discuss in more detail - the resurgence of ceremony and ritual, as well as the forced reorganization of traditions in order to respond to threats against the native system (such as the passing on of ceremonial secrets to younger-than-usual initiates).

In passing, it is important to note that Brenner and Balandier both embrace a clearly ideological perspective.

This raises the main point on which I am critical of Robert Wilson's guidelines for Biblical sociological analysis, especially the point about 'using only data' instead of the theoretical frameworks of the social scientists. It is precisely because of their ideological predispositions, that these anthropologists were alerted to consider class, economic, or social conflicts. This then led to the formulation of new research problems to consider more facts of the case. This further illustrates my earlier point that one's theoretical framework largely determines the shape of the research programme itself, both in Biblical studies, and in sociological studies.

## 2.5 - The Sociology of Return

Finally, we can make some brief comments about the sociology of return. The mechanisms for survival and resistance of minorities in a dominated situation also inevitably leads toward a solidarity of the community, and the creation of a 'community of crisis'.

Part of this solidarity is based on memories of the past. The Lithuanian refugees had a mythic view of their home that perpetuated their dream to return. When some of them finally were able to go back, the shock that the homeland was not the homeland of their frozen memory jolted many

of them into a realization that they were a permanent Diaspora.<sup>71</sup>

The shock can be documented for each of the cases that I have investigated, where members of the community exiled were able to return to the geographical situation from which they came. Some Japanese-Americans exhibited a unique socio-psychological reaction to the Internment camps that one historian of the camps called "selective amnesia", an unwillingness to talk about their experiences.<sup>72</sup> Kiste reported the shock to the Bikini Islanders, who had mythologized the old island into a 'Golden Era', only to return and find the Island a ghost of its' former state. This brings to mind the words of Haggai, who referred to those who had seen Solomon's Temple, and cried at the dedication of the new Temple, because it did not seem as glorious.

However, communal solidarity that occurs during a crisis can have further sociological effects. R.J. Lifton's study of the 'hibakusha', that is, the survivors of the Atomic Bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, revealed that there was a 'community of experience', a social boundary, among the survivors of the Atomic Bomb (similar to the survivors of the concentration camps, who found themselves constantly meeting to re-establish a unique communal tie that was formed...). This was perceived by Lifton to be a significant 'separating' boundary, which set the survivors off from other Japanese with whom they had virtually everything else in common. Lifton records two different reactions. Some survivors tried to see the physical effects of the Bomb as a positive identity marker. More common, however, were those who see their identity as a 'death-taint', which was rejected by other Japanese:

"The young are forthright enough to say what many of their elders feel: the death-tainted are a threat, an enemy, and finally, an inferior breed. Thinking back on the advocacy of sterilization on the part of some hibakusha, themselves, we can now understand it as a wish to excise

symbolically not only the death-taint, but the entire hibakusha identity in which this taint is enmeshed. But both - as for other victimized groups to whom they may be compared - turn out to be all too enduring..."<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, in a series of important articles on the psychology and sociological effects of refugee movements, Kunz<sup>74</sup> and Wong<sup>75</sup> make reference to the impact of return and resettlement. Kunz stressed the differences between 'waves', what he called 'vintages', of refugees. He pointed out that great differences between refugees from the same geographical area, or even the same ethnic group, can result both from the reasons why they left, and the circumstances under which they left:

"In addition to political differences which these vintages represent, they also tend in some instances to unite people belonging to similar type of educational social, or religious background. Although few vintages are fully homogeneous, vintages leaving a country in a refugee situation tend to take different proportions of the ingredients of the society they leave behind and thus become distinctive enough not to resemble in their composition another vintage." [emphasis mine]<sup>76</sup>

In conclusion, the survival of a minority as a group depends on their success in creating a solid community with social boundaries. This solidarity in exile then creates separation from the population that did NOT endure exile. We have seen this occur with the exiles that did not last even over one generation (Japanese-Americans, Lithuanians, etc.). The final sociological element in the crisis of the exile, then, would be a possible conflict between those who went into exile and those who did not. This conflict would not necessarily reflect the 'degeneration' of religious faithfulness of those left in Palestine, but only that the crisis led to different social configurations. Thus, an analysis of the social conflicts of the era of the restoration and return must take all of these elements of sociological analysis into consideration. The issues cannot be simply religious, or a matter of class, but may have to do with the formation of communities of disaster as well. My main criticism of conflict models of the exilic and post-exilic period, specifically those of Paul Hanson, and

Morton Smith (See Chapter 7) is not that their suggested lines of conflict are wrong, but they do not consider the impact of the crisis itself, and the particular stresses that it creates on a community.

Before an examination of the 'Mechanisms for Survival' in more detail, I would like to consider some important issues on the subject of 'Slavery' in relation to analysis of the Babylonian Exile.

### 2.5.1 - EXCURSUS: Slavery - Analysis of the Symbols of Power

Slavery is obviously the most explicit example of dominated minorities. It is often suggested in studies of the Babylonian Exile that the exiles were not slaves. This is usually accompanied by references to late texts which mention economically prosperous Jews who either stayed in Mesopotamia because of their success, or contributed heavily to the return from Exile (Ezra 2 // Neh 7).

Galling<sup>77</sup> explained that there appeared to be a difference in the economic contributions as recorded in Ezra 1 for Sheshbazzar's return, and the more affluent contributions of Ezra 2, under Zerubbabel's return. Galling reasoned that the 'success' of the Babylonian Jews was in the time between the fall of Babylon to Cyrus, and the return under Zerubbabel) Further, reference is made to the Murashu documents, which mention the names of Jews in the contexts of land contracts<sup>78</sup> Although I do not intend to investigate the textual issue here, it is important to clarify the meaning and possible complications of using the term 'slavery' in the context of the Babylonian Exile. In short, do we really know what we are talking about when we say that the Exiles were, or were not, slaves ?

In his summary article on Slavery in the 1982 Annual Review of Anthropology, Igor Kopytoff provided some important insights. Until 1920, for example, almost all slavery studies were limited to classical sources for Greek and Roman slavery, and Antebellum American Slavery. This exclusive scholarly attention led to many false assumptions. Although all writers were aware that slavery was widespread:

- 1) Slavery was seen as a stage of development
- 2) Progressive development was seen in slavery - it was an advance on mass killings, etc.
- 3) There was a connection seen between slavery and economic development
- 4) All scholars saw gradations and differences in the phenomenon of slavery itself.
- 5) Labour was only one of the uses to which slavery was put
- 6) Slavery was not always a case of being defined as 'property' because of point 5

7) As slavery was seen as a point in progress, it was not analysed as a thing in itself.

8) Co-existing features that would lead to a more functionalist analysis were not noted because of the evolutionary view of economic systems. 79

Marxism provided most of the explanations for slavery, and therefore attention was focused on the level of economic development of the society in question. But economics were clearly not the only, or even the predominating, factor in the cases where slavery was found in cases where it was far from a financially viable institutions. Furthermore, it was found that slavery did not exist in every instance where economic conditions were favourable to slavery, according to Nieboerian criteria.

With the decline of classical education, American slavery became the prime example with the result that some slave systems were not even recognized. In some systems:

"...former slaves had become voluntary retainers and quasi-relatives as a matter of public myth that benefited all concerned and no informant was going to rock the boat...slaves were often addressed with kinship names...[but in some places it conveys]... authority and subordination [not nurture or closeness] ..."80

Among Africanists, slavery once again became of interest after 1960, and since that time, the definition problem has become critical. Afro-American slavery was not allowed to be the paradigm, because there were so many unique features about it, among them:

- 1) Slavery was exclusively for production labour
- 2) Slavery was linked to an international market
- 3) Masters did not marry slaves
- 4) Slavery and racism were inter-mixed, therefore
- 5) there was an inhibition about using slaves in a variety of contexts (81)

Clarifying the definition of slavery mitigates cautions against over-confident assertions that the Jews in Babylon were, or were not, slaves, without giving prior consideration to assumptions. Some of the problems include (a) The meaning of 'property' - a meaning which is not the same in

different social contexts and (b) the assumption in post-enlightenment society of the 'un-naturalness' of slave relationships, and (c) where labour is not a clear aspect of that relationship and (d) the place of coercion and the meaning of freedom:

"As to the criterion of compulsion or coercion, there are problems there, too, especially when coercion is defined too subtly as to make it indistinguishable from run-of-the-mill cultural conformity...while lack of freedom is seldom proposed as a formal criterion of slavery, the term 'free' is very widely used descriptively as the opposite of slave..."<sup>82</sup>

The way around the problems of definition, according to Kopytoff, is a social analysis of slavery:

"The slave begins as a social outsider and undergoes a process of becoming some kind of insider. A person, stripped of his previous social identity is put at the margins of a new social group and is given a new social identity in it...the slave is made into an outsider by being made into a non-person, deprived of his or her former roles and statuses. This is the moment when the slave is indeed an object, a chattel, with neither an old nor a new social identity. Symbolically, his position is analogous to the non-person at the mid-point of rite de passage ...[but]...he must somehow be inserted into a new society, resocialized, given a new identity [no matter how marginal] under the social sponsorship of the acquirers. Indeed, this insertion often takes the ritual form of the second half of a rite de passage. The Sociological issue in slavery is thus not the dehumanization of the person, but rather his or her re-humanization in a new setting and the problems that this poses for the acquirers..."<sup>83</sup>

This kind of analysis has been attempted by Patterson in his book, Slavery and Social Death<sup>84</sup>. Patterson reviewed the structure of the slave relationship using data from over 40 different slave systems from all over the world, and in different time periods. Common to all is the significance of symbolic institutions:

"The symbolic instruments may be seen as the cultural counterpart to the physical instruments used to control the slave's body. In much the same way that...whips were fashioned from different materials, the symbolic whips of slavery were woven from many areas of culture. Masters all over the world used the special rituals of enslavement upon first acquiring slaves: the symbolism of naming, of clothing, of hairstyle, of language, and of body markers. And they used, especially in the more advanced slave systems, the sacred symbols of religion..."<sup>85</sup>

Patterson's symbolic analysis overcomes the problem of a purely economic (Nieboer/Marx) view which cannot account for purely symbolic slavery:

"...in a great many slave-holding societies masters were not interested in what their slaves produced. Indeed, in many of the most important slave-holding societies, especially those of the Islamic world, slaves produced nothing and were economically dependent on their master's or their master's non-slave dependents...[therefore, a better definition would be that slavery is]...the permanent violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons..."<sup>66</sup>

Patterson notes the frequency that language systems will use the same word for 'foreigner' as 'slave',<sup>67</sup> which accords with the idea of alienation.

'Natal alienation', a term often used by Patterson, refers to the ritual social death of the slave. The achievement of this state of natal alienation can be accomplished through many different ritualized ceremonies. The slave may, for example, 'eat' his old identity, through a food ceremony, or have his name changed:

"There are several reasons for the change of name. The changing of a name is almost universally a symbolic act for stripping a person of his former identity (Note for example the tendency among modern peoples to assign a new formal identification, usually a number, to both prisoners of war and domestic convicts)..."<sup>68</sup>

Hence, according to Patterson's analysis, slavery is, in essence, removal of identity and 'social death'. Therefore, the reconstruction and resistance of an ethnic group can be seen as a potential response to just such a threat of social death. Van den Bergh's statement that slavery must be an individual phenomenon if it is to be considered slavery, is born out by Patterson's analysis. However, once we consider many of the techniques of slavery, and particularly the the significance of the symbolization of domination that make up the symbols of social death, then the modern reader of the Bible is prepared for the significance of the symbols of alienation that were associated with Neo-Babylonian rule. Although the stories of Daniel and his friends come from a late era in their final form, the symbol of name-changing is an important fact of their association with the Babylonian court, and may not be an incidental detail. Furthermore,

Nebuchadnezzar also changed the name of Zedekiah, when he placed him on the throne of Judah in Jehoiachin's absence (2 K 24:17).

I do not argue in this thesis that the Jews were 'slaves' in Babylonia according to all the definitions of Patterson. But the dismissive statement that the Jews were not slaves can be a hasty generalization, depending on the 'type' of characteristics of slavery that is meant. Indeed, I submit that we have important hints that the exiles did face symbolic aspects of slavery in Patterson's sense, and this insight must inform our view of the social conditions of the Exile. It is the symbols of power and conquest that form the main emphasis of Patterson's analysis, and we must be aware of the possible consciousness of these symbols in the Exilic literature of the Old Testament. Seen in this light, the policy of name changing, and constant reassurances by the Prophets that it was Yahweh who willed the Exile, and not the power of foreign gods, both seem to reflect an awareness of the symbols of power that the Exiles had to live with, and struggle against. Slavery is a point on a continuum of domination. The Babylonian exiles may not have been 'slaves', but evidence suggests they were on such a 'continuum' of domination patterns.

## 2.6 - An Examination of Cases of Deportation, and Cultural 'Mechanisms for Survival'

Now that we have gone into considerable detail on the nature of deportation as a social crisis, I have isolated 3 (with a fourth as a sub-category of the first) 'Mechanisms for Survival'. I have stated above that one of the most important ways to understand the creative response of groups in crisis is to trace these 'Mechanisms'.

We have established that social groups in minority situations must maintain what Barth called 'boundary maintenance'. Under conditions of unequal distribution of power, this often means that the minority, or low-status, group must resort to creative mechanisms other than violence or escape in order to secure their 'boundaries'.

To illustrate these Mechanisms, I have selected 4 'case studies' (from the dozens that are available). In selecting these cases, I have tried to be aware of the critical elements identified in my methodological introduction in order to select cases that are particularly instructive.

Mass deportation is not itself an isolated or unique event in history, but on the contrary, is a well-attested experience, whether on foot as the American Indian "Trail of Tears", or the tragically familiar historical image of train cars carrying Jews, the transport of Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians in the Soviet Union, the transport of Japanese-Americans in the United States, or the transport of Zulu tribes people to 'bantustans' in modern South Africa. All of these instances, and many others, make up the long trail of history's deportees to foreign lands.

The purpose of the case studies should be made clear. I have based the selection of cases for in-depth examination on two criteria. The first was utilitarian - there had to be sufficient literature which incorporated sociological analysis. This rules out a vast amount of historical material that is otherwise interesting. Secondly, I selected case-studies that I considered amenable to the outline. This is the point in which I am most vulnerable to serious criticism. However, it should be kept in mind that I do not claim that any of these cases are "exactly like" the Babylonian

Exile, but only that they illustrate patterns of behaviour which may contribute to developing hypotheses to direct Biblical study. The value of this kind of sociological analysis, I have argued, is to increase the awareness of what may be significant in the textual evidence.

In many details, obviously the cases are not comparable to the Babylonian Exile material of the Biblical texts, but on other points, they are strikingly similar. The success of this approach, however, is not the proof that a Jewish pattern of response in the 6th Century BCE is 'just like', for instance, the Japanese-American response to internment in the 20th century, but rather, the question is whether a particular Biblical exegetical hypothesis suggested by the analogy is in itself true.

The cases that I have given particular attention to include the following:

#### 1) Religious Responses to Apartheid in South African Bantustans

Apartheid has been the official policy of the state of South Africa since the coming to power of the Afrikaaner National Party in 1948. It is the political expression of the racial segregation of South Africa's 3 million whites from the over 18 million 'non-whites'. However, we are particularly interested in the land policies which have resulted in the creation and forced population of 'native reserves' (comprising 13 percent of the total land mass) or 'Bantustans'. Black Africans were declared citizens of these homelands, and thus excluded from Urban South African society as 'foreigners' - except as they are allowed to commute to work. Black South Africans have been systematically deported to the rural Bantustans, both en masse, and later as a result of any individual infraction of the laws:

"Poor islands in one of the world's richest countries, the Bantustans were created as a dumping ground for unwanted laborers, a method of population control and a way of defusing black protest. South Africa's infamous pass laws give it the right to send any black back to the bantustan to which he or she has been assigned; the unemployed, the blacks who are too old or too young to work, and the politically active can be removed from white areas and without appeal sent back to starve, or serve as a reserve for cheap labor for the white South African." 89

Within the Bantustans, various forms of native government are tolerated on a low level. However, the combination of Christian mission and Native traditions has resulted in a classic illustration of 'directed contact' resulting in 'fusion'. The resulting religious expressions of the Bantustans can be summarized as A) Nativist maintenance of traditional forms as much as possible, B) Mission churches which largely reflect white Church practice as much as possible, and C) the so-called 'Zionist' Churches, which represent an indigenous combination and synthesis of A and B. C is of particular interest, because of the information available, and partly because it is overtly synthetic and thus avoids the difficulty of isolating the 'pure' aspects of A and B.

#### 2) African-American Slavery

The literature on Afro-American slavery is immense. We are specifically interested in the communities of slaves, leadership patterns, etc. Although this case probably presents the most obvious factors that

cannot be compared to the Babylonian Exile, there are some important ways in which studies of slave societies and slave religion can enlighten study of the Bible. For example, Franklin noted that it was the elite among the African natives who were taken to be slaves:

"...the traders would have none but the best available natives. They demanded the healthiest, the largest, the youngest, the ablest, and those that were most advanced culturally..."<sup>90</sup>

Afro-American slavery presents us with individual points of comparison, rather than a general comparison. That is, individual slave communities, stories, and cultural studies of small units are more interesting than discussions of the whole historical details of slavery in the 'New World'. A brief consideration of the demographics of slavery serve to make this point clear:

"It is not possible to give an accurate figure of the number of slaves imported into the New World from Africa. In eleven years, from 1783 through 1793, Liverpool traders alone were responsible for the importation of 303,737 while in the following eleven years they were certainly responsible for as many. While the closing years of the eighteenth century represented the peak in the slave trade. the preceding two centuries show a steady increase leading to the apogee reached in the 1790's. It has been estimated...that 900,000 were imported in the sixteenth century, 2,750,000 in the seventeenth, 7,000,000 in the eighteenth, and 4,000,000 in the nineteenth. These figures...[are]...most conservative estimates..."<sup>91</sup>

The value of slavery studies for our study is discussed in more detail in the excursus on slavery.

### 3) Japanese-American Internment during World War Two

Declaring 'Once a Jap, always a Jap' (LA Times, Apr. 14, 1943), Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, the General of the American Western Defense Command, issued his order on March 2, 1942 to evacuate to internment camps, the entire Japanese population of Oregon, Washington and California States in reaction to the invasion of Pearl Harbour in Dec. 7, 1941.

A full comprehension of this event is not possible unless one understands the segregationist results of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 which prevented immigrants from becoming U.S. Citizens and halted any further immigration to the country on the overtly stated basis that Asians could not assimilate to American life. This created Japanese-American conclaves of small societies composed of those whose memories of Japan were fast becoming fantasies in the light of Japan's rapid Westernization following the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905; as well as second-generation (so-called 'Nissei') U.S. Citizens.

Japanese-Americans were herded, in sealed trains, to internment camps located further inland from the coastal states. They were taken on the grounds of fear of cooperation with the enemy, which in turn was based solely on the fact of Japanese ancestry. Most Americans of German and Italian descent were not in the least subject to official harassment, although local uneasiness to perceived accents was common.

In ten camps, 119,000 were interned. On the average, each camp housed 10,000, with three camps (Tule Lake, Ca., Poston, Az., and Gila River, Az.) having nearly 20,000. The Canadian policy was clearly even more repressive, as noted in an article by Tomoko Makabe<sup>92</sup>. The Canadians

forced 11,500 Japanese, many of whom were Canadian citizens, to British Columbia Ghost towns. Eventually, it was Canadian policy to force every Japanese-Canadian to decide whether to return to Japan, and a surprising 40% did; and of these, 60% were Nissei (second generation) Canadian citizens.

The literature of the Japanese-American experience still consists largely of governmental reports, usually not dealing with camp existence itself. More recently, however, some interesting accounts provide important insights into the survival mechanisms and resistance activities of the Internment Camps.

#### 4) The Bikini Islanders

In 1946, the United States government decided that it would conduct testing of nuclear weapons on the Bikini Atoll of the Marshall Islands. Although the Germans and then the Japanese had minimal contact with the Bikini islanders, Kiste writes that:

"The Bikinians had not had extensive contact with outsiders and were among the least Westernized of the Marshallese..."<sup>93</sup>

In order to conduct the tests, the United States military had to relocate the approx. 300 islanders en masse to another island, at first Kili Island. Because of social unrest, the US Military was involved in more than one movement of the Bikini population, sometimes to islands with no population native to them, but also to islands with long-standing native populations.

While the circumstances of removal differ in detail from the Babylonian Exile, the social degeneration, reconstruction, and resistance that occurred within the Islander community in new environments, and the availability of information regarding relations between American leaders and indigenous leaders, and internal cultural changes, make this case of forced removal important for us. As is clear from a consideration of how 'negotiations' between the Islanders and the US Government on the removal from Bikini Island were conducted, the difference between 'voluntary' and 'forced' removal is, in this case, indeed a matter of official interpretation.

It may be objected that I am focusing only on successful resistance in these case studies. It is true, for example, that many Japanese-Americans fully co-operated with American authorities or went back to Japan; many slaves did not resist or revolt in the Southern states and the Caribbean; and many Blacks in South Africa appear to accept the Bantustan arrangement. But we are interested in resistance because it is the Judeans who successfully maintained their identity that were responsible for the texts we are concerned with. I do not argue that this is the only social reality, but that it is the social reality reflected in the texts.

### 2.6.1 - Structural Adaptation of Social Groups in Exile as a 'Mechanism for Survival'

Social structure, leadership patterns, and lines of authority may be part of the indigenous culture of a minority, but under conditions of social contact or threat to the social group, a process of adaptation becomes crucial for the survival of the group in a new social, as well as natural, environment. As Brass<sup>94</sup> has pointed out:

"Even if one concedes that all people have certain 'given' characteristics of culture and language that are acquired from birth and from family life, it remains the case that the process of creating communities from ethnic categories involves selection of particular dialects, religious practices, styles of dress or historical symbols from a variety of available alternatives and that individual characteristics or cultural forms will become transformed in that process...it is always the case...that particular social groups, leaders, or elites stand to benefit and others to lose from the choices that are made..."<sup>95</sup>

One of the factors in the survival of the Lithuanians in Exile, was this preservation of aspects of the previous culture, and the social structure that was a part of it:

"The wide range of society with its numerous socioeconomic distinctions was maintained, so that although the person was now a manual laborer, in the community he was still a corporal in the army, a major landowner, an important poet or son of someone important. Because of the limited number of refugees and their common struggle, the once rigid class boundaries became more flexible and there was much interaction between members of once separate classes...thus interaction had its beginning in the displaced person camp situation, where despite one's former status, all were equal under the pressures of camp life..."<sup>96</sup>

The maintenance of old positions of authority totally apart from the contexts of power and position may be noted. But at the same time the experience has a 'democratizing' effect as a direct result of the breakdown of authority structures. This may either be 'denied' artificially, as in the above case of the Lithuanian experience, or it can open the way for a new ethnic elite - the prophet or priest, in new positions of authority.

A kind of 'forced democratization' is illustrated among Yemeni Jews, but the response has been a rise of distributed leadership and an inward,

general assimilation of purity laws:

"With the absence of printing facilities and the scarcity of books in Yemen, all Jewish males mastered the Bible by memory. Males had a thorough knowledge of the Old Testament, and in urban settings, some also engaged in Talmudic studies. Every man was the embodiment of the Torah and could recite portions of it in the Yemeni Hebrew Dialect, intonation and pronunciation. In effect, the men were walking books, walking Old Testaments who physically guarded the sacred literacy tradition by memory..."<sup>97</sup>

"The Yemeni Jewish community was too poor to support an independent specialized social class of religious scholars in the study and preservation of the Torah, intellectuals such as the Yeshiva students of the Eastern European congregations. Instead, it entrusted custody of the sacred tradition to all males in the community..."<sup>98</sup>

Barth believes that the structural adaptation in conditions of contact between social groups where power is unequally distributed results in the minority group becoming more like the dominant system, in order to assert or protect itself:

"When political groups articulate their opposition in terms of ethnic criteria, the direction of cultural change is also affected. A political confrontation can only be implemented by making the groups similar and thereby comparable, and this will have effect on every new sector of activity which is made politically relevant. Opposed parties thus tend to become structurally similar, and differentiated only by a few clear diacritica. Where ethnic groups are organized in political confrontation in this way, the process of opposition will therefore lead to a reduction of the cultural differences between them..."<sup>99</sup>

Barth then concludes:

"Thus, the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences..."<sup>100</sup>

Referring to the changing myths of Malay identity in response to directed contact, Nagata makes a similar observation:

"The social category or group that is salient for a given interest will be identified by those primordial(ized) characteristics that most effectively differentiate them from the significant oppositional categories in connection with that particular issue..."<sup>101</sup>

Thus, the very social structure of the group may evolve new configurations to deal with the new situation. Many of these new

configurations have clear, material causes, that can be analyzed functionally.

