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The Eternal Monument of the Divine King: Monumentality, Reembodiment, and Social Formation in the Decalogue

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The Eternal Monument of the Divine King:

Monumentality, Reembodiment, and Social Formation

in the Decalogue

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Timothy Scott Hogue

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Eternal Monument of the Divine King:

Monumentality, Reembodiment, and Social Formation

in the Decalogue

by

Timothy Scott Hogue

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor William M. Schniedewind, Chair

The Decalogue was a monumental text. This does not mean that the text was important, enduring, or carved on stone. Its monumentality rests not in any sense of size, permanence, or publicity, but rather in its ability to provoke communities to imagine together and make meaning. This study contends that the Decalogue was composed and depicted in the Hebrew Bible by drawing upon contemporary monumental discourse designed to provoke this kind of communal engagement.

In order to substantiate this argument, I have conducted a history of monuments and a history of monumentality. My history of monuments analyzes the Levantine "I Am" monuments of the Iron Age. These monuments were united by their function of reembodying the individual identified in their opening "I Am" statement. Once reembodied, this individual could address his audience in strategic ways so as to bring about social formation. This function was accomplished

by much more than just the words of the monument's inscription. My analysis also accounts for their deployment in space, their aesthetic features and medium, and the different ways in which communities interacted with them. I also analyze how these dimensions changed over time in order to periodize the monumentality of Levantine "I Am" monuments. While the function of these monuments remained stable during the few centuries during which they were employed in the Levant, the means of accomplishing it did not.

Using this history of Levantine "I Am" monuments as a backdrop, I turn to a history of the monumentality of the Decalogue. The Decalogue drew upon monumental discourse from these inscriptions in order to develop its own monumentality. It was depicted utilizing the monumental discourse of specific periods. Editorial strata within the biblical text point to shifting depictions of the Decalogue that align it with new periods of monumentality in the Levant. That is, not only was the Decalogue composed to act as a monument for its original audience, later editors also updated it to better match contemporary monumentalities and thus to remain meaningful to subsequent generations.

The dissertation of Timothy Scott Hogue is approved.

Seth Sanders

Aaron Alexander Burke

Catherine E. Bonesho

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2019

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The idiosyncrasies, inconsistencies, and mistakes to follow are my own, but the insights came from a community imagining this work with me. I won't claim that the result is monumental, but if it ever comes anywhere close they will be the ones responsible.

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"Return from Exile: Diglossia and Literary Code-Switching in Ezra 1-7"

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"The Monumentality of the Decalogue: Memories of Royal Inscriptions in Exodus 20"

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CHAPTER 1

MONUMENTS, MONUMENTALITY, AND THE DECALOGUE

What more is there to say about the Ten Commandments? It stretches belief that a list of fairly obvious moral maxims could capture the imagination and ire of countless generations of religious observers, exegetes, politicians, legal experts, and textual critics alike. Why has this document – of all the snatches of the Hebrew Bible that could have been extracted – had such remarkable staying power in both the ancient and modern worlds? This book will argue that the Ten Commandments – or the Decalogue – have remained relevant because they are *monumental*. This is not to say merely that they are important or influential. Rather, by monumental I intend a functional definition developed by art historians, archaeologists, and literary theorists over the previous century. Monuments, to be monuments, must act on communities. They are objects of engagement and interpretation that prompt groups of people to reconstruct what they remember and believe. The Decalogue is and was such a monument. Indeed, I will argue that it was designed that way. This book will seek to recover the ancient Near Eastern traditions of monuments out of which the Decalogue emerged. By contextualizing the Decalogue within the monuments of its day, we can uncover new clues as to the text's production and reception in its original contexts. More than this, we can uncover why the Decalogue has continued to be reproduced and reinterpreted to the present day. The Decalogue was a monument from the start. Its social power derives from its monumentality – the quality that invites communities to engage with it and to make meaning.

How Communities Make Culture with Objects

Though perhaps unfamiliar to some readers, the word "monumentality" undoubtedly conjures up readily remembered images. We might be immediately tempted to think of great public works of architecture and sculpture: massive governmental buildings, statues of historical figures, tombs to famous or unknown soldiers, and towering obelisks. You would not be wrong to imagine such monuments when thinking of monumentality, but recent theoretical work in art history, archaeology, and even textual and literary criticism has pushed the definition of this term even further. Expanding our search for what works constitute things that are truly monumental, we might turn to classic works of art or literature: perhaps the Sistine Chapel, the Mona Lisa, or *Moby Dick*. These too might be labeled enduring, public, influential, and certainly large in a metaphorical sense, but are these features what truly makes a monument? Fewer of us would jump immediately to an important legal document like the United States Constitution. And yet, according to art historians, the Constitution is more monumental than even the Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument, *American Gothic*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and any other piece of art that has become a national treasure. How can this be the case?

Wu Hung – the art historian perhaps most engaged in defining monumentality – argues that monuments are made monumental depending on "how they oriented people both physically and mentally, how they exemplified common moral and value systems, how they supported and affected the constitution of collective identities and specific political discourses."[1] This means that monumentality depends on a monument's social context and especially on how communities

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[1] Hung Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford University Press, 1995), 14.

engage them. A monument may be produced to provoke certain kinds of engagement, but its monumentality is also dependent on how a community engages and interprets it. Will they use the object to construct cultural values and social relations or not? The answer to this question determines whether or not an object is a monument.

Using the definition above, Jefferson had better watch his step in his memorial, but the Constitution can rest easily as America's premiere monument. The people of the United States – constituted as a communal "We" by the preamble of the text – are almost constantly engaged in interpreting this document. At the highest level of interpretation – the Supreme Court – this engagement can even affect the values and identity of the nation as a whole. Whether one sits to the right or left of the aisle, the Constitution is regularly trotted out as a symbol of party's values and platforms. Though different groups disagree on how precisely to interpret the Constitution, they very notably agree that it should be interpreted and that this interpretation has meaning for everyone included in "We the people." These communal acts of interpretation – even when the resultant interpretations do not agree – still create some wider social cohesion. In other words, the appropriately named Constitution of the United States does actually constitute a community of people as "We the people of the United States of America." It is America's monument par excellence. Only one monumental text has risen in challenge to the Constitution – the Ten Commandments.

Monuments in the Modern World: The Decalogue and the Constitution

In 2005, the United States Supreme Court heard arguments concerning the display of a monument bearing an abbreviated version of the Ten Commandments in a courthouse in

McCreary County, Kentucky.[2] This was neither the first nor the last such case the Supreme Court heard. Why had a relatively short text composed in Iron Age Palestine caused such fanfare? What sort of power did the text have that necessitated a ruling – and a close ruling at that[3] – from the highest court in a modern nation? Surprisingly, both the majority and the dissenting opinion were agreed on the answer to this question: they both accepted that the Ten Commandments are monumental. This did not mean that the justices observed correctly that this version of the