In his monograph on resistance in the Japanese American Camps, Okihiro compares the social responses of preserving selected older traditions, and innovating new social structures:

"As time progressed, the block, a camp residential unit consisting of fourteen barracks, emerged as a primary unit of ethnic solidarity. Although many families within the block were from different geographical areas prior to evacuation, living in close quarters resulted in a degree of cohesiveness through group endeavors in improving conditions around their blocks and in self-governance...the Issei, respected for their knowledge which comes of age, became the central core of block leadership. That was in direct conflict with the WRA mandate on internal camp government which had disenfranchised the Issei but in harmony with traditional Japanese culture...the block took on the characteristics of the family in stressing conformity to the collective will. Thus, block residents disciplined children who lacked parental control and brought discredit on the collective. The slogan, 'Keep children within the block' was widely circulated..."<sup>102</sup>

The expected attempt to recreate one's traditional 'mazeway' was evident in the traditional activities of the Issei men in the Internment camps. But this was problematical in the conditions of domination. The Issei had lost power in the new situations, as they were no longer the filial power brokers in the family and neighbourhood. A resident of Tule Lake described this role deterioration for Issei men in contrast to Issei women. The women, for example, found new release from their traditionally hard responsibilities:

"Once the day's work was done, the rest of the time was completely at their disposal. There were English classes, classes in flower arrangement, sewing, and Japanese Music, and all sorts of cultural things going on. They took advantage of these rare treats...before the war they had seldom been able to participate because of the language handicap and their confining domestic drudgery. Issei women thus unwittingly became the happiest people in the relocation center...the Issei men in the relocation center, on the other hand, were the most badly affected of all...in such a state of mind, the Issei men had little incentive to do anything. Too proud, he would not subject himself to learning English from the young Nissei. Due to his nationality, he was barred from all political activities within the relocation center...those who were religiously inclined, both Christian and Buddhist, found comfort in religious services. Others found

consolation in gambling and drinking..."<sup>103</sup>

This is related to the phenomenon of democratization, or levelling, under domination, as we have already seen in other cases:

"Financial ruin, together with the camp policies of using American Nissei citizens in positions of camp responsibility, worked to shift power and influence away from the Issei and onto the shoulders of the Nissei...other community positions became available for the first time to adult Japanese..."<sup>104</sup>

The Bantu configurations of the Bantu Zionist Churches reveal similar structural arrangements incorporating new adaptations with traditional forms:

"The Bethesda type of church is an adaptation to modern conditions of essential elements of two of the strongest institutions of the historical development of the Zulus: the temporary huts grouped in sections according to status recall to any Zulu's mind, the ikhanda, Shaka military kraal, where the King's followers of both sexes congregated, fulfilling different tasks assigned to them by the king. The follower's status was enhanced by their being in the King's presence...the second traditional Zulu institution, on the pattern of which the Bethesda Church is evolved, is the community of diviners...the Zionist prophet's activities follow the Zulu diviner in fairly minute detail..."<sup>105</sup>

The fact that the Bantu churches use traditional leadership forms for new leaders under new circumstances should be noted here.

Similarly, Kiste noted dramatic changes among the relocated Bikini Islanders:

"...all of Marshallese society has traditionally been structured in terms of rights to land, and it would seem inevitable that the relocation of any community from its established landholdings would result in significant alterations in those relations between groups and individuals which are either determined or influenced by land rights. Given the competitive nature of the island society when matters of power and land are at stake, relocation is tantamount to the opening of Pandora's box..."<sup>106</sup>

For the Bikini Islanders, the resulting configuration was an adaptation of the community. The traditional household and lineage system was reorganized into a new communal structure which was divided by skills to cope with new crises. The traditional leader, the 'alab' lost authority:

"As individuals, the Alab had little opportunity to exercise any of their traditional authority. The kin groups which they headed were not

functional in the alien environment, and the alab had little to do with directing the daily activities of the community. Wages meant an unprecedented degree of economic independence for most adults. As the alab did not control essential resources, others were not dependent upon them...they questioned the traditional social order which divided islanders into privileged and commoner classes..."<sup>107</sup>

Finally, the new structural land-holding groups among the Bikini Islanders were given a pseudo-lineage terminology, "bamli" ['Family'] thus completing the structural change.

One of the most important places to see structural adaptation in conditions of domination is the positions of leadership. In looking for the mechanisms for influence in inter-cultural contact, Barth (among others) has called attention to the role of 'elites' as middlemen in the transformation process. Eisenstadt, too, points to the role of elites in the process of cultural assimilation of Jews coming to Israel from a variety of cultures of origin.<sup>108</sup> But how does this invite structural change?

#### 2.5.1 The Rise of New Leaders

We can cite many examples for the ambiguous position of colonial attention to 'spurious' leaders, the creation of 'chiefs' in African and Polynesian tribes where the office of 'chief' did not really exist before, or the preferential treatment given those who sympathize or cooperate with the conquering regime.

The use of second-generation 'Nissei' (younger leaders) in the Japanese Camps has already been noted, and has been the subject of a great deal of study on the impact of the camps on traditional leadership patterns:

"The... 'Americanization' policy threatened one of the most basic Japanese cultural institutions, the family. Filial piety - the respect for elders and the role of the father as head of the household and embodiment of the ancestral spirits - was disregarded by the WRA in its 'Americanization' of camp government. The WRA maintained that 'since the objective of the WRA was to create a community as nearly American in its

outlook and organization as possible, policy should conform with American practice, and only citizens should vote and hold office.'..the WRA gave the Nissei special privileges and recognition because of their American citizenship..."<sup>109</sup>

Kiste noted the case of the imposition of a 'council' with a 'chief' in order to negotiate with the Americans. But the rise of the 'chief' in power was solely on the basis of the support of the dominating power, and showed little understanding of the subtleties of Marshallese traditions, kin-structure, and authority. This created severe tensions within the community itself.

An excellent example of the structural similarity of opposed groups in the relation of domination is found in Holgar Hanson's monograph on military rule in Uganda. The foreign military rule of Uganda forced a change in the internal ruling structure of various tribes, especially those with a non-hierocratic authority system. Thus, the military imposed a structural concept of 'tribe' which, in many cases, was foreign to the people in question, creating artificial administrative units.<sup>110</sup> This is a legacy of colonial administration. The response, according to Hansen, is a sort of defensive synthesis of ethnic traditions, a view which echoes Barth:

"What is at issue here is not adherence to the traditional basis and a rejection of change, but the reverse, i.e., the assumption of a central position in the process of change, using traditional symbols as instruments and especially as a mobilizing factor in fixing the boundaries vis-a-vis outsiders. Ethnicity thus becomes a relative concept to a very large degree..."<sup>111</sup>

Lewis Coser, in a study of marginal people in foreign courts, pointed out that the Ottoman empire used Christian 'slaves' by training young people, 'converting' them to Islam, and sending them to the far reaches of the empire. This is compared by Coser to the use of 'Court Jews' in the Hapsburg courts in Medieval Germany. The phenomenon (so reminiscent of Daniel and his friends in the Babylonian Courts) is held by Cozer to be

comparable to the 'eunuchs guarding the harem', i.e. a landless people can be trusted to give total allegiance to the ruler<sup>112</sup>.

Raboteau goes into fascinating detail about the role of Black Preachers as cultural 'intermediaries' between slave societies and white society. While they were considered suspicious by some, their role as a 'new elite' in new circumstances is comparable to our other cases of crisis leadership, even in their advice for a new strategies of 'survival'. The Black preachers were blamed for 'pie in the sky' religion, but Raboteau reveals creative strategies of resistance which are evident in the interpretations of the Bible in sermons, the social significance of meetings, and the social 'hidden meanings' of the 'spirituals'.<sup>113</sup>

In sum, domination creates two levels of leadership within the captive population - those 'willing to cooperate' and those who resist this strategy. Both can be seen in roles of symbiotic relation to the dominant interests - both can also be forms of resistance. The frequent Biblical motif of the loyal Court Jew who ultimately does not abandon faith is an indication of this, and provides possible insights into the lives of Jews in Exile (see below, Ch.6). The perception of minority elites may differ dramatically between those who resent them, and their own self-perceived attempts to act in a different way for the benefit of 'their people'. Cases abound in Biblical texts of precisely these sorts of figures (Joseph, David among the Philistines, Moses among the Egyptians, Esther, Jeremiah).

The symbiotic relationship between the dominant groups and the minority is seen to affect the structure of the entire minority group as well as elements of its leadership. Just as in the case of the elites, this can be a form of resistance and not capitulation.

Finally, we note that cases of directed contact may result in the

communal restructuring of society, but this is not simply a measure of the influence of the dominant society, but may well reflect creative responses to conflict. If the Babylonian Exile exhibits any of these social mechanisms, then we must look carefully at the form of self-government of the Exiles in whatever textual evidence we can find, and the self-government structures of the returning Exiles in Ezra-Nehemiah, to see if we can find evidence of the kinds of social re-structuring we have illustrated. Furthermore, we will look to see if there are conflicts in leadership, created either by the 'democratizing' effects of crisis toward a more rational and less traditional leadership based on skills appropriate to the moment, or differences of strategy toward the ruling power. I hope to show in the sections on Biblical texts, that I have been able to identify precisely these mechanisms in the literature.

## 2.6.2 - Ritual as 'Mechanism for Survival'

A significant mechanism of boundary maintenance is ritual. Ritual is often considered routinized behaviour (Sorokin) or, more disparagingly, as 'sacerdotal nonsense' (LaBarre<sup>114</sup>). Such views share an inability to interpret ritual in its own terms, and in its societal context as opposed to its specific association with a certain power group, that is, to interpret ritual functionally.

The most important recent consideration of the social functions and sources of ritual is Mary Douglas' Purity and Danger.<sup>115</sup> Douglas begins with a review of the work on Old Testament ritual texts. 19th century scholars such as W. Robertson Smith attempted to differentiate 'authentic' religion from the primitive 'survivals' i.e. ritual and purity laws, which were seen as irrelevant. Their existence alongside the pristine glory of the prophetic religion could only be explained in this way. This bias has maintained itself throughout the evolution of critical studies of the Bible. (See Ch. 5)

Douglas believes that purity, and the ritual associated with the fear of pollution are best understood in relation to society. Fear of pollution represents the 'stress points' of a society.

In attempting to elucidate the meaning of the purity of certain animal species over others, Douglas believed that impurity, or pollution, is a threat from those cases that do not fit clear, identifiable categories. In the classification of animals, any animal with a trait which placed it outside well-defined categories - for example sea animals that appeared to be fish but were without scales or fins, was seen as impure because it was outside the category. The maintenance of these lines, for Douglas, is the maintenance of order itself, or more precisely, the order of society.

Douglas then applies this theory to the purity laws of the book of

Leviticus. In contrast to rationalizing interpretations ( reasons of hygiene, etc.), Douglas believes the key is found within the texts themselves:

"...pollution behaviour is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications...any interpretation will fail which takes the 'do not's' of the Old Testament in piecemeal fashion. The only sound approach is to forget hygiene, aesthetics, morals, and instinctive revulsion, even to forget the Canaanites and the Zoroastrian Magi and start with the texts. Since each of the injunctions is prefaced by the command to be holy, so they must be explained by that command...we can conclude that holiness is exemplified by completeness. Holiness requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong. And holiness requires that different classes of things shall not be confused...those species are unclean which are imperfect members of their class or whose class itself confound the general scheme of the world..."<sup>116</sup>

It should be noted that Douglas' view does not consider redactional issues in the study of the Levitical material. This is a major consideration in my analysis (Ch. 5), but does not necessarily render Douglas' insights invalid. Neither, I believe, do the observations made by some that the practices of surrounding peoples, i.e. Canaanites, were incorporated into purity laws as practices considered particularly polluting or odious. Davis has suggested, for example, that the raising of pigs by the Philistines may have contributed, historically speaking, to the revulsion against pork. Surely the practices of 'outsiders' is just as much a threat to the 'body politic' as other symbolic 'outside' forces which are the subject of Douglas' analysis.<sup>117</sup>

Thus, purity laws would serve a theological, as well as a moral/ethical, purpose:

"If the proposed interpretation of the forbidden animals is correct, the dietary laws would have been like signs which at every turn inspired meditation on the oneness, purity, and completeness of God. By rules of avoidance, holiness was given a physical expression in every encounter with the animal kingdom and at every meal. Observance of the dietary rules would thus have been a meaningful part of the great liturgical act of recognition and worship which culminated in the sacrifice in the Temple..."<sup>118</sup>

But ritual and legalism also serve a social-defensive function. This is particularly interesting in reference to the polluting qualities of bodily functions:

"We cannot possibly interpret rituals concerning excreta, breast milk, saliva, and the rest unless we are prepared to see in the body a symbol of society, and to see the powers and dangers credited in social

structure reproduced in small on the human body...Four kinds of social pollution seem worth distinguishing. The first is danger pressing on external boundaries; the second, danger from transgressing the internal line of the system; the third is danger in the margins of the lines. The fourth danger...[is]...internal contradiction, when some of the basic postulates are denied by other basic postulates, so that at certain points the system seems to be at war with itself." 117

Douglas has shown how the Priestly concerns with ritual, especially with regard to purity and pollution, are especially evident in situations of danger, i.e. threats to the continued existence of a minority group. Thus, just as the Prophet can arise as a messenger of a new 'mazeway' composed from the raw materials of the old carefully selected for their value in preserving the identity and cohesion of the community in crisis, so too is the work of the Priest an attempt to 'structure for defence'; perhaps to be considered in many ways equally as creative and equally as expedient for the body politic.

There are many examples of the kinds of 'ritual of survival' in minority groups. For example, Goldberg has written on the 'Mimuna Festival' of the Moroccan Jews. The Mimuna festival is practised throughout Morocco at the end of the celebration of Passover (Goldberg has attempted to trace the source of this practice, but the origins remain 'vague and obscure'). It is, however, found in other North African minority Jewish communities, in Algeria and Tunisia.

Goldberg believed that three aspects of the Mimuna festival are particularly striking:

"In the various descriptions of the festival, or of other customs characterizing the end of Passover, three sets of elements stand out;

1. The dominant theme is that of good fortune, associated with the New Year. Expressions of fertility and renewal are made evident in the greetings, the greenery, the fish, and the general display of wealth and well-being...

2. A second element concerns the relations of Jews and Moslems, with Moslems sometimes appearing as partial partners in the celebration. Moslems provide the bread and greenery for the mimuna celebration, either as a gift or as a purchase, and in Palestine it once was the custom for Jews to give a piece of matzah (unleavened bread) in return for the bread

brought by the Moslems.

3. A third theme is status reversal. This is evident in the costumes worn by youths during the mimuna, a common custom being Moslem garb...or the practice whereby members of a family strike one another with greenery, including children striking their parents..." 120

But the most interesting aspect of the festival, is the function of the inter-cultural contact that is a part of the celebration:

"Native exegetes have elaborated the internal view of the meaning of the holiday, while structural analysis reveals non-obvious links between the Jewish celebration and Moslem cultural practices.

In both instances, Jewish life must be understood in a wider context. Socially, we must take into account both the widespread economic involvement of Jews in Moroccan society and their basic position as a religious and political minority. In the Moslem customs...the Jews take their place in a range of problematic cultural categories, sharing characteristic with low status Blacks and high status students. The Mimuna festival links the minority Jews with the Moslem majority, while anchoring Jewish existence in the established religious vision of redemption from Exile..." 121

Thus, the rituals reflect the contact between a minority and a majority.

Related to the threat of impurity, is the threat of those 'on the borders'. Douglas suggested that there are examples of women threatening the order of largely male defined society:

"...where the social system is well-articulated, I look for articulate powers vested in the points of authority: where the social system is ill-articulated, I look for inarticulated powers vested in those who are a source of disorder. I am suggesting that the contrast between form and surrounding non-forms accounts for the distribution of symbolic and psychic powers: external symbolism upholds the explicit social structure and internal, unformed psychic powers threaten it from the non-structure..." 122

From Katzir's work on Yemeni Jewish communities, we can cite the significance of the low position of women in Yemeni Jewish society. The low position of women in Yemeni Jewish society is directly linked by Katzir to their function as sources of influence from the 'margins' of their society by their outside contacts:

"Women play a most important role in the infusion of Arab folk culture elements into Yemeni Jewish society, thereby contributing to the integration of this ethnic minority into its environment. Women, who were marginal to the perpetuation of religion and vocational tradition and features of Jewish ethnicity, were far more free than the men to absorb the

local non-Jewish cultural elements. Women thus often served as the cultural mediators within the socio-economic environment..."<sup>123</sup>

Katzir specifically noted the infusion of Arabic folks songs into Jewish culture, a direct borrowing of tunes and lyrics from Moslem-Arabic songs [One is reminded of the dismissal of foreign wives in the post-exilic community of Judah after the return from Exile].

Taking his cue from Douglas' formulations, J.P. Kiernan has also considered the symbolic significance of ritual in the Zionist Bantu churches:

"One of the foremost concerns of a Zionist band in Kwa Mashu is to protect itself against the township as an African community by drawing and maintaining boundaries setting off its membership from the rest of the population. This separation and closing off is vividly dramatized at each Sunday morning of the band by firmly shutting the doors and the window at certain points in the proceedings, and this in spite of the ghastly mid-day heat which suffuses the crowded room...the action of shutting the township out may be taken as a statement of exclusiveness, it is accompanied by other observances which make the same point. One of these is the mandatory removal of foot-wear. That there is Biblical precedent for this is not a sufficient explanation: it must fit a contemporary frame of meaning. I suggest that it is an act of exclusion for it is not the mere removal of shoes that is significant, but the fact that they are left outside. The point about shoes is that they carry the dust of the township upon them and it is this veneer of township life that is withheld from crossing the threshold of the meeting-room...uncontaminated by alien dust, and with his workday clothes completely concealed under a laundered white robe, the Zionist makes the transition from one social universe to another..."<sup>124</sup>

Okihiro mentioned the revival of folk beliefs and ritual in the Japanese camps, and concluded:

"The functional usefulness of this revival of ethnic folk belief during the period of camp confinement was evidenced in its rapid decline once the camps had been disbanded. Commented a former...internee: 'Oh, those fox and badger stories back in the Center; well, people used to believe a lot of things in the Center they never believed before and haven't believed since!'"<sup>125</sup>

Raboteau cites a variety of ritualistic 'protection' and separation rites in slave communities, such as placing open pots on the ground around clandestine meetings to 'hold the sound' so that they would not be detected. Recent studies of 'Voodoo' rites among rebel slave communities

have emphasized their function as part of the 'weaponry' of social conflict and resistance against the slave masters.<sup>126</sup> Raboteau's main interest, however, was in how slave religion reinterpreted the adopted Christian symbols and rites into mechanisms of resistance:

"Prayer, preaching, song, communal support, and especially 'feeling the spirit' refreshed the slaves and consoled them in their times of distress. By imagining their lives in the context of a different future, they gained hope in the present...

...Prayer was such an effective symbol of resistance because both masters and slaves believed in the power of prayer. Hence the desperate need of some masters and mistresses for slaves to pray for the success of the Confederacy and hence their anger when slaves dissembled or refused outright to do so." <sup>127</sup>

In sum, the role of ritual in minority, dominated contexts may play an important functional role in the preservation and symbolic resistance of the group in question. This, too, can form a testable exegetical question for work on texts from the Babylonian Exile.

### 2.6.3 - Folklore as a Mechanism for Survival

As we are especially concerned with evidence that is literary in nature, it is important to identify types of literature that have their sources in the sociological conditions of minorities in exile, and in domination relationship with a majority culture.

Charles Keyes' particular anthropological interest is the Karen tribe in Burma, who occupy large stretches of borderland between two different cultural areas. They have maintained their identity despite clear pressures from a variety of ethnic groups.<sup>128</sup> Keyes reported that there was a unique legend that was popular among the Karen, which involved an orphan that overcame obstacles to achieve success. Keyes called this an archetype Karen folktale. This raises the image of 'the hero' as a type in minority folklore.

In a 1974 article, "Folklore as Culture of Contestation", Luigi Lombardi made provocative comments about the social content of folklore:

"...folk-culture...marks the outer limit of the hegemonic culture, whose ideological tricks it reveals, contesting at times only with its own presence the universality, which is only superficial, of the official culture's concepts of the world and of life...in the subordinate folk-world, a different behaviour ... is contestant of that behaviour which is other than that behaviour produced by the dominant ideology, in other words, a behaviour which potentially governs itself..."<sup>129</sup>

If our particular interest is in Hero legends, how would these be related to Lombardi's observation? In 1954, Orvin Klapp wrote of the importance of the theme of the victory of the small hero over the large enemy, usually through cleverness or piety. Following this, Roger Abrahams' theory went further in studying the development of Hero Stories in their social context. Abrahams' analysis was an attempt to systematise his observations of Hero Types in American Black folklore; written, oral and on film. Abrahams defined the hero as, "...the attainment of public acclaim by specific figures (whether real or mythic or fictional) whose actions are

seen as noteworthy and good, and in most cases, worthy of emulation...hero stories are a depiction, a projection, of values in story form."<sup>130</sup>

The unique focus of Abrahams' analysis is precisely the relationship of the theme of the story with the social event of recounting the story.

Thus hero stories are told among Black Americans to:

- 1) Increase the story teller's prestige
- 2) To give the audience a plan of action which is viable in present and recurring situations
- 3) To provide the male audience with male deeds in the past or bolster present confidence
- 4) Provide for future success
- 5) As a fulfilment of manliness by association of teller and audience with subject of hero-story. (<sup>131</sup>)

Furthermore, Abrahams believed that Hero stories undergo changes as the social basis of the story-telling culture changes. In the stage where the values inherent in the hero story are operative, then there is genuine regard for the antagonist. When there is a collapse of the societal possibility of embodying the values of the hero, then the hero becomes a superman, always ready to fight, with no regard for the antagonist. Finally, the hero himself decays, and stories reflect desperation; passive, suicidal, or powerless clowning heroes. If Abrahams is correct in this three part evolution, then the Diaspora stories of the Bible, are clearly between the first and second stage, with the Apocalyptic genre possibly resembling more the second. (See Ch. 6)

Goiten has collected folklore stories from Yemeni Jews, who have a rich and varied tradition.

The story of 'Maimuni' especially illustrates the kind of unique literature which has its particular source in the Diaspora. In this story, Maimuni is a doctor to the Sultan, and incurs the jealousy of non-Jews who resent his high position. The Sultan is talked into a contest between a master of poison and Maimuni, the winner to be the Sultan's physician. But not only does Maimuni know the antidote to each of his opponent's poisons, he responds by encouraging only the imagination of his opponent that he, too, is being poisoned by the Jewish physician. In the end, Maimuni's opponent dies of sheer fright of imagined poison rather than any real concoction. The Sultan is pleased with Maimuni's cleverness and piety (for he would not really kill his opponent, as the Law prevents murder) and he is rewarded. This story illustrates the 'cleverness' weapon of the powerless, as Klapp noted above, and also serves as an example to illustrate 'Diaspora ethics', and finally, includes the essential element of the emphasis on Maimuni's Jewish identity, and the jealousy of the dominant ethnic group<sup>132</sup>.

It does not seem to matter whether the stories are traditional, or

synthesized. Indeed, Geertz noted the role of 'synthesized' tribal histories in Nigeria, which helped to galvanize resistance to colonial administration.<sup>133</sup>

Kiste noted the creation of 'new histories' of the Bikini Islanders in order to restore new sense of continuity and strength in their exile from home.<sup>134</sup>

In a related manner, the often humorous stories from Afro-American slavery illustrate the 'clever hero' motif. The literature on African-American slave-folklore is vast. A few examples will suffice to make the point:

"The master called the slave to his sick bed. 'Good-bye, Jack; I have a long journey to go; farewell...'. Jack replies, 'Farewell massa ! Pleasant journey; you soon be dere, massa - all de way down hill!!!'...[another popular story]...Slave named George was informed by his master that he was to be buried in a good coffin and placed beside his master's earthly remains in the same vault with the white folks. George's response to this news is mixed: 'I like to have good coffin when I die...but I 'fraid, massa, when de debbil come take your body, he make mistake, and get mine!' "<sup>135</sup>

Lastly, one can point to the rich folklore of heroes and laments that were an aspect of American slavery, that were taken directly from the Biblical motifs of the time period we have under consideration, thus representing a 'hermeneutic of the poor':

"The story of Israel's exodus from Egypt helped make it possible for the slave to project a future radically different from their present. From other parts of the Bible, especially the Prophetic and apocalyptic books, the slaves drew descriptions which gave form and, thus, assurance, to their anticipation of deliverance..."<sup>136</sup>

"O my Lord delivered Daniel...  
...O Why not deliver me, too ?" <sup>137</sup>

In his research on the Cultural expression of the Japanese-American internees, Marvin Opler included striking examples of a revival of interest in the legendary swordsmen of Japanese folklore, the 'Ninjitsu'.<sup>138</sup>

Among the religious folk-lore of the Bantustans are significant

'recasting' of traditional Christian elements. An example is the literary/oral tradition of myths of heroes like the Black Jesus as opposed to the white Jesus<sup>139</sup>, who leads a reversal of the colour bar in Heaven.

Naturally, these aspects of folklore would require far more careful analysis, and do not necessarily 'fit' simply a 'hero story', or any other category. We are specifically interested in the 'hero story' aspects of these examples because this 'type' is clearly attested among the literary products of the Exile. The social function of these literary products, both oral and literary, however, is the significant point for minority analysis. In the chapter on Biblical material, I will illustrate a social-literary approach to the Diaspora novella as an illustration of the impact of the Exile on folk-traditions.

Now that I have identified and illustrated these four selected 'Mechanisms for Survival', it remains to see how these Mechanisms provide paradigms for Biblical study of the Exile.

Footnotes to Chapter 2.0

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- <sup>14</sup> p. 25, Wilson, ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> p. 25, Wilson, ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> p. 25, Wilson, ibid.
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- <sup>21</sup> p. 7, 13, Mol, ibid. Although I do not agree with all of Mol's specific 'Mechanisms', I agree that such mechanisms, as behaviour patterns, provide the most important information.

- <sup>22</sup> Janssen's arguments, among others, seem convincing to me. See Janssen, op.cit. Chapter One.
- <sup>23</sup>, See Oplar's work "Senryu Poetry as Folk and Community Expression", Journal of American Folklore, 58(1945)
- <sup>24</sup> p. 280-281, Liucija Baskauskas, "The Lithuanian Refugee Experience and Grief", International Migration Review Vol 15, No. 1, 1981.
- <sup>25</sup> Peterson, William, "A General Theory of Migration", American Sociological Review 23(1958).
- <sup>26</sup> p. 261, Peterson, ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> p. 43, Kunz, Egon, "Exile and Resettlement: Refugee Theory", International Migration Review Vol 15, No 1, 1981.
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- <sup>29</sup> p. 43, Kunz, op.cit.
- <sup>30</sup> p. 43-44, Kunz, ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> See R. Boyer, The Legacy of German Refugee Intellectual New York, 1972
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- <sup>47</sup> p. xii, Epstein, ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> p. 7, Epstein, ibid.
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- <sup>121</sup> p. 84, Goldberg, ibid.
- <sup>122</sup> p. 99, Douglas, op.cit.
- <sup>123</sup> p. 277, Katzir, op.cit.
- <sup>124</sup> p. 82, Kiernan, J.P., "Where Zionists Draw the Line: A Study of Religious Exclusiveness in an African Township", Journal of African Studies Vol. 33, No. 2, 1974.
- <sup>125</sup> p. 17, Okikiro, op.cit. and Oplar, op.cit.
- <sup>126</sup> p. 237ff, Raboteau, op.cit.
- <sup>127</sup> p. 238, ibid., and see Pierre, R., "Caribbean Religion: The Voodoo Case", Sociological Analysis 38(1977)
- <sup>128</sup> Keyes, Ch., "Introduction", Ethnic Adaptation and Identity N.Y., 1979 (The Karen on the Thai Frontier)
- <sup>129</sup> Lombardi, Luigi, "Folklore as Culture of Contestation", Journal of the Folklore Institute Vol 2, No.1/2 June-Aug 1974.
- <sup>130</sup> Klapp, Orrin, "The Clever Hero", Journal of American Folklore Vol. 67, Jan-March 1954, No. 263.
- <sup>131</sup> p. 340, Abrahams, Roger, "Some Varieties of Heroes in America" Journal of Folklore Institute Vol. 3, 1966.
- <sup>132</sup> Goiten, H.S., The story is "How Maimuni Conquered His Adversary or Imagination Kills" in From the Land of Sheba 1947, New York. This story shows an uncanny number of parallels to Daniel type stories, even in the introduction which establishes the low-status origins of Maimuni as a Jew. See Chapter 6, below.

133 p. 127, Geertz, op.cit.

134 p. 98 and 148, Kiste, op.cit.

135 p. 292, Raboteau, op.cit.

136 p. 312, ibid.

137 p. 292, ibid.

138 p. 385, "Japanese Folk Beliefs..." Oplar, op.cit.

139 p. 291, Sundkler, op.cit.

## Introduction to Selected Texts - Chapters 3.0 to 7.0

Turning to selected texts from the Babylonian Exile, I will illustrate the 'Mechanisms for Survival' in the following order:

Ch. 3.0 - Structural Adaptation. This chapter will consist of an analysis of continuity and change in the post-exilic and exilic social structure and leadership patterns.

Ch. 4.0 - This Chapter is really a sub-section of Ch. 3.0, but I want to approach the issue of leadership in more detail. As an example of the crisis of leadership, and the rise of new leaders, this chapter will deal with the conflict of Jeremiah and Hananiah.

Ch. 5.0 - The Ritual of Survival - This chapter will illustrate how exilic elaboration of Cultic Laws in the 'P' strata reflect an intensification of the laws of pollution and separation that reflect social circumstances.

Ch. 6.0 - The Folklore of Exile - In this chapter, I will consider work on the 'Diaspora Novella', which is best illustrated by Daniel (1-5) and the Exilic redaction of the Joseph stories. The historical symbolism of these stories will be illustrated by an examination of 'imprisonment' as a theme.

Ch. 7.0 - Finally, I will illustrate how the social mechanisms created a community with its own life and development, and resulted in social conflict at the end of the Exile. I will consider various theories about these conflicts at the end of the Exile, and suggest the nature of the religious community that returned from Babylonia, based on our sociological analogies.

In each of the chapters on Biblical material, I have started with brief surveys of scholarly opinion on the passages in question, in order to establish a basis to work from, and also to show how sociological approaches confirm, or question, some of these previous ideas. The methods that I have used in each case vary with the material. In the case of Ch. 6, for example, I have used Literary Critical Methods, while the study of Cultic Law has largely been Form Critical. Chs. 3 and 7 will involve Historical Critical methods.

### 3.0 - Structural Adaptation in Exile

From the survey of sociological paradigms, we have seen that mass deportation causes social uprooting which can lead to new social structures, either because the old structures are forceably broken, and/or new circumstances must be adapted to with innovative means. This process, we stated, involves both continuity (the preservation of traditional forms) and change. In the following section, I will argue that the exilic material from the Bible reveals both continuity and change in various aspects of the social life of the exile community. It should be said, however, that the kind of 'social adaptation' referred to here can easily be overstated. In the case of the Japanese-Americans, for example, the adoption of the 'block' residential units as significant social units was not an adaptation that lasted beyond the immediate circumstances of exile. In the case of the Bikini Islanders, however, the changes solidified into new forms of social existence. The adaptations that we find in the Biblical material must therefore be located on such a scale, without overemphasizing the extent of change, or underestimating the possibility of unique social forms for the post-exilic community. In any case, we must begin with the social group.

I have stated in Chapter One that we can base an assumption that the exiles lived in large groups on many pieces of evidence from the Biblical record. The number of the exiles would lead one to suppose that they could not have been scattered so widely that substantial numbers were not together.

Josephus (Contra Apionem 1) records a note by Berossus to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar "...being now master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, on their arrival, settlements in the most suitable districts of Babylonia..."<sup>1</sup>. Although one cannot assume too much from such a late tradition, we shall see that this makes some sense.

But it is needless to speculate along this line, for both Ezekiel and

Jeremiah speak of 'Elders' among the Exile community (Ezek. 8:1; Jer. 29:1) which suggest that groups of exiles were able to organize themselves into a form of self-government. We have already seen how significant local autonomy and self-management is for the survival of identity and group-awareness among displaced or otherwise dominated peoples in recent history. As Eph'al has pointedly indicated, the most important single piece of evidence for successful self-management that preserved identity among the Babylonian Exiles was the return itself.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in section 2.6.1, I examined the phenomenon of structural changes in the social organization of captive 'peoples. In this section, I will consider aspects of social structure of pre-exilic and post-exilic Israel, to try and assess the extent of structural continuity and change that is evident in the texts. illustrate the principle of adaptation in Exile by investigating the self-management of the Babylonian Jewish community; a community that would continue to call itself the בני הגולה even a generation or two generations after the end of the Exile itself.

First, I will discuss 'Elders' and the way that this specifically mentioned group would reflect social continuity in the community of Exiles.

Secondly, I will investigate the controversial 'List' of Ezra 2 // Nehemiah 7, which I will call (after Galling), the 'Golah List'. This list will indicate how the presence of Elders reflects social structure in the return as well. This will be compared to some key passages in Chronicles as well, as a source which reveals post-exilic 're-reading' of pre-exilic history in a manner that shows the possibility of post-exilic changes in social terminology. Implicit in this discussion must be a brief consideration of the development of what Norman Gottwald has called "Tertiary Subdivisions of the Social Structure", and most importantly, the

'Bet 'Ab in the pre-exilic textual material, and the 'Bet Avot' in the post-exilic material.

Finally, I will suggest a model of exilic self-management. A part of this final section will involve, however, a consideration of the evidence (both documentary and archaeological) for debate about the political status of Judah in the Persian period, with specific reference to the role of Nehemiah.

### 3.1 - ELDERS

The continuous presence of 'Elders' in Ancient Israel represents a major aspect of continuity in the post-exilic community. The presence of Elders has been the subject of discussions whose participants have included Weinfeld<sup>3</sup>, McKenzie<sup>4</sup>, Pedersen<sup>5</sup>, and deVaux<sup>6</sup>, to name some of the more important studies. Both Pederson and DeVaux have noted the passage in Judges 8 where 'officials' (ַרְשָׁדִים), 'men of...' (ַאֲנָשֵׁי) and 'elders' of Succoth are used almost interchangeably to refer to the leaders of the city, and they find precise conclusions difficult about the exact use and referent of the term, ַאֲנָשֵׁי.

Elders, in Judges, are usually the leaders of cities, that is, settlements of substantial size (Judges 8:16; 11:5, etc.). Reviv<sup>7</sup> has pointed out that often the 'saviours' are on the analogy of Jephthah in Judges 11, i.e. someone called on by the elders when a military leader cannot be found among the elders themselves<sup>8</sup>. But can anything more historically precise be said about Elders ?

The function of Elders is usually provided by the context. Generally, elders are in a representative role. The most common term is 'Elders of Israel'. In Exodus, the Elders are constantly in dialogue with Moses as the representatives of all of Israel (Ex. 3:16, 18, 4:29, 12:30). The implication of these passages is that Elders gathered for decision making.

Elders appear in all the books of the Pentateuch, in all the historical books, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Joel among the Prophets, and in Lamentations, Job, Psalms and Proverbs among the Writings.<sup>9</sup>

McKenzie and Weinfeld have differentiated between elders of the country and elders of an urban area. McKenzie has listed a variety of functions which elders perform. First, they represent the entire people or a community in political or religious activity (Ex. 3:16; 4:29; 17:5-6; Lv. 4:15 etc.). An interesting comparison is the elders who go to consult Elisha (2 Kings 6:32), and the occasions for the consultation of Ezekiel in Exile (14:1, 20:1 and 8:1). Second, Elders can accompany leaders on missions, such as Moses' visit to Pharaoh (Ex 3:18)<sup>10</sup>. Third, Elders appear as a governing body (Joshua 9:11, Ps. 107:32) in negotiating treaties (1 Samuel 16:4) and with this McKenzie includes Ezra 5:5, 6:7 and 14. Fourth, in the monarchical period, elders were part of the royal council (2 Sam. 17:4-16). 1 Kings 20:7f shows Ahab consulting Elders on a decision. Lastly, Elders appear as a judicial body, or as taking part in judicial processes. In the trial of Jeremiah, priests, prophets and others are mentioned along with Elders:

"It is difficult to say whether the elders appear as judges, witnesses, or advocates; but the three functions need not have been performed by 3 different individuals. Probably the elders were, here as elsewhere, a part of the judicial body with the Sarim, but the text as it stands permits one to say that in this late phase of the history of Judah, the Sarim, the royal officers, had taken over the judicial functions of the elders..."<sup>11</sup>

McKenzie further believes that the function of the Elders changed over time:

"We must distinguish between elders of the early period, when the organization of the Israelites was nomadic, and the organization of the Israelites after the settlement, where we ought to distinguish again between the pre-monarchic and monarchic periods..."<sup>12</sup>

It seems clear that Elders are prominent citizens, since they are in

constant relation with the high officials like the Sarim<sup>13</sup> and are also included in such classic prophetic condemnations of abused authority as Isa. 3:14:

"Yahweh calls to judgement  
the elders and the princes of his people.  
'You are the ones who destroy the vineyard  
and conceal what you have stolen from the poor...."  
(Jerusalem Bible)

Weinfeld, too, considers the aristocratic 'air' of the description of Elders in Dt. 11 (including wisdom traits) to point to the high status of the Elders.<sup>14</sup> It has always been assumed that the root for 'Elder' comes from זקן (n.m.), that is, 'beard', and thus refers to actual old people, but it is uncertain whether the etymology of the word continues to be operative in qualifications for Elders throughout the use of the term, זקני. Anthropological comparative material, such as in the studies by Middleton and Tait of "Tribes Without Rulers" <sup>15</sup> leads one to suspect that Elders must have been heads of local households or families. The late story of Joseph in Genesis includes Elders of the family of Pharaoh (50:7). There are Elders of David's House (זקני בית דָָוִד) in 2 Sam 12:17, yet the passage Ex. 12:21 implies that the Elders are based in the Mishpahot for whom the Elders will choose sacrifices.

It would appear that Elders are based on family structures, but whether they were representative of the pre-exilic Bet-Avs or the pre-exilic Mishpahot must remain an open question. It seems that the only clear level of representation that the pre-exilic material unquestionably reveals is Elders of cities, which may be based on representation of the families within the cities. A further problem is separating the use of zaken, 'old man' with zakenim, 'Elders'. See, for example, 1 Sam 2:31 (Does it merely mean 'no one will grow old in Eli's house', or that no one

will be able to attain the office of Elder and represent Eli's house ?). The important point is that Elders, while possibly chosen on the basis of representatives of a household (Bet Av), are most typically associated with cities and settled existence - perhaps but not certainly, determined as representatives of the families in that city.

Finally, McKenzie believes that, while never totally destroyed, the power of the Elders was progressively eroded by the power of the King.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.1.2 Elders and "Heads"

Rost had concluded a study of the Elders and the 'Heads' by stating that:

"...seit dem Exil an die Stelle der alten אֱלֵדִים, an deren Spitze der זָקֵן stand, der אֶלֶף אֶבְרָהָם trat, dessen Führung einem זָקֵן anvertraut war...Im Aufbau der nachexilischen Gemeinde hat das 'Vaterhaus' seine wichtige Stelle und Funktion; der זָקֵן aber wird zum Mittler zwischen dem Willen der Gemeinde und der Meinung seiner Gruppe. Die Priesterschrift überträgt diese Organisation der nachexilischen Gemeinde auf die Wüstenwanderer..."<sup>17</sup>

Rost pointed out that the term זָקֵן is only used in the Hexateuch 19 times other than in the P source, but 20 times in P alone, and no less than 60 times in the post-exilic literature. The heads of the post-exilic Bet Avot, said Rost, were these אֲשֵׁרֵי, because, "die nachexilische Literatur das Institut der זָקֵן nicht mehr kennt..."<sup>18</sup>. It is incontestable that זָקֵן became the preferred term, but I think this term signified someone who had more authority than an Elder, but was still himself an Elder in the post-exilic Bet Avot, simply because "Elders" are still found in Ezra.

Ex. 18:25ff recounts the selection by Moses of Intermediary authorities to act as Judges, which is repeated in Dt. 1:9ff. The result is the selection of אֲשֵׁרֵי. When Numbers 11:16ff recounts a similar story, the leaders are selected from among the Elders.

Consistent with this, Dt. 5:23, the 'heads of the Tribes' are set alongside the Elders.

In Ch. 21 of Joshua, the heads of the Father's houses seem to be equated with **לְאֹדָמִים** (clans?). As early as Micah 3, 'heads' of the 'house' of Jacob are condemned for the perversion of justice.

Thus, these important examples of the use of **רִאשֵׁי**, when placed alongside the use of **זָקֵן** (analyzed in detail by those scholars cited on pages 147ff) reveal that post-exilic redactions of pre-exilic sources reveal the concern to root the 'heads' in the Elders of Israel, but that the two co-existed.

The **רִאשֵׁי** rose to prominence as leaders of the **בֵּית אָבִי** but not in a direct line with the Elders, but rather as a more select group among them. Bartlett<sup>19</sup> has shown that:

"Originally, the title probably belonged to the tribal leader, competent when the occasion demanded it as a 'judge' in both military and judicial matters. Throughout its history the 'head' remained in use for men in the clan or family."<sup>20</sup>

Bartlett cited Job 29:25 and the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21) to show that the head was originally a judge in the tribe and later in the city. But it is interesting to note that Bartlett argues that the **רִאשֵׁי** became associated with families (**בֵּית אָבִי**) that he thought were 'smaller' in the post-exilic period, because of the breakdown of the monarchy. But if I am correct in arguing (as I presently will) that the post-exilic Bet Avot is a larger construct different from the pre-exilic Bet Av, then continuity in the development of the **רִאשֵׁי** makes perfect sense, as leaders of conglomerates of Jews (that is, larger than the pre-exilic Bet Av). **רִאשֵׁי** continue to be leaders of the large, resident segments of Jews in the post-exilic community, who 'prove' their functional 'familial fiction' by 'geneologies', like the Golah List. I will pursue this later below.

If one could go along with recent doubts about the date of some of the stories of Moses (see Fn 2, on pages 66ff) and especially the selection of the 70 'helpers' in Ex. 18:25, Nu. 11:16ff or Deut. 1:9ff, one might be able to compare this with 'Hecataeus' (quoted below) and thus suggest that this story was in circulation as an important etiological saga of the rise of the ז'ש'ג in the post-exilic community - which eventually would become a council of 70 that led to significant later developments in the Hellenistic era (See discussion in Meshorer, Ancient Jewish Coinage 1982, for coins bearing references to 'councils', pgs. 47-48).

In any case, the evidence does not allow one to suggest that Elders in the pre-exilic era are the same thing as ז'ש'ג in the post-exilic era, but rather that 'heads' were earlier leaders of large segments, and became leaders in the post-exilic period, as leaders of the Jews in exile, and especially of the post-exilic Bet Avot (the exact nature of the latter term will be discussed below). The stories of the ז'ש'ג being chosen from among Elders does not allow Rost's simple line from one to the other, but substantially suggests co-existence of the two institutions.

Is there a direct connection between the qualification for 'Elders' (in the pre-exilic structure) and what came to be called ז'ש'ג in the post-exilic structure? To begin with, we return to our question about whether Elders are actually the eldest male of a pre-exilic Bet Av. McKenzie believed this to be the case:

"The term 'Zaken' is never applied to the head of an Israelite tribe or clan, although it would thus correspond semantically as well as socially to 'sheikh'. But it seems unnecessary to find another distinct group from the heads of the tribes, sub-tribes, and clans, who would be 'Elders' of Israel, of the people, or the tribes or Tribe. It is unlikely that the title signified advanced age any more than the title 'sheikh' does among the Badawi."<sup>21</sup>

Generally, the view taken by McKenzie has been accepted by most scholars who have thought about the connections possible between leaders of the tertiary subdivisions and 'Elders'. The very term suggests age; but the lack of an explicit connection in any source requires that we consider other possibilities. I will argue that while Elders are continuous, they are not integrally tied to the social structure, and that the structure

changed. In other words, Elders in the post-exilic period were speaking for a Jewish people with different social structures in the post-exilic community, and some of them became leaders known as 'Roshim', who eventually had much more significant authority over these larger, changed social groups in the post-exilic period.

If 'Elders' are based in the households known as the 'Bet Av', then a post-exilic construct known as the Bet Avot would naturally include these elders if it is a construct which includes the smaller Bet Av units. The plural form of Bet Avot leads one to suspect that these structures were conglomerates of Bet Av households (individual Bet Av's). Thus, on the analogy of our displaced peoples who are settled in units that become socially 'adopted', I propose to argue that the Bet Avot was an exilic unit which included the smaller 'Bet Av's', and adopted a familial 'fiction' to use the language of a closer family unit, most likely as an expression of social solidarity. In terms of size, and indeed aspects of function, the Bet Avot therefore resembles the pre-exilic Mishpahot, but the change in terminology (as well as the leaders of the Bet Avot units as 'roshim') reveals a process of structural adaptation similar to those suggested by the analogies (e.g. the Japanese blocks). Furthermore, while the Mishpahot were based on 'blood' lineage, the Bet Avot appear to be more artificial, and if the Golah List is to be trusted, lead one to suspect that criteria other than 'blood' lineage were determinative for the construction of these Bet Avot (i.e. residence together in exile). A further hint, I will suggest, that the Bet Avot were constructs as a result of social adaptation, is the problem of those in the Golah List, who appear to be unable to 'prove their lineage'.

### 3.1.3 Elders and Cities

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Reviv has discussed the significance of 'Elders' in the leadership of kingless cities in the El-Amarna letters, The Elders of 'Irgata' "...considered themselves competent to approach Pharaoh directly..."<sup>22</sup>. Assemblies of Elders of cities in other Ancient Near Eastern material have been considered in the discussion brought about by Jacobsen's now famous essay on 'Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia'.<sup>23</sup> Wolf, for example, in dialogue with Jacobsen's views, has suggested that 'elders' were not at all representative of the people, but that the typical feature of pre-monarchical Israel was Jewish self-government by democratic assembly:

"[The]...interpretation, that in earliest times the 'elders' included all the free, adult male citizens of the community is more satisfying and conclusive (even if it must ultimately be modified) than despairing of a solution or projecting advanced ideas of representative government back to primitive times. In many instances it seems clear that the 'elders' encompassed the whole town population gathered in assembly..."<sup>24</sup>

Wolf believed, with others, that terms such as 'elders', 'Am ha-Aretz' and 'all the men of Israel' and 'edah' and 'qahal' were used interchangeably. McKenzie, however, has strongly objected to Wolf's view on the basis that one cannot assume such imprecise use of various terms, and furthermore such a general assembly is not thought by comparative anthropology to be compatible with representative government (or select-person government)<sup>25</sup>. Gordis believed that the evolution of constituent representative government in the ancient history of the Jews would be a natural consequence of settled existence - an evolution that eventually led to centralized leadership under a monarchy. But it was never totally abolished under the monarchy: "New conditions led to the diminution of its functions so that ultimately it was convened only in hours of critical importance..."<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, the prevailing view associates Elders with settled existence. This would be confirmed by the typical places of decision mentioned in the

Biblical material for the assembly of Elders (Is. 3:14; Ps 107:32). In 1946, Smith proposed that the Threshing Floor was a place of assembly to be associated with the city gate. Based on Ruth 3:2, Smith suggested that the threshing floor was near the city gate, to provide guard over grain left there by the workers overnight. Smith thought that the combination of the threshing floor and city gate was important<sup>27</sup>. He cited a passage of 'Aqht which referred to the Ugaritic Dan'el taking his place with the dignitaries 'on the threshing floor'.<sup>28</sup> A lively debate ensued about Smith's translation from Ugaritic, but it is clear that the association with Elders, city-gates, and probably threshing floors, was a valid one. In 1962-3, Evans further pointed out, with reference to 1 K 22:10, that meetings at the gate may have been the occasion for prophets to prophesy on the threshing floor of the gate (which was suggested already by Wolf).

Thus, we have the city gate associated with elders in Ruth, Prov. 31:23, Dt. 22:15, Zech 8:4, Lam 5:14, with prophets in 1 Kings 22:10, and assemblies of the people and King (1 Kings 21:8, 2 Kings 10:1; 33:1) and the 'Edah' as seen in Lev. 4:13,15; Nu. 35:12,24-25, Josh 20:6 (and as noted, 1 Kings 22:10) and probably also in the account of Jeremiah's trial. All these considerations lead to the conclusion that Elders had a pronounced urban context, and were directly involved with government of the people as a settled unit. It seems a minor step indeed to suggest that the very presence of Elders in Ezekiel and Jeremiah indicates a self-managed settlement of Jews able to govern, particularly as Jeremiah's letter referred to a group of exiles by means of addressing elders about prophets. These Elders were able to make decisions about their lives with relative autonomy. The combination of the city gate with Elders and prophets (not to mention royalty and nobles) is suggestive. Not only are we told of an

elders' meeting in the book of Ezekiel, it is clearly an occasion when Ezekiel, as a prophet, spoke, thus suggesting the maintenance of a kind of gathering common to the pre-exilic function of Elders.

On the basis of a reading of a Cuneiform text, Camb. 85 (25 Dec., 529 BCE, in the first regnal year of Cambyses) Eph'al refers to a sale transacted in the presence of Ina puhur lu sibutu sa lu Mi-sir-a-a, "The Elders of the Egyptians"<sup>29</sup>. The term šibutu is related to the Aramaic, אֲבָא which is well attested in Ezra 5:5,9; 6:7,8,14, used in comparison with the Hebrew אֲבֵנִי. It is furthermore notable that Tattenai, the 'governor', deals with these אֲבָא and not with any other leaders among the exiles in Ezra 5:9ff. Eph'al has argued that all the various ethnic groups which he and others have identified in sources such as the Murashu Tablets, had council of Elders in their 'diaspora'. Eph'al's arguments, other than his appeal to the single tablet Camb. 85, however, would seem less than convincing if it were not for Dandamayev's essay on the Elders among the Neo-Babylonians themselves<sup>30</sup>. Dandamayev cites numerous texts which refer to the Elders of cities such as Sippur, or simply 'Elders of the city'. He further cites inscriptions of Kings (e.g. Nabonidus) who state that they assembled the 'Elders of the City, citizens of Babylon'. Such Elders may have been called in lieu of the entire gathered assembly of free, full-right citizens. It was Dandameyav who first pointed out Camb. 85, and the Egyptian assembly of Elders, and proposed the analogy with the Elders mentioned in the books of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, which Eph'al then elaborated further.

Camb. 85 significantly points to Persians dealing with the Egyptians by means of an assembly of Elders described with exactly the same terms as assemblies of Babylonian citizens. As we have seen, one cannot discount the influence that the dominant group has on the captive population. We

have noted the frequent organizational (as well as cultural) impact which dominant groups can have on the dominated. One cannot, therefore, discount the possibility, suggested by the texts commented on by Eph'al and Dandemayev, and anthropological comparison, that the rise of the Elders to prominence in the self-government of the Jewish exiles had as much to do with the expectations of the Babylonians (the 'take us to your leader[s]' phenomenon) and the Persians in dealing with foreign populations, as it did with the preservation of a traditional political system of the Exiles themselves. This is particularly important if McKenzie and others are correct in maintaining that the Monarchy had significantly reduced the power and importance of the Elders in Palestine, before the Exile took place. One cannot therefore assume that the Elders are mentioned simply because of a continuity with the pre-exilic forms of settled self-government. Furthermore, the use of וְזָקֵן for communal leaders amounts to a difference in nomenclature which may well signal a new concept of leader (see below). In the case of the Jews, continuity probably had an influence, but this must be seen alongside the needs of the Jews in Exile to adapt to their new environment, and 'authorities'. Why, then, are contacts with the Neo-Babylonians not specifically mentioned? This is a misleading silence, because we know that the implication of Jeremiah's 'letter' was advise to the exiles to be involved in Babylonian society to some extent by planting gardens and building houses (Jer 29:5) which are obviously things involving commerce, not unlike the land sale attested to in Camb. 85, involving the Egyptian Elders (See below, Chapter 4).

It must be considered, however, whether evidence from the Persian era, (that is, specifically the elders in Camb. 85, and in Ezra-Nehemiah), represents conditions that are significantly different from the conditions

under the Babylonians. In his study of Ancient Jewish 'Selbstverwaltung', Zucker made reference to the Persian ruling methods which came into existence with the Darian redivision of Satrapies.<sup>31</sup> Zucker's main source was Christensen's Die Iranier<sup>32</sup>, which in turn, depended significantly on Ed. Meyer's classic, Geschichte des Altertums<sup>33</sup> of 1901. In his work, Meyer had investigated the relevant sections of Xenophon and Diodorus. The assumption, based also on a reading of the Elephantine Papyri, was that the Persians allowed a great deal of local autonomy to ethnic and cultural units, often allowing one of their own number to rule:

"Die persische Reichsordnung war kein starr durchgeführtes, mechanisches System, sondern sie hat sich geschmeidig den lokalen Verhältnissen angepasst. Nicht nur lag die untere Verwaltung vielfach in den Händen einheimischer Organisationen - über die kollegial organisierte Lokalverwaltung in Agypten und speziell die Gemeindeverwaltung der Juden in Elephantine geben uns die daselbst gefundenen Dokumente Aufschluss - sondern auch lokale Machthaber, wie die Stammesfürsten und Dynasten in Bithynien, Karien, and Lykien die Tyrannen der griechischen Städte oder die kleinen Priesterfürsten in Kleinasien und Syrien, liess die Reichsregierung als Oberhaupter der Verwaltung unter Aufsicht der Satrapen bestehen, oder sie wurden sogar, wie der Syennesis von Kilikien, welcher auch mit dem Königsnamen bezeichnet wurde, den Satrapen gleichgestellt..."<sup>34</sup>

The question is whether the Persian system reflects a uniquely Persian governing philosophy, or whether Camb. 85 can actually be combined with evidence of Elders in the Neo-Babylonian documents to support our conclusion that Elders were the self-government authorities of the deported populations throughout the exilic period. It could be that the system of Elders came into being with the Satrapy system of Darius. But we know that local leadership was trusted by the Chaldeans, who placed Zedekiah and Gedaliah on the thrones of Palestine to rule for the King (2 Kings 24:17-18; 2 K 25:22ff). We may assume that indigenous leaders were trusted, and thus the references to the Elders in Babylon during the Chaldean reign, as attested in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. I would argue that the Jewish community in Babylonia was able to approach Cyrus regarding a rebuilding of the

Temple, and later under Darius to organize an actual return, only on the basis of social community which had organized itself during the Chaldean reign to such an extent that correspondence could be carried on between the community in Palestine and the community in Babylon, which included not only elders, but the prophets whom Jeremiah condemned as well. Permission given to rebuild the temple, according to Ezra 6:7-8, specifically mentioned 'the elders of the Jews' Throughout the Persian period as recorded in the documents which now make up Ezra-Nehemiah, the Persians address mainly the Elders.

(The LXX<sup>B</sup> omits the mentioning of כַּתְּבֵי יְהוּדִים וְזָבִידִים before יְהוּדִים which indicates some question as to the genuine inclusion of the זָבִידִים at this time.)

In conclusion, the presence of Elders suggests that the Jewish settlements governed themselves similarly to pre-exilic urban existence, even to the point of maintaining gatherings for decisions and the hearing of prophets. This would seem to represent crucial aspects of sociological continuity in Exile. Is there other evidence for change as well as continuity? For this, I will turn to the examination of the pre-exilic social structures, and the post-Exilic Bet Avot.

In the first part of this discussion, I will establish differences in numbers between the pre-exilic Bet Av, and the post-exilic Bet Avot. I will then suggest that this is because they are not continuous institutions, but different structures with a confusing (although intended) similarity of nomenclature.

### 3.2 Units of Social Structure in Pre- and Post-Exilic Israel.

The classic passage that lists the breakdown of the social structure of pre-exilic Israel is Joshua 7:16ff. The assumption has always been that Achan is a member of the בֵּית אַחַן of Zabdi.

While not immediately relevant to our discussion, it is possibly significant to note that there is a textual variant, from Syriac texts, which suggests that the 'House' of Zabdi was itself called up 'House by House', rather than 'man by man' (גברִים). But the question is, what is meant by גבר? Achan may well have been a head of household himself.

The suggestion that a גבר and also the form גבִיר (n.m.) was a head of a household is supported by Ps. 127:5; Jud 5:30; Isa 22:17; Jer 22:30; 44:20; 31:22; Mic 2:2; Habk 2:5, Ps 128:3-4. The blessing which Jacob fooled Isaac into giving him, was a blessing which made Jacob גבִיר over his brothers i.e. inheriting the right to be over the house of Isaac (Gen. 27:29). In Gen 16, the f. form refers to the female head of household, Sarah. Thus, we are justified in concluding that the Bet 'Ab, before the Exile, referred to the household of living males; ~~who were~~ The leaders or prominent males often referred to in the older material as the GBRim, called its גברִים. There are occasions, such as in Job, where the term simply means 'male', but this is clearly in a different context from our above cited instances, where more than simply a male is implied (and would, indeed, make little sense in the context of Gen 27:29, and 1 Ch. 5:2). If a GBR is a head of a small household, then is the GBR the only 'elder' from the Bet 'Av? There is no evidence that this is the case, although it would make sense. However, in the case of Rebekah's marriage, Laban and Bethuel appear to jointly make a decision. While in the pre-exilic source (and sources which discuss pre-exilic events) the term implies a head of household, in post-exilic source (such as Job) the term has no particular meaning other than 'male person'. What I would like to suggest is that the term was not associated with the post-exilic Bet Avot, because I will argue that the postexilic Bet Avot, while similar in nomenclature to the pre-exilic Bet Ab, was not the same structure at all, which would explain the loss of the more prestigious meaning of GBR in later texts.

If Stager is correct that the archaeological evidence suggests that the Bet represents a cluster of individual 'nuclear family' dwellings that together formed the Bet, then Elders could have come from the GBRim within a Bet.<sup>35</sup> When a GBR is doing 'official business', then he is an Elder, so I would suggest. What I am not willing to accept on the basis of the lack of definitive proof, is that there could only be one Elder for an entire pre-exilic Bet Av.

In Norman Gottwald's work, The Tribes of Yahweh<sup>36</sup>, and J. Scharbert's essay, 'Beyt 'ab als soziologische Grösse im Alten Testament'<sup>37</sup>, there are important hints toward understanding the changing nature of the Bet 'Ab. On the basis of Joshua Ch.7, the apparent three-part structure for pre-exilic society includes: 1) Tribes, composed of 2) Mishpahot, composed of 3) Bet Av(s) (I will refer to the plural of the pre-exilic Bet Av was an anglicized term, 'Bet Avs):

"The protective association is a cluster of extended families (beth av) living in the same or nearby villages, rural neighborhoods, or section of a large settlement, providing socio-economic mutual aid for its

constituent families, contributing troop quotas to the tribal levy, and indirectly serving alone or in concert with other adjacent mishpahot to provide a local juridical community..."<sup>38</sup>

The Bet Av does not have a permanent name, but is merely called by the contemporary living eldest male. In Gen 24, Abraham's servant quotes Abraham as speaking of Bethuel's household as both 'my fathers house' and 'my Mishpaha'. Rebekah can't be part of Abraham's Bet 'Ab, but is a part of Abraham's 'Mishpaha'. Bethuel is a part of Abraham's 'Fathers House' as Abraham's nephew (Gen 24:38) but Rebekah, on the other hand, belongs to the בית אבי of the eldest male, i.e. Bethuel (Gen 24:23!). Rebekah is too far removed to be in the בית אבי of Abraham. The implication of vs. 24 is that Rebekah considers herself of the House of Nahor, but now 'headed' by Bethuel, and as noted, both Laban and Bethuel are important figures in the decision of Rebekah to marry.

In his article, Scharbert has estimated the size of the pre-exilic Bet 'Avs. His estimates range higher than Gottwald's. I will argue that the large numbers (into thousands) seen in the 'Golah List' contrast to much more modest numbers in the pre-exilic Bet Av(ot). Scharbert, like Gottwald, also cites Joshua 7:17, where Achan is assigned to the בית of Zabdi. Since three generations are mentioned here, logically, it is assumed by Gottwald that a single 'Bet 'Ab' could include as many as 150 persons<sup>39</sup>. Scharbert, however, believes that the Beit 'ab could have been as large as four generations of people.

Scharbert equates all the elders of Gilead in Judges 11:2-8 with members of the a single Bet 'Ab, since Jephthah is called גִּלְעָד גִּלְעָד. But Scharbert is surely confusing the name of the place Gilead with a man's name, Gilead (Joshua 17 has both place and person name). When the 'Elders of Gilead' are mentioned, Scharbert assumes that all these men are members of the same Bet 'Ab - that of 'Gilead' the father of Jephthah. But this is not clear from the text, although admittedly, it could be read this way if one did not suspect otherwise on the basis of our other evidence. I think, therefore, that this text shows that the 'Elders' are kept separate from the 'Brothers' or 'Bet 'Ab' of Gilead. For example, the demand of Jephthah to be the 'head' of Gilead is surely more than simply a

request to resume his rightful place as the leader of the family, the 'Bet 'Ab', since this would not be the same line of thought as in the rest of the stories of Judges, where Saviours are chosen by settlements to fight their battles - and this forms a thematic trajectory that leads to calls for a King in the stories of Gideon.

Scharbert's second major example for large numbers is the family of Gideon in Judges 9. Scharbert says that the Bet 'Ab of Gideon (Jerubaal) must have included 70 men, that is, 70 sons of his many wives (Jud. 8:29). But this example must not be considered typical. The point, in 8:29-30, as well as the 'epic sounding' phrase in 9:5: שְׁבָאִים אִישׁ עִלְיָאן אֶת־אָזָא is surely to emphasize how unusual this circumstances was. Secondly, in a typical situation, the family of Gideon (Jerubaal) would have divided into smaller units upon Gideon's death, but the story continues to refer to the 'Sons of Jerubaal' for dramatic effect. The Bet Av was usually considered a family in the biological sense. Dealing with these two examples suffices to argue against large numbers in the pre-exilic Bet 'Av that would begin to compare with the numbers in the Golah List, for example.

L. Stager's research on archaeological remains for family compounds, and the estimates of populations from this research, reveal numbers much lower than those suggested by Scharbert, and more in line with the theory that I am proposing for differences between the Bet 'Av, and the post-exilic Bet Avot:

"If we assume that a honeycomb pattern prevailed at Raddana, i.e. an even distribution of contiguous, multiple family compounds throughout the settlement, then there might have been as many as 20 or more such households in the village, totalling ca. 200 persons under high-fertility-low mortality conditions. But this projection may be too high, and serves only as an upper limit...these upper estimates do not take into account the various phases of the family cycle within established multiple family households, the establishment of new nuclear households, and the dissolution of others..." 40

Gottwald further analyses the different social terminology according to different historical sources. Gottwald cites Num 17:1[16H]-11[26H] where P uses לִמְדָה for 'rods' as opposed to P's normal use of לְמִשְׁפָּחָה for the social division traditionally called a 'Mishpahah'. Since the term is used for rods, P then preferred to use 'Bet Av' as the major subdivision, rather than the term for a Mishpahah. But typical of P is this association of the Bet Ab with the larger units, and indeed, in P and all the other post-exilic or exilic material, the numbers of people in the basic social units have changed rather dramatically<sup>41</sup>. Gottwald believes

this to be a result of P's attempt, at a later date, to understand the Mishpahot as lineage units ("Bet Av-ot writ large...") rather than "enlarged composites of lineages in residential and regional groupings whose various sociopolitical affirmations of unity are not biologically demonstrable links..."<sup>42</sup>.

While I agree that the size of the post-Exilic Bet Avot compares more favourably to the pre-exilic Mishpahot, I believe that the change is more than merely nomenclature. Let us further consider some texts.

Numbers Ch. 1 presents us with some confusing details, which are not made any easier by the problems in transmission. The beginning, vs. 2, states that the census in this chapter, is to be of all the 'edah' of the 'Sons of Israel'. 12 people are chosen to be with Moses and Aaron, one from each שֵׁבֶט and also אֶחָד of his fathers house. This implies a double qualification, and further implies the fathers house to be a sub-unit of the שֵׁבֶט tribe. This is so far understandable. But finally, the leaders that are chosen are said to be representing not the Mishpahot, but the various בֵּית אָב. Although the BHS suggests a probable deletion of the אָב בֵּית in vs. 44, it is apparently the case that אָב בֵּית is being confused with the entire tribe. In Ch. 2, the 'standards' for the Fathers Houses are clearly 12 in number, further confusing the situation. During the enumeration in Ch. 1 of various tribes, the terms מִשְׁפַּחַת and בֵּית אָב are in use. But מִשְׁפַּחַת is not involved in the confusion of larger units (even in the textual variations) - only the term בֵּית אָב is confused with larger units. As Gottwald has noted, this confusion is apparent in Numbers 17 as well. I conclude that Numbers reflects an exilic-post-exilic confusion of structural terminology which one would certainly expect if the social structures have changed dramatically as a result of the exile. The consistent 'mistake' in Numbers is to associate

the words of אֶל בֵּית with the basic, large structural units of Israel.

Eisenstadt, following Alt and Weber, thinks that by the time of the Exile, and especially as a result of the Exile, the larger social units had broken down, allowing the rise of smaller family units to positions of prominence.<sup>43</sup> We noted that Bartlett made the same assumption based on the similarity of terms between Bet Av and Bet Avot. This idea follows a suggestion made already by E. Meyer, that lineage was no longer an aspect of Jewish identity in the time of the Chronicler (to which, of course, Meyer attached the works of Ezra-Nehemiah, as most did at the time):

"Das Individuum gehört der jüdischen Gemeinde an, nicht mehr weil es einem Geschlecht angehört, sondern weil es von jüdischen Eltern geboren ist. So erklärt es sich, dass der Chronist von den Geschlechtern nichts mehr weiss..."<sup>44</sup>

"...die lokalen Gemeinden und die Berufsgenossenschaften und Industrien an die Stelle der Geschlechter treten. Durch die fortschreitende Individualisierung der Politik wie der Religion wurden die Geschlechtsverbände zersprengt; das ununterbrochene Eindringen von Proselyten, deren Nachkommen auf die Dauer von dem alten Bestande der Gemeinde weder geschieden werden, sollten noch konnten, hat ihre Zersetzung noch weiter beschleunigt. Vollends für das Neuland welches rings um das Stammland allmählich gewonnen wurde, für die immer weiter sich ausdehnende Diaspora, hatten die Geschlechter gar keine Bedeutung mehr..."<sup>45</sup>

The argument would be realigned considerably, however, if the tertiary subdivisions during and after the exile were not really families at all, but groups of people who use a familial 'fiction' to describe decidedly non-blood relationships. In the language of segmentary lineage systems, we can say that the 'geneological' information was adapted to fit new social circumstances.<sup>46</sup> If this is true, we aren't then referring to a 'breakdown' as Alt, Eisenstadt, Meyer and Bartlett assumed - a breakdown which led to an emphasis on 'smaller units' - what we must refer to is a unique post-exilic construct similar in numbers to the pre-exilic Mishpahot, but in nomenclature and solidarity to the pre-exilic Bet Av, from which the name obviously comes, suggesting a 'collective' of Bet Av's.

To consider this more fully, particularly the possible changes that the exile may have caused in the societal structure, we must turn to a consideration of three groups of texts. First, we have already briefly noted the Numbers passages. Second, some selected passages from Chronicles as a post-exilic 'read-back' of pre-exilic history, and Thirdly, the nature of the so-called 'Golah List' which remains our primary source of information about the social structure of Israel in the post-exilic era.

The texts from Numbers, as stated above, consistently mixed the language of 'Bet Av' with larger units of Jews than the Bet Av we know from the pre-exilic sources, as households of individual GBRim. In Chronicles, this confusion continues, and I believe that this suggests a unique institution called a 'Bet Avot' which only 'sounds' like the pre-exilic Bet Av (and undoubtedly intends to suggest the closer relationship of the Bet Av in the larger units) but is, in fact, a new construct, under the specific leadership of selected elders who are called 'Roshim'.

### 3.3 - The Changes in the Social Structure - Analysis of a Theory

In 1 Chr. 15, there is found an expansion of the description of 2 Sam 7. This is a re-drafting which also reflects a concern with numbers and technical organization. In Chronicles, the care taken to enumerate the specific sons **בְּנֵי** and heads **רֹאשֵׁי** and **שָׂרֵי** is well-known. The Chronicler, however, is clearly reading back into history a terminology more applicable to the post-exilic era.

We know that what appears to be genealogical material can often reflect less historical lineage, than contemporary social realities. In his analysis of genealogical material in anthropological literature, and then its application to Biblical literature, Wilson points out that 'families' (segmentary lineage systems) can often be changed over time, reflecting changing membership of those 'families' and 'tribes' especially when groups are 'grafted' into a 'history'.<sup>47</sup> For a further analysis of this phenomenon among tribal peoples without centralized leadership, note especially the Introduction by Tait and Middleton, in Tribes Without Rulers, Studies in African Segmentary Systems (1958)<sup>48</sup>.

The 'sons' of Levi (and Aaron!) as already enumerated in 1 Chr. 6:16ff, are called שָׂרִים of the sons of Levi, but then in Vs. 11, David gathers these שָׂרִים and calls them the 'heads' רֹאשֵׁי הַבְּיָדוֹת. They are the heads of the בְּיָדוֹת (1 Chr. 6:19, 24) but 12 Chr. 15:16ff implies that these Bet Avot include many heads of groups ("and their brethren"). In short, Chronicles reads back into pre-exilic society the post-exilic dominance of the unit called the Bet Avot which are large units with רֹאשֵׁים - (or שָׂרִים) as the heads, or leaders.

1 Chr. 23:1-7 has David organizing work on the temple (note - the context of organized labour, which appears to require listing people into groups; see discussion below). What is important to note here is that vs. 8, of the sons of Laban, only one, Jehiel, is called 'chief', but then they are all called רֹאשֵׁי הַבְּיָדוֹת of Laban. Clearly, however, we are mean't to read רֹאשֵׁים differently in the case of Laban, a 'head head' as it were. In 1 Chr. 23:11, we even have the example of a combination into one Fathers House as a clear construction artificially imposed to make up for the small number of sons in each of the families of Jeush and Beriah.

Finally, in 1 Chr. 26:10, there is an interesting note to the effect that, even though not first born, Shimri was made רֹאשׁ by father, suggesting again the structural connection of רֹאשׁ and the בְּיָדוֹת, but different from זָקֵנִים which would be all the leaders, not merely the head.

The material in Numbers and Chronicles reflects what I suggest are important 'confusions' of numbers and units. From the Golah List, we gain more significant information about the nature of the units called בְּיָדוֹת and how they may have arisen.

The list of those returning to Jerusalem is recorded in three places, Ezra 2, Neh 7, and 1 Esdras 5. The list has given rise to an extended controversy about its origin, composition, and date<sup>49</sup>. In the context of the present investigation, the importance of the Golah List is not as a direct piece of evidence about the life in Exile since the problems are too profound to take this document at face value. The components of the list, however are important. The list purports to be a picture of the returning exiles by either family (presumably the Bet Avot, Ez. 2:68) or by place of residence. Rudolph<sup>50</sup> claimed that the change in the sequence of the list from 'families' indicated by בָּנִים, and 'residents' indicated by אֲשֵׁר, was a sign that additions were made to the list. For example, Priests were added as a unit to the list, Rudolph explained, because they would have only come when the Temple was completed. Rudolph believed that the list was genuine, in that it pre-dated the settled community which came to be called the בְּנֵי הַגּוֹלָה. Among his reasons were 1) Jeshua is listed among the leaders of the returning people, but without the title of High Priest, confirmed by the absence of a High Priest to consult the Urim and Thummim.<sup>51</sup> 2) By the time of the writing of Nehemiah, Uriah as a son of Hakkoz (Neh 3:4,21 and Ezra 8:33 and 1 Ch 24:10) is involved in priestly activities, and thus the sons of Hakkoz were no longer banned as they were in the Golah List itself (Ez. 2:61). 3) Rudolph also believed that 2:1b and 2:70 formed an important 'head and tail' to the list as whole, and thus helped in dating the list by its association with Zerubbabel. Alt and Galling associated the list with events contemporary to the building of the Temple<sup>52</sup>, while Mowinckel and Albright would date the list at the earliest to the times of Ezra-Nehemiah themselves, although Mowinckel believed that the Artaxerxes in question was, in fact, Artaxerxes II, thus dating Ezra-Nehemiah material to the end

of the 4th Century, 400BCE. Albright took the earlier dating of Artaxerxes I, thus holding the traditional dating of 450 BCE<sup>53</sup>.

The list, at first sight, is simply a 'roll-call' of 'bet avot' and others organized by living area, and the numbers associated. But already in 1913 Batten (ICC) was doubtful as to its genuine dating to the time of the return. Among his reasons were:

1) the numbers are too large (it was hard to accept a return of this magnitude);

2) the use of place names suggests settlement, i.e. long after the actual return of the exiles 'each to his own town';

3) the term **בְּנֵי מִדְּיָנָה** suggests a time when Syria was a regularly instituted satrapy of the Persian Empire;

4) the debate about the suspension of priests would only be an issue after the building of the Temple, and;

5) It is probable that Ezra-Nehemiah ordered the suspension;

6) Vs. 68 (Ezra 2) shows that the original was after the Temple was built and;

7) the use of 'all the congregation' suggests a census.

In regard to the order of listing people by family, then place, then families again, etc., Batten believed that these were either additions to the list itself, or simply problems in the tradition history of the list we now have. Batten believed that "It is safe to conclude that it was intended to use 'sons' before personal names, and 'men' before place-names but that there was doubt about some of the names..."<sup>54</sup>.

However, Batten also noted an interesting variation in the use of terms between family and place names. Ezra has **בְּנֵי** before all the names except Netophah, Anathoth, Michmas, Bethel, and Ai (that is, up to Vs. 35), whereas Esdras 5, in the LXX, has the equivalent **υἱοὶ** before the last three only. Interestingly, in the LXX text, following the standardized **υἱοὶ Βαβυλωνος** there is the insertion of a separating term which suggests an awareness of a problem; **υἱοὶ ἐκ Βαβυλωνος** and thereafter, **οὐ ἐκ** PN. In Nehemiah, the term **בְּנֵי** stands before all the terms from Bethlehem to Nebo. Batten believed that the

intent was to associate בָּנִים with personal names, and אֲנָשִׁים with place names, but that confusion surrounded terms like Magbish, Harim, Senaah, Azmaweth, and Nebo.

It is precisely this confusion of terminology which led Mowinckel, in his very important three volume work on Ezra and Nehemiah, to posit the idea of a fictionalized lineage system which came about through the Exilic experience. Since Mowinckel believed that the social divisions (described above in reference to Gottwald) were already breaking down by the time of settlement in the period of the Judges, he wondered if the removal of the natural organization from settled areas invited the return to familial-tribal division systems. But, under the circumstances of Exile, he finds such a suggestion 'exceedingly improbable':

"Dass unter diesen Umständen eine Wiederbelebung der alten Geschlechtsorganisation im Exil in dem Geschäfts- und ackerbaubetriebenden Babylonien stattgefunden hätte, ist äusserst unwahrscheinlich. Die Exilierten haben anfänglich ihren Aufenthaltsort in Babylonien natürlich nicht frei wählen können. Es wurden ihnen die Gaue oder Dörfer oder Städte angewiesen, wo sie sich nieder zu schlagen hatten, und dort sind sie gewiss haufenweise angebracht worden, ohne irgend welche sentimentale Rücksichten auf persönliche Wünsche und geschlechtsmässige Gefühle..."<sup>35</sup>

There are a number of related points made by Mowinckel in his analysis. First, he suggests that, by the time of Ezra-Nehemiah, (which he associated with the Chronicles) fictionalized familial terms were common, such as guilds of workers (e.g. בְּנֵי הַרְקָתִים Neh 3:8; one also thinks of Amos' protest that he was neither a prophet nor the 'son' of a prophet, i.e. among the guild of prophets, suggesting an earlier use of such familial fiction. cf. 2 K 2). Secondly, the names of the families are fictionalized relations based on a real or fictionalized person. Thirdly, Mowinckel believed that Ezra 8 already gives us an indication of local governmental 'Selbstverwaltung' of Jewish colonies, by calling on the וְקָרְאָה of Casiphia; this is reminiscent of Rost's earlier point:

"...in den altorientalischen Staaten hat in internen Sachen immer eine gewisse lokale Autonomie geherrscht. Fremde Kaufleute und Handwerker, aber auch religiöse Minoritäten, haben dort ihre 'Kolonien' oder ihre 'Gemeinden' bilden können, die ihre eigenen internen Sachen ordnen konnten und deren Leiter den staatlichen Behörden gegenüber für ihre Loyalität und die Erfüllung ihrer Pflichten verantwortlich waren. Die Juden wohnten jedenfalls anfänglich wohl meistens in ihren eigenen Dörfern unter eigenen lokalen Behörden. An der Spitze des Dorfes stand ein jüdisch 'Häuptling' 'ro's' [Ezra 8:17]; neben ihm standen 'die Ältesten', d.h. die Vornehmsten und Angesehensten, mit der Zeit auch die Reichsten, die eine Art von Stadt oder Dorfrat bildeten [Ezek. 11:17f; Ezek. 8:1]...Die innerjüdischen Behörden waren auch die religiösen Leiter der Gemeinde wie es deutlich aus den genannten Stellen hervorgeht; in der Stadt Kasifja war zu Ezras Zeit sogar ein jüdisches Heiligtum (maqom) [Note: Mowinckel believed that if 'Maqom' only meant town here, then it would be superfluous] am ehesten wohl eine Einfriedigung unter offenem Himmel, mit seinen Heiligtumsdiensten, über die 'ro's' verfügte. In Städten mit gemischter Bevölkerung hat die jüdische Gemeinde sich gewiss nach dem Beispiel der reinen jüdischen Dörfer (Städte) eingerichtet..."<sup>56</sup>

Mowinckel did not believe that the list belonged to the return, but thought it was a census of the entire population of the area taken by Artaxerxes II, especially noting the excessive numbers (he multiplied the number of males in the Golah list by an average family size, resulting in a conservative estimate of 127-130,000). He believed that the use of vss. 1-2a to date the list (as Rudolph had done) is misleading, as it is an addition of the 'Chronicler' to authenticate the list in its present context.

Mowinckel's theory about fictionalized familial units dispenses with speculation about the additions to the list by suggesting little difference between אֲנִי and אֲנִי־שֵׁנִי, in reference to their intended meaning. This casts further doubt on Meyer's original suggestion that the personal names belonged to 'wealthier' people, while those listed by place were poor.<sup>57</sup>

An interesting problem is raised in the Golah List in Ezra 2:59-63, where certain Jews were unable to find their names in the הַמְּשִׁיבִים וְהַכֹּהֲנִים. Among these are the priests of Hakkoz, who are later found to be performing priestly duties, and therefore were accepted at some point. If Wilson's observations about lineage systems are trusted, especially the flexibility of those lineage systems according to social realities, then what we see in this passage is not necessarily the determination of

'relatives', but the determination of true Israelites, or true members of the purified 'Sons of the Exile'. As Japhet has stated, the question raised by the Golah List as a whole is, 'Who is the true Jew?'. But even more significant is that there was such a problem at all. The need for some returning groups to 'prove themselves' reveals the social disturbance in the social system, and suggests that groups were settled apart from one another in exile so that in the intervening years, some would 'grow apart'. Furthermore, it strikes me as exceedingly doubtful that the issue here is one of blood relations - surely there would be enough distant relatives to vouch for long lost relatives if blood lineage was the question. If, however, the structures of the Exiles were only partly 'blood', and otherwise social adaptations to the conditions of group settlement of Jews in exile, then precisely the kind of verification problems we see in this passage would be totally understandable. Vss. 59-63, therefore, are testimony to the extent of the social upheaval created by the exile, and suggest (however vaguely) that groups were separated in their settled conditions.

Why the English texts add that the Priests were separated as 'unclean' in not immediately apparent from the Hebrew text, which simply states that the questionable families were excluded from the Priesthood, vs. 62, וְגֵרֵי מִגֵּרֵי הַכְּהֵנִי. The assumption that purity was an issue is possible, but only serves to affirm the argument that the issue here is one of 'True Jews', the priests of whom were allowed to conduct their cultic duties.

Thus, Mowinckel believed that the list discussed settled גֵּרֵי, some 120 years after the return to Palestine. Yet Mowinckel believed this list to be concerned with separation of the true community consistent with Ezra's and Nehemiah's concern for 'racial purity'. But, curiously, Mowinckel does not believe that a unique organizational structure evolved from the experience of Exile: "Wer zu seiner alten Heimstätte kam, war

damit in die dortige lokale Gemeinde einverleibt worden..."<sup>58</sup>. We have already noted that Zucker believed just the opposite; that the old 'Sippenordnung' was revived in the context of the Exile.<sup>59</sup>. But I believe that the argument about the Golah List will only be advanced when it is determined just what the list is listing. For this, we need to focus again on the 'Bet 'Avot'.

#### 3.4 J. Weinberg's 'Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde' and the Bet Avot.

My previous suggestion of expanded numbers and significant changes from pre-exilic structures to the post-exilic Bet Avot agrees significantly with the work of Joel Weinberg, whose important analysis must be summarized.

In an interesting series of essays on this period, Weinberg begins his analysis with Driver's view that the 'Bet Avot' is a terminus technicus of P as opposed to the earlier, standardized use of the singular; 'Bet Av'. As we have noted, the fact that the numbers of the members of these post-exilic Bet Avot can exceed 3000, rules out any real family units, and Weinberg, too, believes that the Bet Avot, as opposed to the pre-exilic structures of either the Bet Av or the Mishpahot, ; "...eine reale soziale Institution im Juda der nachexilischen Zeit bezeichnete..."<sup>60</sup>. Thus far, I am in agreement. But Weinberg's analysis goes much further.

The main source, notes Weinberg, remains Ezra-Nehemiah, where the Bet 'Avot are mentioned 19 times. In the context of the Bet 'Avot is the overarching concern with the construction of the Temple. From this combination of Temple concerns with the Bet 'Avot, as a 'Laienkollektive der Rückkehrer', Weinberg postulates the existence of a post-exilic "Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde" [Hereafter referred to as BTG] based on the leadership of the various Bet-'Avot. Weinberg believes that the Bet Avot was directly involved in administration of property which centrally

belonged to the constituent members of the BTG:

"...das Gros des Bodens in der BTG war gemeinsames Eigentum der Batei Abot, das sich, aufgeteilt in Parzellen, im Besitz einzelner Familien befand. Dieses dominierende Gemeineigentum an Boden bildete die wirtschaftliche Grundlage des Beit Abot, was das wirksamste Bindemittel, das eine gewisse innere Einheit und relative Stabilität des Beit 'aobot bedingte..."<sup>61</sup>

For Weinberg, the Bet 'Avot, while clearly the constituent unit of the post-exilic community, cannot be seen as a direct link to the pre-exilic 'Bet-'Ab' without grossly minimizing the impact of the Exile itself:

"Durch diese Katastrophe wurden viele mispahot und batei Ab vernichtet oder zersprengt, jedoch bildeten sich in den eigentümlichen Verhältnissen des Exils und der Rückkehr, die dringend den Zusammenschluss der Exulanten und Rückkehrer erforderten, aus den Splittern der vorexilischen Institutionen neue soziale Gebilde - die Batei Abot des 6 - 4 Jh. V.U.Z..."<sup>62</sup>

Weinberg holds that the Golah List is a source for, and possibly a register of, the kind of social structure upon which the post-exilic Jews organized themselves, while at the same time clarifying its unique status in comparison with the pre-exilic 'tertiary subdivisions'. The importance of this view is clear when comparing it with the views already stated. But Weinberg's view is also based on a clear relation of the community and work represented by Ezra, and the community work of Nehemiah. Mantel, on the other hand, would separate Ezra from Nehemiah, and also separate the religious communities involved. Ezra would be seen as the leader of an exilic religion that had little connection with the Temple<sup>63</sup> and Nehemiah as far more involved directly with Persian affairs. This set of circumstances becomes very complex. Could it be that Ezra was the first to arrive in Palestine, and started a communal religious structure among the 'Bnei H'Golah' that was later incorporated into a 'Bürger-Temple-Gemeinde' of the sort that Weinberg cites not only for Palestine, but among many other people under the Achaemind administration as well?<sup>64</sup>

Cross's reconstruction of the restoration may be helpful here. He refers to three different versions of the Chronicler's history. Chr<sup>A</sup> contained a retelling of the royal history (1 Ch. 10 - 2 Ch. 34) and the material celebrating the restoration of the Temple and a celebration of Zerubbabel as the chosen servant of God (1 Esd. 1:1 - 5:65//2 Chr. 34:1 - Ezra 3:13). Read within these limits, Cross notes that, "The future is open, and the work of restoring the ancient institutions is well begun; all is anticipation..."<sup>65</sup>

The story of Ezra, with a preface (Ez 5:1 - 6:19) to explain the troubles was added by Chr<sup>B</sup>, and finally, Nehemiah's memoirs were added by Chr<sup>C</sup> (although Kellerman argues convincingly that the Nehemiah tradition also came in stages<sup>66</sup>). The interesting point is that the addition of Ezra, says Cross, changed the attitude toward leadership:

"When the record resumes with the narrative of the mission of Ezra, the messianic themes of the earlier narrative are no longer to be heard. Hierocracy supplants the dyarchy of king and high priest. We hear nothing of the Davidic prince either in the Ezra-narrative or in the memoirs of Nehemiah."<sup>67</sup>

With Ezra, we have a priest-scribe whose religious attitudes are decidedly 'exilic' and 'diaspora' - religious worries about purity being the main and most significant concern.

The Exile is usually not considered, in itself, as a cause of social breakdown and restructuring. Mowinckel, for example, saw the internal structural breakdown of Bet 'Avot beginning with urban existence (whenever that may be!).

If Weinberg's suggested 'change through crisis' is right, at what point can we see the 'Befestigung' of the Bet Abot as the primary social component of the BTG? Weinberg believes it to be firmly established by the announcement of Artaxerxes which accompanied Ezra.<sup>68</sup> This idea is supported by comparative examples of the use of indigenous leadership in the Post-Darian Achaeminid Empire, as noted above in Christenson. Under both Artaxerxes and Cyrus the Younger, we have examples of Egyptian, Greek, and Karian self-governing structures (Xen, Hell III 1, 10, Anab. 1, 2, 21.4, 2; Diod XIV 19.35).

### 3.5 Political Structure - 'Internal' or 'External'?

Weinberg does not believe that his suggested BTG was the same kind of institution as an actual provincial area, such as would be the case if

Sheshbazzar or Zerubbabel were actual governors of a province of the Persian Empire. Noting that no Persian documents deal with a single, recognized authority, Weinberg concludes that Sheshbezzar and Zerubbabel were, in fact, not Persian authorities at all. Noting that Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel and indeed, Jeshua, most often appear with no title at all in the relevant texts, Weinberg wonders:

"Möglicherweise ist es damit zu erklären, dass die drei Vorsteher keine offiziellen Titelträger waren, und dass deren Bezeichnung mit Titel nur die Bestrebungen und Hoffnungen der werdenden Gemeinde ausdrückten..."<sup>69</sup>

The time of the founding of the BTG is further defended by Weinberg on the basis of a comparison of the 'edicts' of Ezra-Nehemiah, with careful attention to what each of the edicts actually allows or calls for:

The Edict of Artaxerxes included:	But Cyrus' ?	Darius'?
1. Permission of return and collection.....	Yes.....	No
2. Support of Cult-Temple through Funds.....	No.....	Yes
3. Tax-Freedom for Priests, Levites, Temple and Temple personel.....	No.....	No
4. Establishment of Jurisdiction, and Appointment of a Judge.....	No.....	No
5. Punishment of those who break the 'Law of your God and the law of the King'.....	No.....	No

(70)

Thus, Weinberg believes that the Golah List represents the established 'Burger Temple Gemeinde' under Nehemiah, now officially recognized by Artaxerxes, although this is not to be confused with the King's making Judah a province: "...die Provinz Jehud ein Institut der Zentralgewalt war, während sich die BTG zur Partikulargewalt ausbildete..."<sup>71</sup>

It is clear that Weinberg is making a quite revolutionary suggestion for the nature of the social and political structure in the post-exilic period. But it is worth noting that Weinberg is describing a community which is defined by social boundaries, the kind of definition and differentiation that we have come to expect from our sociological analysis

in both maintenance of ethnic identity, and the survival of deportation and exile. But Weinberg's BTG, if it existed, is made officially secure only at the time of Nehemiah. What happened in the meantime? Weinberg commented:

"Bis auf 458/457 war die nachexilische Gemeinde noch keine ausgeprägt BTG, sondern ein Organismus in statu nascendi. Dementsprechend enthielt sich die persische Zentralgewalt von administrativen Umwandlungen und Privilegien, die eine Ausbildung dieser werdenden Gemeinde zur Partikulargewalt fördern konnten. Dennoch trug dieses amorphe Gebilde Keime der Späteren Entfaltung zur BTG und Partikulargewalt in sich..."<sup>72</sup>

Weinberg's argument suggests that the Elders remained a major force of leadership in the post-exilic community until such time as individuals like Ezra and Nehemiah became officially recognized by the Persian authorities. Eventually, we see that the High Priest comes to hold the central authority within the Jewish community itself, as is clearly attested in the Hellenistic era through to the Roman period.

The central problem with Weinberg's thesis, as I see it, is that the documents of this period, mainly Malachi, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Haggai-Zechariah, are understood as documents exclusively about the internal politics of the post-exilic community, rather than having an immediate impact on the 'external' politics, i.e. encompassing matters of state concern to the Satrapy rulers and the Persian Throne. 'Pha', for example, becomes an internal office when used of Jews like Zerubbabel with little relevance to the Persian authorities themselves (i.e. Tattenai). Sarim, Chorim, Seganim, are all 'depoliticized'. While this is reminiscent of our case of the Lithuanian refugees who continued to use the titles of their former existence when they were in Exile, this may be pushing the analogy too far. It is clear that before we can proceed any further, and make a final judgement on Weinberg's suggestion, we must attempt to clarify the use of the term PHA **אנא** in reference to leaders before Nehemiah -

which inevitably requires a consideration of the issue of the political status and authority of the 'm<sup>e</sup>dinot Judah' in the Post Exilic, Persian era.

### 3.5.1 - The term 'Governor' and the 'Province of Judah'

'אנש' usually refers to a government official in the Old Testament sources. In 1 Kings 20:14-15, the 'governors' are apparently under-secretaries who serve Ahab. They are rulers over 'districts'. This is apparently also the sense of 1 Kings 10:15 'governors of the land' (Comp 2 Ch 9:14). In 2 Kings 18:24, the implication of the Rab-shaqeh's speech is that 'governors' are less important dignitaries, with a military function (Isa 36:9). In the oracle against Babylon contained in Jer 51, the context of vs. 23 also seems to also suggest a dual military-political role for the PHA 'אנש' yet vs. 28 has the sense of 'under-secretary' under the Kings of the Medes; vs. 57 again a list including political and military figures. Ezek. 23:6 associates 'governors' with the military as well, all of whom were 'young men' (Cf. 12 and 13).

Malachi 1:8 is further suggestive. In the context of a blistering condemnation of those who do not bring pure animals for sacrifice, Malachi challenged people to consider whether these same people would dare bring a flawed gift to their 'governor'. This appears to suggest that such gifts were expected by the governor, and expected to be among the best. Are we here discussing 'tax' payments to a representative of a foreign government? This calls to mind Ezra 8:35-36.

Haggai 1:1 calls Zerubbabel the אנש of Judah, in a stereotypical phrase repeated in vs. 14, 2:2 and 2:21. Esther 3:12, 8:9 and 9:3 are stereotypical collections of officials to whom official correspondence is sent, but the exact correspondence of area or people to each of the offices

listed is somewhat muddled.

The most important passages are those in Nehemiah, esp. Ch 5 where Nehemiah compares himself to former **פְּחוֹת** (favourably) and explicitly mentions the requirements of the people to support the governor with money and animals, thus confirming Mal 1:8 and Ezra 8:34b-36. But, most intriguing is the mention of **פְּחוֹת עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר** 'Beyond the River' in 2:7 and 9, but especially 3:7 where those from Mizpah are under the authority of the governor of the Province 'Beyond the River'. These references could be taken to refer to those who were now the colleagues of Nehemiah, i.e., other governors, or that Nehemiah was in some sense answerable to them. In any case, the military functions and officers under Nehemiah's command rather suggest more the military-political image of the Jeremiah and Ezekiel passages (although we are admittedly dealing with two different political systems, Babylonian in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and Persian in Nehemiah).

Could it be that we are dealing with a governmental official whose jurisdiction is determined not so much geographically as ethnically? Thus, the **פְּחוֹת** may be a military leader, in charge of a group of soldiers, but assigned to oversee also the affairs of the immediate area and its population, deriving his sustenance from the people over whom he has supervisory charge? This may be further suggested by archaeological evidence of Persian type 'Cist-Tombs' from Iran to Palestine, which Stern and Moorey<sup>73</sup> have taken to indicate the presence of Persian troops throughout the Persian empire, including Palestine as well.

McEvenue<sup>74</sup> reviews some of the contemporary debate about the political fate of Judah in the restoration period. He repeats the argument that in Ezra 5:2-9, Tattenai does not deal with Zerubbabel and the elders. The term **פְּחוֹת** is not therein specifically mentioned. Galling believed that Tattenai's lack of knowledge about the Temple building, and his questions, should lead us to believe that there was no governor figure present.

Nothing is said about Zerubbabel as governor, or authority, even when 1 Ch 3:17-19 attempts to establish his Davidic descent. McEvenue points out that Medina can be 'area' and not 'province', and further suggests that Tattenai, who is specifically called a נָדָב in the encounter with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the Elders, does not appear to be merely Zerubbabel's equal.<sup>75</sup> Thus, McEvenue would confirm Alt's earlier suspicion that Judah had no political independence until the time of Nehemiah.

Japhet, while agreeing with those who see Judah's independence beginning with Zerubbabel, points out the unique aspect of life under the Persians. Japhet sees with typical clarity the social significance of a growing 'democratization' of the post-exilic community:

"The special regime under which the people of Judah lived during the Persian period - autonomic existence under foreign domination - had an important role in catalyzing the process of decentralization, in which the power of local and family leaders gradually grew...[a]...rise of the power of popular representatives in the socio-political structure..."<sup>76</sup>

I am not convinced by the linguistic arguments, however, for the independence of Judah before Nehemiah, or for that matter, the nature of the office of נָדָב when applied to Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and Persian officials as well. But I do agree with Japhet's view that the Golah List was surely not an attempt to list all Jews, but to list all true Jews. But this does not inevitably mean we can talk of a separate political state for the Jews before Nehemiah.

The most forceful answer to this suggestion has been by Nahman Avigad, on the basis of his work on collected coins, seals (bullae) and jar handle stamps. A series of stamps and a coin have been in the British Museum since the beginning of the 20th Century, which Prof. Sukenik finally correctly identified as having the term Y-H-D, Aramaic for Judah.<sup>77</sup> Since that time, Aharoni has reported finding more YHD stamps in his digs at Ramat Rahel in 1959-60<sup>78</sup>. In the reports for this find, the stamps were analysed by Garbini. He concluded that archaeological dating was doubtful because of the lack of layer-stratified context information of the comparative finds. The Ramat Rahel stamps cannot be compared to other YHD stamps which were bought on the antiquities market, and not found 'in situ'. The significance of these coins and stamps for our discussion is twofold. First, they have led some scholars to surmise a province of the Persian Empire, under the Satrapy reorganization of Darius (but also earlier, according to Avigad, Japhet, and others) which was called Judah, apart from Samaria. Secondly, however, is the discovery on some of the coins and seals of the term PHW, or a fuller inscriptions, such as the one discussed by Avigad on which is stamped, "Elnathan, Governor" or another interesting example where the stamp inscription reads, "Belonging to

Shelomit, maidservant of Elnathan PH...[W?]"79.

On the basis of these occurrences of PHW and YHD on seals and bullae, Avigad has concluded:

"This name (YHD) is in itself sufficient to indicate that Judah was a separate administrative unit, having its own autonomous internal rule. Further evidence of this is found in the silver coins of the Persian period bearing the name of the province, YHD. This inscription on the bullae demonstrates the official nature of the documents which they sealed..."<sup>80</sup>

Avigad has further associated YHD jar-handle stamps with food and wine taxes, which are specifically mentioned in Neh. 5, and which Avigad says are post-exilic manifestations of the now famous 'LeMelekh' jar handles of the monarchical era<sup>81</sup>. Finally, Avigad has reconstructed a series of governors on collected sources as follows:

Sheshbazzar, "governor (phh)" (Ezra 5:14); "prince of Judah"(Ezra 1:8), ca. 538 BCE.

Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, "Governor of Judah(pht yhw dh)" (Haggai 1:1,14), 515 BCE.

Elnathan, "governor (phw)" (Bulla and seal), late 6th century BCE.

Yeho'ezer, "governor (phw)" (jar impression), early 5th century BCE.

Ahzai, "governor(phw)", (Jar-impression), early 5th century BCE

Nehemiah, son of Hacaliah, "the governor (hphh)" (Neh 5:14, 12:26) 445-433 BCE.

Bagohi (Bagoas) "governor of Judah (pht yhw d)" (Elephantine Papyrus 30:1) 408 BCE.

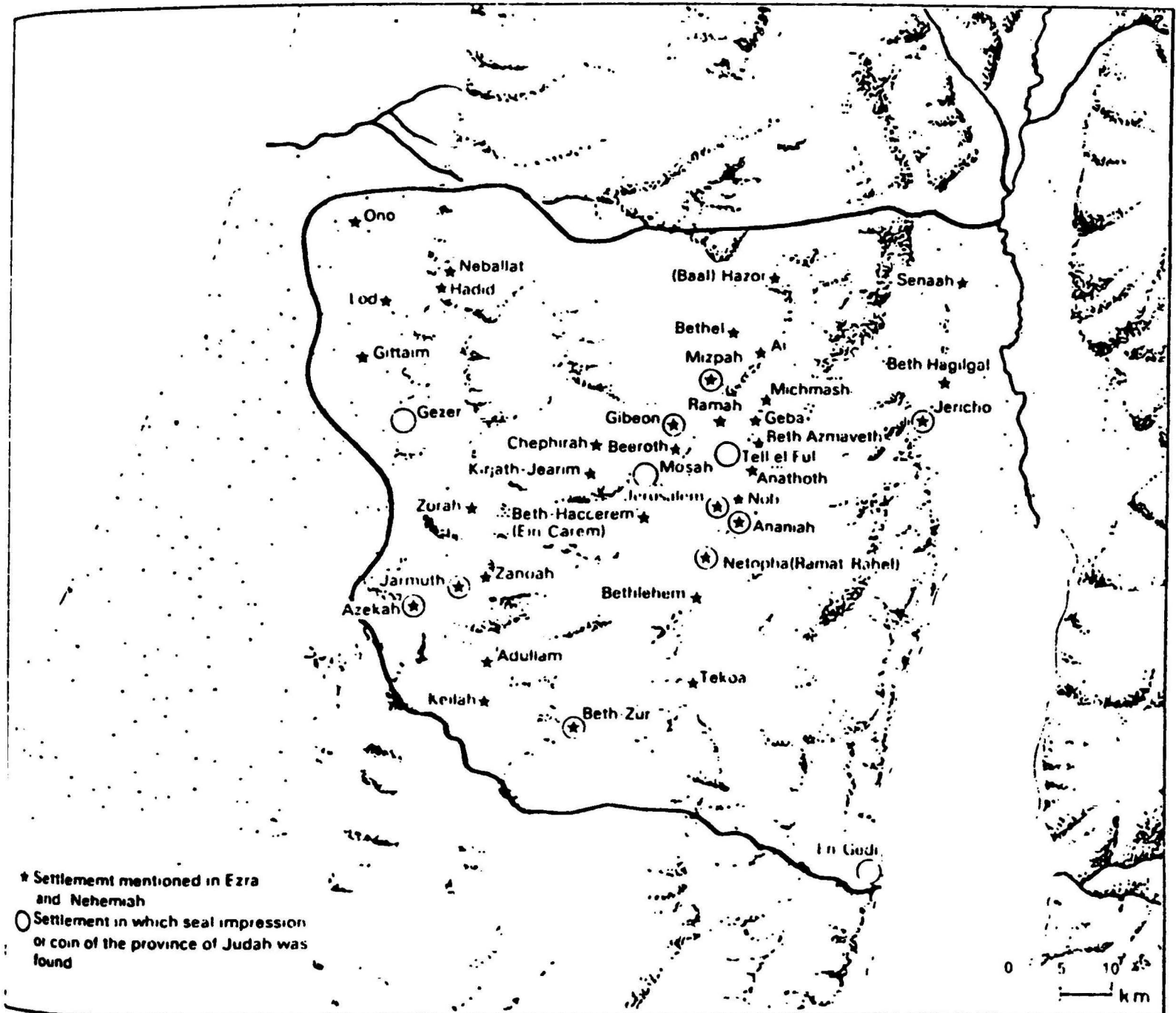
Yehezqiyah, "the governor(hphh)" (coins), ca. 330 BCE. (<sup>82</sup>)

Alt had originally suggested that the districts of Judah after Nehemiah's time were ( in his view under Nehemiah for the first Governor) similar in breakdown to Joshua 15-19. Also, on this basis, Aharoni suggested that Neh. 3 (the persons and their homes) implied the following breakdown of areas:

Mizpah	Capital: Mizpah; subdistrict: Jericho
Jerusalem	Capital: Jerusalem; subdistrict: Gibeon
Beth-Haccerem	Beth-Haccerem (Ramat Rahel)
Beth-Zur	Cap: Beth Zur, Subdistrict: Tekoa
Keilah	Cap: Keilah; Subdistrict: Zenoah

Aharoni's plan, however, is one of many that have recently been surveyed by Stern<sup>83</sup>. The problem, as Stern notes, is that the list in Neh 3 is not complete, and does not appear to match all the areas where YHD stamps were found. Stern's map, shown below, indicates both the cities mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah, and the locations of the YHD, PHW and Bullae that have been found.

Furthermore, also on the basis of the wall construction of Neh 3, some have suggested an organizational breakdown that follows the pattern as:



Map of the province of Judah

from Stern, p. 170

Pehah (Governor)  
sar Pelekh (District governor)  
sar hesi Pelekh (sub-district governor)

Demsky, however, calls into serious question the use of the term 'pelekh' to be 'area', upon which is built the above 3-tiered divisions of the province of Judah. Demsky cites the term 'pilku' in Akkadian, which means 'work duty' or 'work tax' in the form of conscripted labor; and thus challenges the idea of 'area':

"Nehemiah organized the project which had been approved by the Persian authorities, into work battalions composed of local citizenry and occupational units, groups of volunteers and levies fulfilling their tax obligations in the form of physical labour. Accordingly, these latter groups, working the rougher terrain of the lower city, were placed under overseers designated 'sar(hesi) pelekh...'"<sup>84</sup>

In conclusion, we cannot be certain of reproducing the sub-sections of a province of Judah, much less the actual existence of a province before Nehemiah.

What one is faced with, in the archaeological material, is seal impression, jar handles, and coins from the Persian period with both 'YHD' and 'PHW'. Does this mean that the governor was given authority, not only to oversee the collection of taxes in kind (food and wine, Neh 5, Mal. 1:8) but also to strike coins? The significance of a political independence which allows a people/governor to produce monetary units is not to be dismissed lightly, as Herodotus' discussion of the Darian silver standard, as well as later Jewish coinage, clearly attests<sup>85</sup>. But there is a curious problem about the onomastica of the Persian period coins. Avigad already suggested, in an article analysing the stamp seal from Jericho, that the Priests were involved in the autonomous economy of the province of YHD. On the Jericho seal, Avigad identified אִרְיָו = Urio, with Uriah, son of Haqqoz who is mentioned in Neh 3:4 and 21, and a member of the Priestly Family of Haqqoz which was not able to prove its lineage according to the Golah List context (Ez 2:59-63). On the basis of this, Avigad assumed a governor-Temple administration:

"In a little semi-autonomous theocratic state like Judah, where both

religious and civil affairs were concentrated in the hands of ecclesiastics, there could scarcely have been a division between temple- and state-administration. The autonomy granted to Judah by the suzerain power was of a religious nature, and the temple incorporated the interests of the whole community. As we can gather from Neh 13:13, needy persons got their share from the temple treasuries..."<sup>86</sup>

But in his 1976 study of Bullae and Seals, the discovery of 'YHD' and 'PHW' stamps and coins led him, as we have seen, to reconstruct the names of the governors of his hypothetical pre-Nehemiah Province. It was earlier thought that a coin bearing the name 'Yehezqiyah' was identical with one Ezekias, the High Priest, mentioned in Josephus<sup>87</sup>.

In a survey of the stamps which contain ( in most probable interpretations ) the term PHW, Weinberg points out that the names associated with it (Ahyo/Ahzai, Hanana, Yeho'ezar and 'Uriyo) are all related to the Biblical names of Priests<sup>88</sup>, and Prof. Barag has now corrected an earlier reading of Mildenberg, and found the word 'H'CHN next to the name Yohanan, thus adding weight to the theories of both Avigad and Weinberg<sup>89</sup>. Weinberg noted the prominence of the office of High Priest in the late Achaeminid period, and especially in Hellenistic times and suggested that "...die Machtbefugnis des Pha der Provinz Jehud dem Jerusalemischen Hohenpriester ibergeben wurde..."<sup>90</sup> This is logically possible only if we do not consider the 𐤎𐤏𐤔 as an administrator of a geographical unit, but primarily as administrator of a population, i.e. an 'ethnarch'. Coinage associated with the Priesthood would appear to support an administration of a group by the Temple.

What, then, do we make of Haggai calling Zerubbabel the Governor of Judah? While the use by Haggai of PHA is problematic for our thesis, it is clear that the alternative explanation of an actual administrator of a land sector in the Persian empire also involves the problems mentioned earlier. I tentatively conclude that the 𐤎𐤏𐤔 was a Persian official under the

Satrap who was a semi-military officer in charge of a specific area or particular population. A more precise view of leadership terminology is necessary.

### 3.5.2 - Further Terms for Leadership

Zucker has contrasted what he believes to have been the 'internal' organization of the Jews with the 'officials' who are associated with the Persian regime itself. Zucker does not believe that Ezra or Nehemiah could have acted without Persian authority vested in them, but neither could they overstep their authority in dealing with matters within the jurisdiction of the internal politics of the Elders and the High Priest.

In Neh 8:13, it is the Elders who approach Ezra, although they seem to be an essential presence in order for the study of the law. Ezra 10, on the other hand, shows that dissolution of marriage could not be successfully accomplished apart from Ezra's authority. But a key case is Zucker's reference to Nehemiah's careful distinction between the סגנים and the חורים. Zucker disagrees with Meyer, and others, who held that all the terms for authority such as שר, סגנים, חורים, and ראשי אבות, all mean the same thing. Nehemiah is careful in apportioning blame for certain problems among the Jewish community. In Neh 13:17, the חורים are blamed for Sabbath violation, חורים being among the internal leadership of the Jewish people. While חורים are listed with סגנים on many occasions, (Neh 2:16), Zucker believed that the סגנים are Persian officials under Nehemiah's direct command:

"Bewusst macht er nicht die Chorim verantwortlich, weil er mit der jüdischen Selbstverwaltung nicht verhandeln will. Er verwechselt also hier nicht willkürlich die Termini Chorim und Segenim. Mit die חורים dagegen, streitet er wegen der Übertretung der Sabbatgesetzte..."<sup>71</sup>

But both חֲרִים and סַגְנִים are blamed for abuses in Neh 5:7, although it can be argued that corruption in internal and Persian authorities is being condemned here. Certainly, economic matters, esp. the raising of silver in the Darian Persian tax system, is an official matter in which Nehemiah has a direct interest. This association can hold for Neh 7:5 as well, but it would appear that the plain sense is that סַגְנִים were to be included in the register. However, Zucker is on stronger ground with Neh 12:40, which associates the סַגְנִים as directly under Nehemiah's authority, and especially with the exclusive condemnation of the סַגְנִים for failure to carry out a Persian official mandate in supporting the Temple.

Jer 51:28,57, and vs. 23, clearly associated סַגְנִים as officials of the nations, especially Babylon. Ezekiel 23:6 (and 12,14,23) makes the same association with the 'Assyrian' officials and warriors.

חֲרִים on the other hand, are associated with elders in 1 Kings 21:8,11, Neh 6:17, and Isa 34:12 seems to suggest an inability to arrive at decisions, also associated חֲרִים with the normal function of 'higher citizens' and elders. The חֲרִים among those taken, or punished, by the Babylonians, are mentioned in Jer 27:20 and 39:6.

Nehemiah also uses the term שָׂר, which has a very rich usage in the OT text (some 450 occurrences) which points, in the vast majority of cases, to be military associations or royal associations. Zucker, however, regards שָׂר and סַגְנִים as virtually synonymous. This is possible, but only because שָׂר appears to have a generic application to any position of leadership. Ezra, for example, refers to the שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים and the שָׂרֵי אֲגוּת. The single instance which Zucker refers to as particularly intriguing is Neh 4:16. The final verse seems to suggest that these שָׂרִים were not assumed to be a part of the people who were the

subject of the preceding discussion.

In any case, the internal affairs were administered by the Priests and elders, while the Persian-appointed Ezra and Nehemiah had to work with their אֲנָשִׁים or in cooperation with the elders, so Zucker would suggest. The internal 'Selbstverwaltung' then eventually led to the predominance of the High Priest, whose power rose as that of the Persian authorities declined, until in the Hellenistic era, it was the High Priest who was officially recognized. With this, however, we are far beyond the specific time of our concern. One would thus agree with Alt, that Judah was not a separate administrative division of the Persian Empire until Nehemiah, and until then was an administrative division of the Syrian area, which included many groups of stationed troops, who depended for their livelihood and support on the population or area to which they were assigned. This suggestion is really a call to be less precise about political boundaries and jurisdictions, in an attempt to be more precise about social authority and jurisdiction. At any rate, we can conclude that the textual evidence of 'previous governors' (as Nehemiah referred to them), and Zerubbabel in particular, is not so clear as to remove our original theory that the leaders of the post-exilic community were the Elders, and 'heads' אֲנָשִׁים of the 'Bürger-Temple-Gemeinde', which was divided into units using a familial fiction from the Exile itself. These leaders continued to function as leaders until the advent of the governor's power, whose own decline, in turn, made way for the rule of the High Priest. Elders as a form of self-government were clearly a legacy of the Exile itself, as can be seen by their continued influence until eclipsed by other forms.

A similar picture of Israelite social structure can be found in a

Hellenistic source, 'Hecataeus of Abdera', which is extant in Diodorus Siculus, XL, 2. Mendels has argued that this reflects post-exilic attitudes that emphasize Moses over David, the place of the High Priest, and the prominence of Elders. M. Stern<sup>92</sup> believed that this discussion clearly reflected Nehemiah's reforms, and considered Neh 5:15 to be evidence for this. The source is dated to the late 4th century, and the relevant passage is as follows:

"He[Moses] led out military expeditions against the neighboring tribes and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests, in order that they, by virtue of having received more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God. The common citizens were forbidden to sell their individual plots, lest there be some who for their own advantage should buy them up, and by oppressing the poorer classes bring on a scarcity of manpower. We required those who dwelt in the land to rear their children...

...[Moses]...picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation...these same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. For this reason, the Jews never have a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue..."<sup>93</sup>

As we noted above in reference to this passage, this is a possible trace of an etiological saga for the rise of the Roshim, and appears to be a description of an ethnic, autonomous unit, even in its total neglect of the monarchical traditions, but also on its emphasis on internal leadership.

In summing up this wide ranging survey of social structures of the exilic period, we can reach only tentative conclusions. The prominence of the organizational divisions of the Bet Avot in the face of the uncertainties regarding the individual authority leads me to conclude that the Roshim as 'heads' of the constituent Bet Avot became the most prominent form of self-government in the exilic period, arising from the Elders of the people. The Elders, while always present, appear to have become less involved in the growing representative strength of the other offices,

especially the Roshim, and after the restoration, the other offices mentioned in our discussion of the Nehemiah materials, 'princes', officers, etc. It is possible that Ezra himself was among these 'Roshim' as was Iddo in Casiphia.

Whatever the externally validated authority Zerubbabel, Ezra, Sheshbazzar, and Nehemiah may have had in relation to the Persian authorities, the internal social structure of Israel was the division into the new Bet 'Avot led by 'heads'. This is confirmed by comparing the Golah List of Ezra 2 // Neh 7 // 1 Esd. 5 from the late 6th Century (accepting the date of Rudolph) with the list of those who accompanied Ezra in the mid-5th Century (Ezra 8 see also Chronicles) which still lists social units by the nomenclature of the Bet Avot although in smaller numbers than the Golah List. That there is furthermore a difference between the 'internal' and 'external' leadership was indicated by Zucker's study of terms, and Weinberg's study of a 'Bürger-Temple-Gemeinde'.

Furthermore, while I do not believe that the post-exilic Bet Avot is continuous with the pre-exilic Bet Av, which I have argued was a smaller, indeed real biological family unit, the use of the Bet Avot terminology to refer to a structure that is, in fact, more similar in size to the pre-exilic Mishpahot is itself highly significant. The familial terms and 'close-knit' nature of the pre-exilic Bet Av were used to impose a familial fiction on a sociologically necessary unit of survival - the bands of 'remnants' in Exile who settled together. Post-Exilic sources show such changes occurring for social and political reasons (note 1 Chr. 23:11). I submit that this is similar to the function of social re-structuring found in our case studies.

Furthermore, the work of Robert Wilson on segmentary lineage systems

and social change provides precedent, not only in Ancient Near Eastern and contemporary anthropological records, but in other Biblical records as well - for changes of this kind which reflect social and/or political realities. The confusion comes from the use of 'houses' and 'fathers' for two different units, but Wilson, Tait and Middleton's work on lineage 'mythologies' leads one to suspect that the confusion is not a mistake.

Lastly, I may be convinced that the post-exilic Bet Avot is more continuous with the Mishpahot than I have given consideration to here, but even this argument would have to take important consideration of the terminological changes, and the meaning of those changes, especially in the context of other familial fictions in the post-exilic period, when referring to the entire Israelite community (or even more significantly, 'Sons of the Exile') and the use in guilds and trades.

There remains one last suggestion that can be made regarding further reasons for these structural changes. In the sociological paradigms, we were able to see what the function was of the structural adaptation of groups in exile and minority situations. Since we cannot draw conclusions about this without more data, I can only speculate on the basis of our analogies. What is finally significant in this investigation is not, however, what the function of the structural change was (though it would be good if we did know), but the fact that a major structural change occurred at all.

### 3.6 - Structural Adaptation - A Materialist Theory of the Post-Exilic Bet-'Abot

An aspect of post-exilic identity is the consciousness of having been a part of an exilic event, either by being a 'son' of a returning collective, or by separating oneself from the 'others' and becoming one of these 'sons'. This expansion of familial terminology may be significant. We have noted, with Weinberg, that the Bet Avot did not 'evolve' directly from the pre-exilic Bet 'Av, but rather appears to be a form, in both number and structure, of the pre-exilic Mishpaha. But in maintaining a terminology from the pre-exilic actual extended family, the 'Bet 'Avot' expanded the familial fiction, which was even expanded to encompass all the people as 'sons' of the Golah, as 'Sons of Israel'. I suggest that this is best understood as a socio-psychological response to the crisis of exile. Not only is this an expression of solidarity (equivalent to 'brother' or 'comrade') but it would be an indication of a new divisional principle. On the basis of our analogies from sociological investigation, we might suspect that the relations with 'outsiders' intensified the familial bonds, and at the same time the worries about purity. Finally, there are socio-economic factors that one must consider in the adaptation and reformation of post-Exilic Israelite society.

If one begins with the late monarchical formation of society that consisted of herding and orcharding in the Judean hills, then this suggests a diversified, but certainly not strongly centralized economic system, which was based on smaller familial units.<sup>94</sup> While centralizing tendencies are certainly evident in the Israelite monarchy, they were strongly resisted according to textual evidence (1 S 8; 2 S 24; 1 K 5:13). In any case, Judeans were still able to own land, and the usurpation of this landed independence (Naboth's vineyard) was bitterly condemned. As long as

ownership of land is connected with the Bet 'ab, the numbers of these familial units can be smaller (indeed, smaller units means more surplus!). As Elat has concluded, it was from this surplus that international trade of the crown was fueled:

"Foreign trade was in fact initiated by the Crown and conducted on its behalf. It owed its existence to two factors: in the first place to the existence of agricultural surpluses in Palestine, which were, in turn, the result of favourable climatic conditions and the diligence of the people in developing and husbanding the land. Trade in these surpluses was mainly with the kingdom of Tyre, a natural customer because of its unique economy and its proximity to Israel. In the second place, there existed particular geopolitical conditions which allowed Judah and Israel to participate in international trade by virtue of their control over international routes or parts of them. This, however, was largely a transit trade which was conducted by the Crown; while it produced profits for the royal court that enabled it to strengthen the military force of the kingdom and to raise the standard of living of the royal family and those close to it, it had only a limited influence on the national economy or on the occupational distribution of the country's inhabitants..."<sup>75</sup>

I have already suggested that the post-exilic Bet 'Avot were fictionalized sibling groups. Why, then, would the constituent social units of the Judeans increase in size during the Exile ?

To pursue this question, one must consider certain aspects of the economics of Babylonian society in this period. K. Wittfogel's now classic work, Oriental Despotism<sup>76</sup> was an attempt to relate the organization of society to the economics of a regime under which that society lived and worked. His basic thesis was a theory of centralization of state control specifically through the maintenance of water rights and canal systems. Wittfogel suggested that a 'hydraulic society' was the result of an economic requirement of centrally organized canal/water systems for the good of society. Ultimately, this would result in despotic rule. Wittfogel's thesis has been severely criticized as too legalistic, and overarching, particularly when it is considered to be a 'law' of social development applied to all societies. But Wittfogel was not as dogmatic about this as critics sometimes suggest. Wittvogel recognized, for example,

that:

"...too little or too much water does not necessarily lead to governmental water control; nor does governmental water control necessarily imply despotic methods of statecraft. It is only above the level of an extractive subsistence economy, and below the level of a property-based industrial civilization that man, reacting specifically to the water-deficient land-scape, moves toward a specific hydraulic order of life..."<sup>97</sup>

The necessary condition, in short, is the building of a canal system on what Wittfogel calls a 'monumental style', a single large mass. The necessity for centralized control in a single project seems self-evident.

More specific for our purposes, however, is his conclusion about slave labour in 'hydraulic society':

"The costs of supervision inhibited the use of great numbers of slaves in the most typical of all public works in hydraulic society: the construction and maintenance of canals, embankments, roads and walls. It was only in spatially restricted enterprises such as mines and quarries, the building of palaces and temples, and the transport of bulky objects that slave labour could be easily supervised and therefore advantageously employed..."<sup>98</sup>.

So, if we have suggested that hydraulic centralization, under 'monumental project' conditions is a valid application of Wittfogel's insight (as opposed to a general validity of all water/agricultural base societies<sup>99</sup>) what does this mean for our thesis? The significance lies precisely in the fact that the Chaldean Kings embarked on a massive building programme at about the same time as their campaigns in the West which included the deportation of the Jews to Mesopotamia. In his important study of building trends in the Ancient Near East, according to the evidence of ground surveys, Adams has concluded:

"...there is no doubt about the rapid, continued growth that got under way during, or perhaps even slightly before, the Neo-Babylonian Period. This is most simply shown by the rising number of sites...the total increases from 143 in the Middle Babylonian period to 182...in the NeoBabylonian period, to 221 of Achaeminid date ...the available documentary evidence suggests that large masses of people were involuntarily transferred as part of intensive Neo-Babylonian efforts to rehabilitate the central region of a domain that previously had suffered severely..."<sup>100</sup>

Furthermore, work that was controlled centrally had especially to do with major, larger canals. Smaller communities were left to work out the projects on their own.

It is clear that the Jewish exiles were, at least in the community where Ezekiel was present, on Kabur, a major canal near the major city-center area of Nippur. I suggest that the formation of the post-exilic configuration of the Bet 'Avot was the result of a combination of social crisis, and the centralized economic policies the Chaldean land resettlement and possibly even labour needs.

The tendency for centralized political control to favour larger social units can be illustrated in Israelite history as well, and may well be the basis for the resistance to the Census in 2 S 24. The mustering of troops in Numbers 1-2 assumed large constituent units, able to supply manpower and infantry needs to a single, unified, central government.

Nehemiah's reconstruction of the Temple, unlike Solomon's construction, was based on a division of labour according to large, constituent social groups (as his resettlement policy also reveals) as indicated by terms like אֲנָשֵׁי יְרֵחוֹ and the guild members listed in the same context. 'Monumental labour' required larger social units and centralized leadership.

By analogy, Adam's survey would strongly suggest that larger settlements were encouraged more than the settlements of the size that is typical of pre-exilic 'Bet 'Avs', as noted in Staeger's study of the 'Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel'<sup>101</sup>. It is furthermore possible that these settlements provided workers for Neo-Babylonian Building projects. In a building inscription, Nebuchadnezzar II, the conquerer of the West, lists his conquered people in the context of all

those of his realm that he pressed into service on the Temple of Marduk:

"...<sup>11</sup>des Landes Hat[tim] <sup>12</sup>vom ob[erem] Meere <sup>13</sup>bis zum unter[en] Meere, <sup>14</sup>das Land Sumeri und Akkadim, <sup>15</sup>das Land Mesopotamien .. ..  
..,<sup>16</sup>die Könige ferner Inseln, <sup>17</sup>..<sup>18</sup>dis mitten im oberen Meere, <sup>19</sup>die  
Könige ferner Inseln, <sup>20</sup>..<sup>21</sup>die mitten im unteren Meere (gelegen sind), <sup>22</sup>die  
Machthaber <sup>23</sup>des Landes Hattim <sup>24</sup>jenseits des Euphrates, <sup>25</sup>gen  
Sonnenuntergang, <sup>26</sup>deren <sup>28</sup>Herrschaft <sup>26</sup>auf Befehl <sup>27</sup>Marduk's meines  
Herrn, <sup>28</sup>ich ausübe, und (die) <sup>29</sup>mächtige Zedernstämme <sup>30</sup>vom Gebirge  
Libanon <sup>31</sup>nach meiner Stadt Babylon <sup>32</sup>bringen, <sup>33</sup>die Gesamtheit der  
Menschen <sup>34</sup>weit(hin wohnend)er Völker, <sup>35</sup>die Marduk, mein Herr, mir  
geschenkt hatte: <sup>36</sup>beim Bau von Etemenanki <sup>37</sup>liess ich sie Arbeit nehmen  
und <sup>38</sup>legte ihnen den Ziegelkorb auf..."<sup>102</sup>

I have had mixed reactions from Cuneiformists that I have consulted about this text. Although deportees are not specifically mentioned, the context of the conquest of the lands of the 'Hattim' and the work of all peoples who 'live far away' would seem to support my reading of this text as indicating the possibility of labour in Babylon by those people who were included among Nebuchadnezzar's conquests. Furthermore, if Gadd is correct that Jews may have actually been in the armies of Nabonidus, I see no reason to doubt that Deportees from the lands which were considered 'given to Nebuchadnezzar' by Marduk, would contribute to the work.

The term שׂוֹרֵץ, 'yoke', is commonly used to refer to labour and service to ruling authorities in the Old Testament. In fact, it is more frequently used in this way, than it is used in the context of 'yoked oxen' (1 S 6:7; Nu. 19:2; Dt. 21:3). In Is 10:27, 14:25, and 9:3, if dated earlier than the Babylonian period, could therefore refer to the figurative 'yoke' of Assyria (the service to Assyria, as we have seen, could be expensive!), much like the Northern Israelites who spoke of the yoke of the Southern Davidic house (1 K 12 // 2 Ch 10:4,10). But in the Babylonian period, the yoke is often combined with forced service, e.g. Ezek 34:27 ("those that enslaved you תַּעֲבֹדֵי אֲחֵיהֶם") and Jer 28:48 ("You will no longer bear the stranger's yoke, or be their servants!") and Isa 47:6 (where the yoke was made heavy on the 'old' אֲבֵרָה [Elders?]). The language is figurative, but the colour is darker in the Babylonian period.

As I have said in Chapter One, many scholars have protested that we know nothing of the conditions of exiles, and thus have not been able to talk of 'slavery' or 'forced labour'<sup>103</sup>. Most references go directly to

Jeremiah's letter, pointing to a situation that does not sound overly oppressive. But J.M. Wilkie calls into question this assumption of 'easy living' in Exile. Wilkie points out that Deutero-Isaiah contains many references to suffering (40:2, 41:11-12, 42:7,22; 47:6; 49:9,13,24-26; 51:7, 13-14,23 etc.):

"...Second-Isaiah's language is neither metaphorical nor at variance with the actual conditions, but is an accurate description of conditions which he knew only too well..."<sup>104</sup>

In oracles such as Is. 13; 47:6; and Jer 50-51, there is strong expectation of the punishment of Babylon for abuses. It is furthermore well known that Babylon forever remained the symbol of the oppressor, even into the New Testament era (Rev 14:8). Zech 5:5-11 is an early oracle reflecting this tendency, and Rome was later to be symbolically represented by Babylon. One of the most important sources for this is the 'Satire on a Fallen Tyrant' of Is 14:4-21. Finally, there is the image of the suffering servant itself, which I will consider below.

The emerging picture from this brief analysis is that of a social reconstruction of the Bet 'Abot, which was built on pre-exilic foundations, but was constructed not only as a result of crisis, but furthermore in the 'context of Empire' and thus represents a mechanism of survival of the Judeans in Exile and afterwards. This thesis gains strength in the light of our sociological paradigms of a dominated population. Previous exegesis of the structure of the Judeans both during and after the Exile has not been in the context of a full acceptance of the social significance of the crisis and domination of the Judeans after the fall of the Judean state. I propose to defend the thesis that the exile was an experience of a dominated minority by pointing first of all to the reformation of societal structures in response to a social ecology of domination. What I have

argued in this chapter was that there was structural change. What I propose to argue in the following chapters is that this change was in the context of domination. In Ch. 4, I will analyse Jeremiah's letter, to see whether A) it reflects conflict of leadership and B) it reflects actual social conditions.

Footnotes to Chapter 3.0

- <sup>1</sup> See also p. 75ff, Mowinckel, S., Studien zum Buche Ezra-Nehemia (1) Die nachchronische Redaktion des Buches, Die Listen, Oslo 1964.
- <sup>2</sup> See Eph'al, I, 'The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries BC: Maintenance and Cohesion', Orientalia NS Vol 47(1978).
- <sup>3</sup> Weinfeld, 'Elders' (entry in) Encyclopedia Judaica.
- <sup>4</sup> McKenzie, J.L., 'The Elders in the Old Testament', Analecta Biblica Vol. 10(1959).
- <sup>5</sup> Pedersen, Johannes, Israel, Its Life and Culture Vols. 1-4, Oxford 1940.
- <sup>6</sup> de Vaux, R., Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions tr. J. McHugh, London 1961. On Elders, see page 69ff. See also W. Zimmerli, Ezekiel 1 Philadelphia, 1979 pp. 236ff.
- <sup>7</sup> Reviv, H., 'Elders and Saviours', Oriens Antiquus Vol 16(1977); idem. 'On Urban Representative Institutions and Self-Government in Syria-Palestine in the Second Half of the Second Millenium B.C.', JESHO Vol 12(1969).
- <sup>8</sup> p. 203, Reviv, ibid. Elders and Saviours
- <sup>9</sup> p. 398, McKenzie, op.cit.
- <sup>10</sup> This, however, does not take into consideration the fact that the Elders may be performing unique tasks in the P material as a result of later insertions (such as Ex 24:14, Num. 11:28 and Ex 3:18 ?).
- <sup>11</sup> p. 392, McKenzie, ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> p. 398, ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> p. 394, ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> p. 578, Weinfeld, op.cit.
- <sup>15</sup> Tait and Middleton, Tribes Without Rulers, Studies in African Segmentary Systems, London, (1958), 1970.
- <sup>16</sup> p. 405, McKenzie, ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> p. 68-69, Rost, Leonard, Vorstufen zur Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament (BWANT) Stuttgart, 1938.
- <sup>18</sup> p. 62, ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Bartlett, J.R., "The Use of the word Wk7 as a Title in the Old Testament", V.I. 19(1969).
- <sup>20</sup> p. 10, ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> p. 400, McKenzie, op.cit.

<sup>22</sup> p. 288, Reviv, op.cit.

<sup>23</sup> See Jacobsen, Th., 'Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia', Journal of Near Eastern Studies Vol 11(1943).

<sup>24</sup> p. 100ff, Wolf, C.U., 'Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel', JNES Vol 6(1947).

<sup>25</sup> p. 400-401, McKenzie, op.cit., but cf. Fernea, R.A., Shaykh and Effendi Changing Patterns of Authority among the El Shabana of Southern Iraq, Cambridge (Mass) 1970.

<sup>26</sup> p. 388, Gordis, Robert, 'Democratic Origins in Ancient Israel - The Biblical 'Edah'', Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume JTS, New York, 1950.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, S., 'The Threshing Floor at the City Gate', Palestine Exploration Quarterly Vol (1946).

<sup>28</sup> There is an interesting note about the archaeology of the Solomonic Gates at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, in Madeline S. and J. Lane Miller, Harper's Encyclopedia of Bible Life (1978), New York. The suggestion is that there were chambers with benches to accomodate various 'courts' of the Elders.

<sup>29</sup> p. 76, Eph'al, op.cit.

<sup>30</sup> See Dandamayev, M., 'The Neo-Babylonian Elders', in Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East FS Diakonoff, Aris and Phillips, 1982.

<sup>31</sup> See Zucker, Hans, Studien zur Jüdischen Selbstverwaltung im Altertum Berlin and N.Y., 1936.

<sup>32</sup> p. 267, Christensen, A., 'Die Iranier', Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients Alt, Christensen, Gotze, Grohmann, Kees, and Landsberger, Vol. 3, 1933, Munich.

<sup>33</sup> See Meyer, E., Geschichte des Altertums, 1939, Berlin.

<sup>34</sup> p. 270, Christensen, op.cit.

<sup>35</sup> Stager, Lawrence, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel", (Unpublished, upcoming in BASOR 258) See Bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> Gottwald, Norman, The Tribes of Yahweh Orbis Press, N.Y., 1979.

<sup>37</sup> See Scharbert, J., 'Beyt 'Ab als soziologische Grosse im Alten Testament', in Von Kanaan bis Kerala (FS JPM van der Ploeg) Ed. Delsman, Nelis, Peters, Romer, van der Woude, Neukirchen, 1982.

<sup>38</sup> p. 285ff, Gottwald, op.cit. Joshua Ch.7 is usually dated as pre-exilic, which justifies our use of this passage. Gottwald, "...E traditions", pg. 258 op.cit.; Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, An Introduction, p. 253, "...a combination of J and E..."; and Gray, J., The Century Bible New Edition, 1967, London) Joshua, Judges, and Ruth - p. 80ff, "...pre-Deuteronomic redactor...".

<sup>39</sup> There is a critical note to Jos. 7:17 that some of the Syriac texts say 'house by house' instead of 'gibborim' or 'man by man', suggesting that Achan may be the Bet 'Av in question. But the logic of the passage is a four-step breakdown - אָב - אָבִי - אָבִי - אָבִי - אָבִי which then corresponds to the names, Judah, Zerah, Zabdi, and then Achan. The suggestion is that Achan belongs to the household of Zabdi. See page 25ff, Gottwald, op.cit..

<sup>40</sup> p. 60ff, Stager, op.cit.

<sup>41</sup> I am assuming that the Golah List is trustworthy in the numbers that it provides as a social unit.

<sup>42</sup> p. 290, Gottwald, op.cit.

<sup>43</sup> Eisenstadt, S., 'Paralleleinsblicke in das jüdische und römische Familien und Erbrecht', KLIQ 40(1962).

<sup>44</sup> p. 163, Meyer, E., Die Entstehung des Judentums 1896, Halle.

<sup>45</sup> p. 165, ibid.

<sup>46</sup> See, on this, the analysis in R. Wilson, Genealogy and History in the Biblical World New Haven and London, 1977.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. esp. p. 54:

"...oral genealogies usually have some sociological function in the life of the society uses them. Even when genealogies are recited as part of a lineage history, they are likely to reflect domestic, political, or religious relationships existing in the present rather than in the past. The purpose...is to legitimize contemporary lineage configurations..."

<sup>48</sup> op.cit.

<sup>49</sup> Klein, R., 'Old Readings in 1 Esdras: The List of Returnees from Babylon', Harvard Theological Review 62(1969).

<sup>50</sup> Rudolph, W., Ezra und Nehemia Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen, 1949.

<sup>51</sup> p. 17-20, Rudolph, ibid.

<sup>52</sup> p. 16, ibid.

<sup>53</sup> p. 225ff, Schultz, C, 'The Political Tensions Reflected in Ezra-Nehemiah' in Scripture in Context Ed. Evans, Hallo, and White, Pennsylvania, 1980, where various views are listed.

<sup>54</sup> p. 73, Batton, Loring, Ezra and Nehemiah International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh, 1913.

<sup>55</sup> p. 75, Mowinckel, op.cit.

<sup>56</sup> p. 75-76, ibid.

- <sup>57</sup> p. 152, Meyer, 'Entstehung', op.cit.
- <sup>58</sup> p. 77, Mowinckel, op.cit.
- <sup>59</sup> p. 12-13, Zucker, op.cit.
- <sup>60</sup> On the P terminology, see Driver, S.R., p. 133, (no. 30 on the page) An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament Edinburgh, 1898, 7th Ed. See p. 400, Weinberg, J, 'Das Beit Avot im 6-4 Jh. v.u.z.', VI Vol 23 (1973).
- <sup>61</sup> p. 400, ibid.
- <sup>62</sup> p. 413, ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> Mantel, Haim Dov, HUCA 44(1973) op.cit. Chapter Seven
- <sup>64</sup> See esp. other essays, 'Demographische Notizen zur Geschichte der nachexilischen Gemeinde in Juda' KLIQ Vol 54(1972); 'Bemerkungen zum Problem 'Des Vorhellenismus in Vorderen Orient', KLIQ Vol 59(1977); 'Zentral - und Partikulargewalt im achamenidischen Reich', KLIQ 59(1977); 'Der 'Am ha'ares des 6-4 Jh. v.u.z.', KLIQ 56(1974); 'Netinim und >>Söhne der Sklaven Salomos<< im 6-4 Jh. v.u.z.' ZAW 87(1975).
- <sup>65</sup> p. 13, Cross, F.M., 'A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration', Journal of Biblical Literature 94(1975).
- <sup>66</sup> See, Kellerman, Ulrich, Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung, und Geschichte 1967, Berlin.
- <sup>67</sup> p. 15, Cross, op.cit.
- <sup>68</sup> See Weinberg, op.cit. 'Zentral und...'
- <sup>69</sup> p. 33, ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> p. 39, ibid.
- <sup>71</sup> p. 36. ibid.
- <sup>72</sup> p. 34, ibid.
- <sup>73</sup> See Stern, Ephraim, Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538-332 B.C. Warminster, 1979; Moorey, P.R.S., 'Iranian Troops at Deve Huyuk in Syria in the Earlier Fifth Century B.C.', Levant Vol 7(1975).
- <sup>74</sup> McEvenue, S., 'The Political Structure in Judah from Cyrus to Nehemiah', Catholic Biblical Quarterly Vol 43(1981).
- <sup>75</sup> p. 363, ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> p. 87, Japhet, S, 'Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel' ZAW 94(1982)
- <sup>77</sup> See Sukenik, quoted in Avigad, Qedem, Vol 4 (1976).

<sup>78</sup> Aharoni, Y., Excavations at Ramat Rahel Rome, 1962, including article by Garbini, 'The Dating of Post-Exilic Stamps'.

<sup>79</sup> Avigad, N., 'The Governor of the City', Israel Exploration Journal 1976 Vol 26, and *idem.*, 'Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive', Qedem Vol 4(1976), *idem.*, 'A New Class of Yehud Stamps', IEJ 7(1957).

<sup>80</sup> p. 4ff, Avigad, *op.cit.* 'Bullae and Seals...'

<sup>81</sup> p. 35, *ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> p. 243ff, Stern, *op.cit.*

<sup>84</sup> p. 244, Demsky, A., 'Pelek in Nehemiah 3', Israel Exploration Journal Vol 33(1983).

<sup>85</sup> See Meshorer, Ya'akov, Ancient Jewish Coinage Vol 1, Persian Period through Hasmoneans, 1982, N.Y.; B. Kanael, 'Ancient Jewish Coins and their Historical Importance', Biblical Archaeologist Vol 26; Rahmani, L.Y., 'Silver Coins of the Fourth Century', Israel Exploration Journal Vol 21 (1971); 'Yehud: A Preliminary Study of the Provincial Coinage of Judaea', Leo Mildenberg, Greek Numismatics and Archaeology FS Thompson, Belgium, 1979 Wetteren.

<sup>86</sup> p.152, 'A New Class...' Avigad, *op.cit.*

<sup>87</sup> "...since this title of governor has been discovered on the coins of Tell Jemme, this identification has been doubted. Even so, it might not present any discrepancy: the governor mentioned on this coin could have served prior to the conquest of the province by Alexander, and when Ptolemy seized power, Yhezqiyah was already an old man, having continued in office as High Priest even after his title of 'governor' had been abolished by the new authorities..." Avigad, *ibid.* and article in Qedem *op.cit.*

<sup>88</sup> p. 41, Weinberg, *op.cit.* n.64.

<sup>89</sup> - Personal Letter, attached to end of these footnotes.

<sup>90</sup> p. 41, Weinberg, *op.cit.*

<sup>91</sup> p 24, Zucker, *op.cit.*

<sup>92</sup> See Stern, Menahem, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism Ed. with Comm., Jerusalem 1974, Israel Academy of Science and Humanities.

<sup>93</sup> p. 23ff, Stern, *ibid.* See also the analysis by Mendels, D., 'Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia' of the Persian Period', ZAW Vol 95(1983).

<sup>94</sup> See Kreissig, H., Die Sozialökonomische Situation in Juda zur Achamenidenzeit Berlin, 1973, esp. p. 39ff.

<sup>95</sup> See Elat, M., "The Monarchy and the Development of Trade in Ancient Israel", State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 6(1979).

<sup>96</sup> See Wittfogel, K., Oriental Despotism New Haven, 1957.

<sup>97</sup> p. 12 ibid.

<sup>98</sup> p.322 ibid. which is confirmed by Dandameyav from the Neo-Babylonian texts, see 'Social Stratification in Babylonia', Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Alten Vorderasien Ed. J. Harmatta and Komoroczy, Budapest, 1976.

<sup>99</sup> See the fascinating collection of papers on this theme, Irrigation's Impact on Society, Ed. Downing, and Gibson, Univ. Arizona Press, 1974, especially the article, 'Irrigation, Conflict and Politics, a Mexican case', Eva and Robert Hunt, which amends Wittfogel helpfully.

<sup>100</sup> p. 177, McAdams, R., Heartland of Cities Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates, Univ. Chicago, 1981.

<sup>101</sup> Staeger, op.cit.

<sup>102</sup> Weissbach, F.H., Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon Leipzig, 1938.

<sup>103</sup> "...Once settled, however, it appears that they enjoyed considerable economic well-being. This may be gathered from Jeremia's letter to the Babylonian captives..." p. 259, Ancient Judaism, Irving Zeitlin, Oxford 1984.

<sup>104</sup> Wilkie, J.M., op.cit. Chapter One

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים  
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM



INSTITUTE ARCHAEOLOGY

המכון לארכיאולוגיה

See footnote 83

5th November, 1984

Daniel L. Smith Esq.,  
Trinity College  
Oxford OX1 3BH  
England

Dear Mr. Smith,

On returning from a vacation in Greece I found your letter enquiring about the article on the coin mentioned in Professor Avigad's letter to you.

Enclosed herewith is a Xerox copy of the article in which I show that coin No. 17 in Leo Mildenberg's study on the Yehud coins was mis-read by him and actually reads:

" Yoḥanan ha-Cohen "

Perhaps you may find in Oxford somebody (an Israeli) who has full command of modern Hebrew and will be able to read and translate the article for you.

However, an English version of this article is planned for the December issue of the Biblical Archaeologist.

If this matter is very urgent and possibly holds up your studies, I may send you a copy of the Biblical Archaeologist proofs when I receive them.

I am delighted to hear of your work on the post-exilic period and you are very welcome to write to me if there is anything that needs further clarification.

Yours sincerely,

Dan Barag

Enclosure

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#### 4.0 Jeremiah and Hananiah, and Jeremiah's Letter: Leadership in Crisis

As a part of the mechanisms of structural adaptation, I also discussed the seemingly inevitable conflict between leaders that arise in the midst of crisis with visions/plans/ideas about the correct way for the group to respond and move forward. We discovered that the group in domination faces particular problems, because the dominating population often encourages one of these leaders - often the one they perceive to be the most moderate and cooperative. In this chapter, therefore, I want to investigate one of the most important pieces of evidence that we have for just this kind of conflict between 'crisis leaders'. In Ancient Israel, the most effective crisis leaders were, of course, the prophets. The prophets who were turned to for explanations and advice. The Exile produced its prophetic explanations, but we know that they differed. One of the most important of these conflicts was between Jeremiah and Hananian, and the most interesting evidence that we have of the specific point of their disagreement is the so-called 'Letter to Exiles' in Jeremiah 29.

#### 4.1 Critical Comments on the Book of Jeremiah

The exegetical problems surrounding the book of Jeremiah are enormous, but for the period of our interest, a brief examination is compulsory. I will eventually focus on Ch. 29, which contains two 'letters' attributed to the prophet Jeremiah, and one from the exilic community in answer to Jeremiah's first letter. My main concern is with Jeremiah's original letter.

To begin with, Ch. 29 as a whole is in prose. The book of Jeremiah is composed of two general literary forms, prose and poetry. Since the poetry is all obviously supposed to be the words of Jeremiah, and Jeremiah is talked about in the 3rd person in the prose materials, debate has often centered on the compositional history of Jeremiah, particularly the date and origin of the prose sections. Nicholson<sup>1</sup> dates the original compilation of the sayings of Jeremiah circa. 605-604 BCE. In Nicholson's view, the events surrounding Nebuchadnezzar's victory at Carchemish led Jeremiah to believe that his prophecies about the 'Foe to the North' were about to be fulfilled. Thus, it would seem a good occasion for Jeremiah to call on Baruch to write his 'memoirs' ('I Told you so'?). Since the prose material specifically mentioned Baruch the scribe as involved in writing

some of the sayings of Jeremiah, it has generally been thought that Baruch wrote down Jeremiah's own words, and then himself composed the prose material in an almost biographical work about Jeremiah.

Mowinckel<sup>2</sup> in 1914, separated out three layers of tradition. A) The poetic prophetic words, B) prose narrative, and C) prose sermons, upon which many have commented, noting especially their form and literary resemblance to the Deuteronomic speeches. Indeed, Nicholson believed that, both the sermons and the prose narratives assumed their present form at the hands of the Deuteronomists, and he does not believe that there is a convincing reason why sections B and C should be separated.

Wanke<sup>3</sup> believes that it is unlikely that Baruch was responsible for the historical section (Chs. 37-44) since there is no information about Jeremiah after his leaving Palestine. We know that Jeremiah was taken to Egypt, but the information stops there. More specific to our text, Wanke believed that Chs. 27-29 were composed together, because of the similarity in method and theme, and then attached to Ch. 26.<sup>4</sup> Others, like Giesebrecht, are confident in assigning this section to the hand of Baruch<sup>5</sup>. However, T. Seidl<sup>6</sup>, in two meticulously detailed volumes, has argued against the compositional unity of Ch. 27-29. There are many reasons often cited for the unity of these chapters, and their differentiation from Ch. 26

Ch. 26 is set in the time of Jehoiakim, while 27:1ff is in the time of Zedekiah. The MT has 'Jehoiakim' in 27:1, but this is clearly an error, in view of 27:3 and 12, and the fact that vs. 6 assumes Nebuchadnezzar's conquest. The Syriac (7th-8th AD) and Arabic texts have corrected the text to 'Zedekiah' in 27:1. in 27:1.

Jeremiah is in the 3rd person in Ch. 26, while most often in first person in 27-29. The spelling of Jeremiah is יְרֵמְיָהוּ in 28:5, while it is the fuller יְרֵמְיָהוּ in Ch. 26. Ch 27-29 contain Nebuchadnezzar rather than 'Nebuchadnezzar' elsewhere. Finally, the theme of yoke, yoke-bars, prison and restraint are connectors for 27-28 especially. Prophetic conflict is more the theme of Ch. 27-29 than Ch. 26, and it is clearly the internal thematic principle.

Seidl does not believe that these chapters were produced at the same time, but came to be a unit because of the subject matter that was common to them.

#### 4.2 - Jeremiah's Letter

The problem is to determine if the letter of Jeremiah to the Exiles, contained as it is in material highly controversial in terms of date and source, records for us any data of interest. If we are able to assign Ch. 29 to the period of Exile at all, then it matters little whether it is a 'genuine letter' of Jeremiah since the circumstances that it represents are of interest in my attempt to illuminate the experience of Exile.

Let us therefore begin with some critical comments on the relevant portions of Ch. 29.

29 <sup>1</sup> וְאֵלֶּה דְּבַרֵי הַסֵּפֶר אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יְרֵמְיָה הַנָּבִיא מִירוּשָׁלַם  
אֶל־יִתְרֵי זְקֵנֵי הַגּוֹלָה וְאֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים וְאֶל־הַנְּבִיאִים וְאֶל־כָּל־הָעָם  
אֲשֶׁר הִגְלָה נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר מִירוּשָׁלַם בְּבָבֶלָה׃ <sup>2</sup> אַחֲרֵי צֵאת יְכִנְיָה־  
הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַנְּבִירָה וְהַסָּרִיסִים שְׂרָיָה יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם וְהַחֲרָשׁ וְהַמְסַנָּר  
מִירוּשָׁלַם׃ <sup>3</sup> בְּיַד אֶלְעָשָׂה בֶן־שָׁפָן וּגְמַרְיָה בֶן־חֶלְקִיָּה אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח  
צִדְקִיָּה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה אֶל־נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל בְּבָבֶלָה לֵאמֹר׃ <sup>4</sup>  
יְכָה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְכָל־הַגּוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר־הִגְלִיתִי׃  
מִירוּשָׁלַם בְּבָבֶלָה׃ <sup>5</sup> בָּנֹו בְּתִים וְשָׁבוּ וְנָטְעוּ גִּזְוֹת וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־פְּרִיָן׃  
<sup>6</sup> קָחוּ נָשִׁים וְהוֹלִידוּ בָנִים וּבָנוֹת וְקָחוּ לְבָנֵיכֶם נָשִׁים וְאֶת־בָּנוֹתֵיכֶם  
יִתְּנוּ לְאִנָּשִׁים וְתִלְדְּנָה בָנִים וּבָנוֹת וְרַבּו־שָׂם וְאֶל־תִּמְעָטוּ׃ <sup>7</sup> וְדַרְשׁוּ  
אֶת־שְׁלוֹם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר הִגְלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם שָׂמָה וְהִתְפַּלְלוּ בְעַדָּהּ אֶל־  
יְהוָה כִּי בְשָׁלוֹמָה יִהְיֶה לָכֶם שְׁלוֹם׃

## Brief Comments

It is interesting to note that the LXX has already caught the significance of the theme of Ch. 27-29, because the 'prophets' are called, in 29:1: ψευδοπροφητας-----.

In 29:3 of the LXX (which is Ch. 36 in the different arrangement of the LXX) there is no mention at all of Nebuchadnezzar.

29:4, LXX has only 'from Jerusalem', MT adds, 'To Babel, In Babel'.

29:7, LXX - Country γης while MT has עיר 'City', although some manuscripts have changed to γης.

29:8 - again, the LXX has 'Pseudoprophets'.

The most important variant, however, is the omission of vss. 16-20 altogether from the LXX text. Most commentators therefore speculate that 16-20 should be omitted from critical consideration of the earliest forms of Ch. 29. It is clear that vss. 16-20 are Deuteronomic in influence, if not origin. To begin with, the concept of the 'Throne' כס of David, as a symbol of authority, is Deuteronomic. (cf. 1 K 1:13,17,20,2:12,24,8:20 - Throne of Israel, 2 K 10:3, but cf. Jer 17:25 which talks of Kings and Nobles on the throne of David. But MT has ש as doubtful...) Where the concept of Throne of David turns up in Jeremiah, there is obviously the presence of a formulaic sentence; cf. Ch. 17,22,29:16 and 36:30.

The 'trilogy' of sword famine and pestilence, and the figurative use of גז=figs, both relate directly to the prose section Ch. 24, and obviously was either introduced at the same time as Ch. 24 (although this is doubtful if the LXX does not have vss. 16-20) or 16-20 was composed on the basis of Ch. 24. Giesebrecht thought that they were from the same hand. I do not accept this. The use of the fig imagery, it may be interesting to note, is elsewhere only in Jotham's fable, in Ju. 9:7f.

Finally, the charge of disobeying the many prophets that God sent (vs. 19) is a common Deuteronomic theme, frequent in Dtc. sermons (noted by Nicholson, p. 99f).

Vss.16-20 are thus not considered integral to the message to the exiles by commentators such as Nicholson, Weiser, Duhm, Volz, Giesebrecht, and Rudolph.

Since Duhm, most commentators attribute to the original 'letter' only vss. 5-7. At least the first few words of vs. 1 are probably the earliest redactional introduction to the letter, since the list of people probably depends on latter additions, much as vs. 2 is deleted as influenced by 2 Kings 24:12. The most interesting variation at this point, however, is that the LXX has 'bound and free' rather than the MT 'craftsman (woodworkers?) and smiths', in the list of Exiles.

Duhm believed that Ch. 29 contained portions of a real letter, which he added up as vss. 4a, 5-7 and 11-14, but the letter, after removing what he considered further additions, read:

"Und betet ihr zu mir, so werde ich euch hören; wenn ihr mich von ganzen Herzen sucht, so werde ich mich finden lassen für euch..."<sup>7</sup>

Within vss 5-7, itself, Duhm believed that the addition of לְיָמַי דַּ'נַּבְנָה לְיָמַי came from an exilic concern to lengthen the generations in keeping with the (in his view, late) tradition of a length of stay of '70 years'. Thus, vss. 8-10 were also considered from a late hand.

Volz also believed the letter to be genuine, and accepted the basic limits of the text reconstructed by Duhm. Volz added that the '70' of vs. 10 is undoubtedly to be taken symbolically as 'a long time' so may also have an early date. Furthermore, Wanke noted that the promise 'good' טוֹב of the future in 29:10 is reminiscent of 33:15, but the latter, along with the entire 12-26 passage of Ch. 33 which contains future promises of good, is absent from the LXX, raising doubts about its presence in 29:10. Seidl, too, believed that 8-10, with its great hope for the future in 'unjeremianisch'. Rudolph, on the other hand, disagreed with the striking out of vss. 10. He accused Volz of wanting to read Jeremiah's letter as advising a permanent settlement and religious life without Temple and holy 'Land', a desire which Rudolph suspected to have faintly 'protestant' roots:

"Die Gewinnung dieses protestantischen Grundsatzes der so schön dem Jeremiah zugeschrieben word, ist aber durch die Preisgabe von 10f. zu teuer erkaufte..."<sup>8</sup>

In the light of the growing significance of the 70-years theme<sup>9</sup> it seems most likely to me that the 'original letter' did not contain the hoped-for return; had it done so, it would have had the effect, as Volz has argued correctly, of undercutting the impact of Jeremiah's advice. The original letter could even have come to serve other purposes entirely, as Duhm commented, "Wer will, kann freilich in dem Vers (vs 7) den Wunsch

eines babylonischen Juden sehen, sein und seiner Landesgenossen Verbleiben in Babylonien durch die Autorität Jeremias zu rechtfertigen..."<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the anger expressed in the 'response' to the letter was that Jeremiah had claimed that the stay would be long and the response quoted only the content of vs. 5. One would have presumed some mention of a return if Jeremiah had mentioned one.

As for vss. 8-9, Nicholson believes that they are also products of the Deuteronomic redactor, since they are so reminiscent of Dt. 18:10-14, while vss. 13-14 are paralleled by Dt. 6:29 and 30:1-5.

Finally, Wanke, Nicholson, Duhm, all point to the execution of the prophets Ahab and Zedekiah, described in such graphic terms in vss. 20-22 and 23, as in all probability *ex eventu*. The burning by fire, also recalled in the tales of Daniel, must have been a terrifyingly vivid recollection of a Neo-Babylonian practice.<sup>11</sup>

We are left with vss. 5-7 as the essence of the letter from Jeremiah. There is virtual unanimity among commentators that this letter is authentic, or based on an authentic tradition. The most cautious note, however, is Seidl's view:

"...Jeremiah 29:1-7 bietet einen Ausschnitt aus einer Botschaft Jeremias an die in Babel verbannten, die die Überschrift des 'Sammlers' mit gekennzeichnet hat; sie könnte sich aus stilistischen Gründen aber auch als mündlich geäußerte Mitteilung verstehen lassen. Die prägnante Kürze und Konzentration auf die heute vorliegende Gestalt geht aber wohl eher auf den bearbeitenden Verfasser zurück, der Jeremias Autorität und Prophetenanspruch in dieser gesteigerten Form präsentieren wollte. Inhaltlich dürfte der Ausschnitt jedoch protojeremianisches Gedankengut überliefern und in seiner Tendenz mit der probabylonischen Parteinarbeit von 27:5-6 konform gehen..."<sup>12</sup>

But do we, in fact, have a letter in vss. 5-7? Recent analysis of Aramaic letters from the time of Jeremiah reveals common forms for the letter type'. As recently, and conveniently, enumerated by Pardee, they are as follows:

1. Praescriptio -  
Address formula - Sender-Recipient, Greeting
2. Transition to Body (usually לפי)
3. Body of letter
4. Closing formula (late) (13)

With the sole exception of the term רפד in vs. 1, nothing in the content itself suggests a letter form. But, by including vs. 23 in the original letter, Holladay has recently suggested that the mention of God as 'witness' suggests a "...technical term for 'counter-signatory'..."<sup>14</sup>. Further, in 29:4, Holladay believes he has found the typical 'From PN to PN' portion of the 'Praescriptio' (however, as a reference to Westermann's 'Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech will confirm, this is more standard messenger formula for Prophetic pronouncements). Lastly, Holladay notes that some form of שלום is typical of greetings in the letters, and suggests that since the mention of 'peace' is not found until further in the letter, the letter is 'rude'; instead of the sender wishing peace, the sender is saying that peace is up to them!. I consider Holladay's attempts to be somewhat strained, and at best one can say that the tradition which included this material as a רפד may have been aware of letter forms.

Duhm believed that it was not to be doubted that we have portions of a real letter, and Volz added that such a letter, sent by authority (or certainly with the permission of) of King Zedekiah, would have served good propaganda purpose, in assuring the Babylonians of Jewish cooperation. Further, Rudolph assumed that the writing of such a letter in the first place proves, "...dass wir uns unter dieser Gefangenschaft kein Leben im Gefängnis oder in einem Konzentrationslager vorzustellen haben, sondern eine Art Zwangsansiedlung mit freier Bewegung innerhalb des angewiesenen Gebiets..."<sup>15</sup>

Volz assumed the letter's purpose was to advise on an ordered, settled

existence on the land from which God would still hear their prayers, despite the view expressed in Amos 7:17 and Hosea 9:1ff that foreign land was unclean and impious. Weiser considered the letter's purpose to be twofold. Noting first its context in Ch. 27-29, where prophetic conflict is the theme, he said:

"Er wendet sich gegen die leichtfertige Hoffnung auf baldige Heimkehr, die von fanatischen Propheten auch in Babel genahrt wurde...aber auch gegen die Niedergeschlagenheit dumpfer Verzeiflung derer, die sich in der neuen Lage weder äusserlich noch innerlich zurechtfinden konnten..."<sup>17</sup>

Finally, Nicholson believes, in regards to vss. 5-7, that "...in both content and language [it]...has all the appearance of being authentic..."<sup>20</sup>

If the letter is genuine, or refers to genuine exchange between Palestine and Babylonia, then aspects of Ch. 29 become sociologically significant. To begin with, the letter sent to the elders, prophets, etc., confirms our suggestion that the mention of elders in Ezekiel strongly hints at the maintenance of self-rule in the exile community on the pre-monarchical model, by suggesting regular gatherings where elders made decisions, heard communications, and also where prophets were heard.

Secondly, the presence of vs. 22, of a 'curse' that was to be used, suggests an etiology of a saying among an active social community, exchanging rumours and news, developing oral traditions and folktales and sayings, suggesting a sizeable social group. The significance of such folk-exchange in social groups is clear; the psycho-sociological importance of rumour of impending release, etc., as travelling along 'the grape vine' of, in our case, deported populations. The significance of rumour for stirring social unrest is clear in all attempts to overcome this problem among captive populations enduring crisis. This also points to the social event of literacy in the Ancient Period, as Jeremiah's communications would have rapidly become known among the population after being heard at the

gathering of Elders.

Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the letter represents an important political document. We have already seen that ch. 27-29 is concerned in the main with prophetic conflict, between those prophets who advocated God's sure and quick end to the Exile, and Jeremiah's teaching of long endurance. It is this issue of the conflict I wish to elaborate.

#### 4.3 Conflict of Elites in Crisis

Was the issue of Chs. 27-29 merely one of true and false prophecy? In a very interesting article about Chs. 27-29, Overholt argues that Hananiah must be seen as a prophet who stood firmly in the acceptable role of preaching the acceptable message containing allusions both to the inviolability of Zion, and God's trustworthy protection and aid through a quick return from Exile. Hananiah was not perceived as a false prophet by the people during his confrontation with Jeremiah. Indeed, the message of the prophets in the Exilic community prove, if not Hananiah's own influence, then the wide range of similar prophetic views. As Overholt comments:

"The message of Hananiah had its roots sunk deep in the promises of security of Yahweh's positive action on behalf of his people, embodied in the nation's cultic establishment..."<sup>18</sup>

While making interesting observations on the specific details of Hananiah's conflict with Jeremiah, Overholt is interested in the wider question of 'false prophecy' and its determination. This is also the subject of Crenshaw's survey and analysis in his work, Prophetic Conflict.<sup>19</sup> Crenshaw detailed the many attempts to determine biblical criteria for 'false prophecy', but ended up supporting the notion that true and false prophecy are two sides of the same coin - they cannot be easily separated because of the nature of prophecy itself.

One of Crenshaw's most helpful generalizations, however, is the fact that Biblical 'true' prophets inevitably found themselves in conflict with the 'Vox populi' or 'standard religion of the people'. Aspects of this standard religious view included, according to Crenshaw:

- 1) confidence in God's faithfulness (Jer 5:12, 23:17)
- 2) satisfaction with traditional religion
- 3) defiance of prophets who disagree
- 4) despair when hope seems dead
- 5) doubt of the justice of God (Ezek 12:22f, 18:25)
- 6) historical pragmatism (Jer 44:16-19) (20)

The important thing to note, especially regarding point 1, is that many of the attitudes here enumerated could, in other circumstances, be correct; thus justifying Buber's insight (echoed by Overholt) that false prophecy is simply 'the right word for the wrong time'.

Davidson, similarly, also believed that Jeremiah was actually criticizing the generally held Deuteronomic 'tests' as themselves inadequate:

"There is no reason to doubt the religious sincerity of the men who opposed Jeremiah on these issues. Viewed in the light of Dt. 8:1-6, Jeremiah was a false prophet inviting his people to 'go after other gods' (Dt 13:3) a politico-religious fifth columnist proclaiming treason against the noblest reformed tradition of his people..."<sup>21</sup>

But, until now, these general comments on prophetic conflict do not focus enough attention on the historical occasion for this particular conflict, the Exile and the response to it. This is the specific issue which divided Jeremiah and Hananiah.

Most commentators assume that Hananiah was preaching some form of non-cooperation and resistance to the Babylonian conquerors, perhaps with the assumed support of Egypt. This is then considered similar to the message of Ahaz, Shemiah, and Zedekiah in the Exilic communities. In contrast, B. Lang<sup>22</sup> has argued that Ezekiel, far from having little political perspective, was actually preaching against Zedekiah's planned revolt in

Jerusalem. Was Jeremiah, therefore, preaching against revolt or resistance in Babylon ?

To answer this, I would like to focus attention on vss. 5-7, which as I have concluded above, most probably relates the essence of Jeremiah's message to the Exiles. As we have seen, the consensus is that these words probably represent a genuine tradition of a letter to the exiles. Let us consider the language of 5-7.

In 1961, Bach analyzed the images of 'build and plant' as a well-known theme in Old Testament tradition.<sup>23</sup> Bach sought to find the probable Sitz im Leben of this image. Since it is usually in the context of future well-being, and it represents landed existence, and represents (as connected with houses and vines, or olive trees on rare occasions) one-time activities in a man's life, Bach suggested that the phrases originated as parts of a 'wish' for future success at the birth of a son; "...dem Kinde wünscht man, was man also das Erstrebenswerte seines Lebensbereiches ansieht..."<sup>24</sup> This was confirmed in Bach's thinking by the fact that another 'one-time life activity' was occasionally added to 'build houses' and 'plant garden/vines'; and that is marriage.<sup>25</sup>

S. Paul also believed that this phrase was traditional, but he said that these words of encouragement are "...no more than a well-known stereotypical formula for future bliss..."<sup>26</sup>. Paul was particularly interested, however, in Jeremiah's relationship with Deutero-Isaiah, and related Ch. 29 of Jeremiah to Isaiah 65, where 'build, plant, and marry' is also found. Even God's hearing of his people when they call, is common to both passages (Isa 65:23,24).

While Paul did not relate the three images to Deuteronomy 20 and 28, neither did Bach relate Jer 29, Dt. 20 and 28 to Isaiah 65. Bach considered his three occurrences of the three images to be different enough

in context to justify his assumption that the 'birth wish' probably came to have marriage associated with it in some traditions.

But I disagree with Bach's view that Deut. 20, 28 and Jer 29 are three different contexts, and I would also add Paul's inclusion of Isaiah 65, so that we must consider the context of all four occurrences of the three images together of build, plant and marry. 'Build' and 'plant' is a well-known combination. I may even grant Bach's idea of a birth-wish, none the less, when 'marry' is added, to make a three-point image, the context is always warfare; that is, three things that are protected, or lost, in warfare.

The context of Deuteronomy 20 is clear. These are the Deuteronomic military 'exemptions' from Holy War. Von Rad, Weinfeld, and Dion have commented on the Holy War language of this passage, such as 'fear not', and 1 Macc. 3:55f attests to the continued tradition of these exemptions:

"Next Judas appointed leaders for the people, to command a thousand, a hundred, fifty or ten men. He told those who were building houses, or about to be married or planting vineyards, or who were simply afraid, to go home, every one of them, as the law allowed..."(Jerusalem Bible)

Carmichael comments that the dedication upon building a house symbolized and anticipated an individual Israelite's residence in the land in a secure place<sup>27</sup>. Regarding the planting of vines, in Lev. 19:23-25 it is clear that the ritual process of purification of fruit takes 5 years, which would make it by far the longest exemption implied in Dt. 20, unless house dedication took a length of time we are not now aware of. Dt. 24:5 implies that the marriage exemption was one year. Keil and Delitzsch's summary of these exemptions is instructive:

"The intention of these instructions was neither to send away all persons who were unwilling to go into the war, and thus avoid the danger of their interfering with the readiness and courage of the rest of the army in prospect of the battle, nor to spare the lives of those persons to whom

life was especially dear, but rather to avoid depriving any member of the covenant nation of his enjoyment of the good things of this life bestowed upon him by the Lord.<sup>28</sup>

Deut 28 involves the punishment of not living according to the law given by God. The punishment includes not being able to live in one's house; not being able to enjoy one's vineyard; or not being being able to marry one's wife because of defeat in war by the enemy (Dt. 28:25). Furthermore, Isa. 65, with its parallels (although not as striking as the other three) concludes the section with a typical Isaianic motif of peace:

"The wolf and the lamb will feed together, the lion eat straw like the ox, the dust will be the serpent's food. They will do no hurt, no harm on all my holy mountain, says Yahweh..." (Isa. 65:25) (cf. Isa 11 regarding the return from Exile...esp. vs. 10ff)

On the basis of these parallels, and their context in warfare, and especially the cessation or exemption from warfare, it is clear that Jeremiah is not simply advising a settled existence, but that he uses the Deuteronomic exemptions from warfare to declare an 'armistice' on the Exile community. This is confirmed, I believe, by the martial language of Hananiah, who proclaimed God's deliverance in decidedly militaristic terms, "I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon...I will bring back Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah (Ch. 28:3-4)...I will break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon from the neck of all the nations within two years (vs. 11)". If Jeremiah's advice is proclaimed in the traditional context of warfare, then we are quite clearly dealing with a prophetic conflict on the issue of the appropriate action towards Babylon. Jeremiah's call to seek the 'shalom' of the city/country would then be a direct call to abandon revolt in Babylon and Palestine, and would be as appropriate to this section, as Isaiah's ending is appropriate in the section of that book where the same three elements are mentioned; both are in the understood context of holy war. This would also strengtehn Volz's

view that Zedekiah allowed the message to be sent to reassure the Babylonians of his sincerity and loyalty. The issue is not God's action, but the exiles' response to God's plan as announced by the prophets, either Jeremiah or Hananiah.

Once the issue is seen in terms of conflicting advice on strategy for exilic existence, then our sociological model again becomes relevant. The division between Hananiah and Jeremiah is an example of the inevitable split between the 'elite' or spokesmen in a community under domination and control. The split is between those who advocate co-operation ('integration', 'acceptance of present conditions because we can live with them') and those who advocate open rebellion or resistance. The frequency of this split is obvious from Section 2, and appears to be in the nature of the social configurations resulting from domination and minority existence. Finally, that revolution was contemplated, or prayer for God's 'exodus'-like delivery, is strong indication that the circumstances of the Exile could hardly be described as 'not so bad'.

Despite the fact that those who advocate (usually violent) resistance consider other options typically to be 'unpatriotic' 'unfaithful' or ineffective, we can see that the other means of resistance, i.e. boundary maintenance and social resistance, (which represented Jeremiah's strategy) are not prescriptions for suicide or acceptance of evil, but alternative means of faithfulness and mechanisms for survival. The intent of Jeremiah's advice was to ensure that the Jewish community, "...multiply there: do not decrease!".

Further religious and cultural strategies for survival which the exilic community adopted are the subject of the next exegetical discussions on purity and folk-literature. But to anticipate this briefly, it is important to note the themes of 'spiritual' resistance to foreign influence

(esp. idolatry) which later traditions associated with Jeremiah's influence, i.e. the books of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah (parts of which date as early as 4th century BCE)<sup>29</sup>

To conclude on a critical note, we have seen how vss. 5-7 reflect Deut 20 and 28, and less dramatically, Isa. 65. This however, raises the question of whether this 'letter' is in fact from the Deuteronomic redactor of Jeremiah rather than an actual letter. Certainly, if Nicholson's thesis is that strong Deuteronomic language in Jeremiah invariably signals an actual Deuteronomic hand as the author, I fail to see why the letter itself, i.e. vss. 5-7, should not be prime candidates for such a Deuteronomic editor. Thus, Jeremiah the prophet finally disappears from the entire chapter, and at best we have a faithful retelling of attitudes which are no doubt historically to be attributed to Jeremiah himself and his work. The enigmatic Lachish Letters at least indicate such a partisan conflict regarding the war against Babylon, even if the prophet in question is not Jeremiah.<sup>30</sup>

I have no doubt that the vss. 5-7 represent a faithful tradition about Jeremiah from a knowledgeable Deuteronomic hand. The chronological sequence of the latter additions to Ch. 29, and how they develop the thoughts of 5-7, i.e. the addition of a hoped-for return (ex eventu?), the 70 years time span, the traditions regarding Ahab and Zedekiah; would indicate this. Finally, the section containing vss. 16-20 represents an addition which connects with the dramatic imagery of Ch. 24, and was added at a time when the split between the exiles and those remaining behind was growing, which I tentatively place before the destruction of 587, when hope for a return would have added to the animosity of those who wanted something to return to.

However, this must be tempered by our insights noted above, on the continued social conflict in the Exilic period, noted in Ezekiel's references to property concerns, and the use of 'thieves' in a document as late as Zechariah. This could, therefore, mean an addition like 16-20 could be dated virtually at anytime during the Exile, at about the same time that an idea of a '70 year' stay was current.

The whole of Chapter 29, therefore, gives us insights into the social psychology of a group under stress. We hear in this chapter about rumours, emotional upheaval, and divisions of leadership with their conflicting strategies for survival and faithfulness. All of these elements are clearly suggested by our sociological models. Indeed, it may be that the additions to vss. 5-7 in Ch. 29 give us a chronological 'history' of the ideological development of the attitude of the Exiles to their fate, beginning with the advice to seek the peace of the city, settle down, and the upheaval of occasional rumours of freedom such as '70 years', or promises of return, or word about the treatment of property 'back home'.

Footnotes to 4.0

- <sup>1</sup> Nicholson, E.W., Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, esp. p.20ff, "Literary Considerations".
- <sup>2</sup> Mowinckel, S., The Composition of Jeremiah
- <sup>3</sup> Wanke, Gunther, Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift, BZAW 122, Berlin, 1971.
- <sup>4</sup> p. 43ff, Wanke, ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> p. XX, Giesebrecht, F., Das Buch Jeremia; Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Abteilung 2, Tübingen, 1907.
- <sup>6</sup> Seidl, Theodor, Texte und Einheiten in Jeremia 27-29 Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, 2. Band., Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Munich, 1977, and Formen und Formeln in Jeremia 27-29 (Teil 2), 1978.
- <sup>7</sup> p. 229f, Duhm, B. Das Buch Jeremia Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Abteilung 2, Tübingen, and Leipzig, 1901.
- <sup>8</sup> p. 155, Rudolph, W., Jeremiah Handbuch zum Alten Testament, 12, Tübingen 1947.
- <sup>9</sup> See Knibb, M., "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period", op.cit.
- <sup>10</sup> p. 229ff, Duhm, ibid.
- <sup>11</sup> p. 155f, Rudolph, ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> p. 301, Seidl, op.cit.
- <sup>13</sup> Chapter 4, "Formulaic Features of the Hebrew Letters", Pardee, Dennis, Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters SBL Series for Biblical Study, No. 15, Chico, Ca., 1982.
- <sup>14</sup> Holladay, W.L., "God Writes a 'Rude Letter'", B.A. 1983.
- <sup>15</sup> p. 155, Rudolph, op.cit.
- <sup>16</sup> p. 253, Weiser, A., Das Buche des Propheten Jeremia 4th Ed., Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen, 1960.
- <sup>17</sup> p. 98, Nicholson, op.cit.
- <sup>18</sup> p. 245, Overholt, T., "Jeremiah 27-29: The Question of False Prophecy", JAAR 35(1967).

- <sup>19</sup> Crenshaw, J., Prophetic Conflict Its Effect Upon Israelite Religion, BZAW, Berlin, 1971.
- <sup>20</sup> p. 24ff, ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> p. 412, Davidson, R., "Orthodoxy and the Prophetic Word", VI 14(1964)
- <sup>22</sup> See Lang, B. Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem Stuttgart, 1981.
- <sup>23</sup> Bach, R., "Bauen und Pflanzen", in R. Rendtorff and K. Koch, Eds., Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen Berlin, 1961. The varied instances used by Bach are helpfully set out on Pg. 16 of his work.
- <sup>24</sup> p. 22, ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> Bach speculated that houses and vineyards are typical of landed existence, which may be significant in the light of the traditions like Dt. 6:10f; Joshua 24:13 and in regard to Rechabites, Jer 35:7. See page 19 of his work.
- <sup>26</sup> p. 119, Paul, Shalom, "Literary and Ideological Echoes of Jeremiah in Deutero-Isaiah", Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies ed. Peli, Jerusalem, 1969.
- <sup>27</sup> Carmichael, C, The Laws of Deuteronomy, L.A., 1974, Von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy London, Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomical School Oxford 1972.
- <sup>28</sup> Keil-Delitsch Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, Grand Rapids, 1951, Vol 3., The Pentateuch.
- <sup>29</sup> See Moore, Carey, "Toward the Dating of the Book of Baruch" CBQ 36:1974 P. 312f and his Anchor Bible commentary, Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions 1977, Garden City, N.Y.
- <sup>30</sup> See Thomas, D.W., The Prophet in the Lachish Ostraca London, 1946.

## 5.0 - The Ritual of Survival

### 5.1 The Character of the Priestly Redactors: Dating the 'P' Document

Since the Keunen-Reuss-Graf theories<sup>1</sup>, and Wellhausen's systematic revision and formulation at the turn of the 20th Century, it has been largely accepted in Christian scholarship of the Old Testament that the final redaction of the Pentateuch (or possibly Hexateuch) was from the hand of an exilic or post-exilic writer (or writers) whose predominant interests and literary style earned the name, the Priestly writer.

Major exceptions to this view come largely from Jewish scholars (Kaufmann, Weinfeld, Japhet, Hurvitz to mention only a few) but also from some Christian scholars as well. Since the arguments for dating form an important presupposition to the following section, I will briefly consider some of the major directions of argumentation on this issue.

Wellhausen's arguments, as noted by many critics who none the less share his general views, are often based on an assumption which, as Kulling has pointed out, suggests a development along the general line of:

Nomadic > Building (Urban) > Prophetic > Legalistic<sup>2</sup>

The final stage is an encrustation of the vitality of the pen-ultimate stage. As Wellhausen himself unfortunately remarked:

"The Mosaic theocracy, the residuum of a ruined state, is itself not a state at all, but an unpolitical artificial product created in spite of unfavourable circumstances by the impulse of an ever-memorable energy: and foreign rule is its necessary counterpart. In its nature it is intimately allied to the old Catholic Church...If the Priestly Code makes the cultus the principal thing, that appears to amount to a systematic decline into the heathenism which the prophets incessantly combated and yet were unable to eradicate."<sup>3</sup>

In recent scholarship, the general tendency has been to see the composition of the PC during the Exile, in preparation for the return<sup>4</sup>, and I see no reason to doubt this from recent arguments, such as those of Vink<sup>5</sup>.

Kilian argued that, since Pq ends with the death of Moses, it does not include the taking of the land:

"Um diesen Schluss von Pq in seiner Aussage zu verstehen, muss mit bedacht werden, dass Pq im Exil entstanden ist. Und dass die Exilsituation mit in die Konzeption und Akzentuierung von Pq Eingang gefunden hat, zeigt sich unter anderem an der Behandlung von Sabbat und Beschneidung."<sup>6</sup>

With Vink, Kilian also notes the 'demilitarized' nature of the P narrative which sought to emphasize the knowledge of God rather than military might as the strength of a nation. Kilian notes specifically that Ex. 14:1-14 emphasizes the protection of Israelites in the wilderness escape from Pharaoh. Kilian also mentions the family nature of the Passover, which has become the Diaspora festival par excellence.

The Cultic legislation, in Kilian's view, was totally invented in exile:

"Das Ganze muss jedoch trotz echter Traditionselemente als theologische Konstruktion verstanden werden, denn dergestalt war weder das alte Nomadenheiligtum der Wüstenzeit noch der Salomonische Tempel noch der spätere Serubbabel-Tempel."<sup>7</sup>

The whole point, in Kilian's view is:

"...ein Gesetzeskorpus, das Lebensordnung und Maxime sein soll für die Zeit, da die Exilierten nach Palästina heimkehren werden...wenn ihr in das Land kommt.. (Lev 19:23; 23:10; 25:2)."<sup>8</sup>

This predominantly theological explication of the Priestly writers' intention is shared by Elliger:

"...Sie ist im babylonischen Exil entstanden als trostendes und mahnendes Zeugnis von dem wundermächtig-Überlegenen, herrlich-huldvollen Gott der Verheissung, dem Herrn der Weltgeschichte und in Sonderheit der Geschichte Israels, deren Ziel unverrückbar bleibt; ein grosses Volk, befreit zu ewigem Besitz des Landes Kanaan, und Gott der Gott dieses Volkes..."<sup>9</sup>

Brueggeman also looks for a theological root to the Priestly Writer's task, concerning himself with identifying the 'kerygma' of the Priestly writer. This central kernel is found in its first and fullest form in Gen 1:28, and repeated in whole or in part in Gen 9:7, 17:20, 28:1-4, 47:27 and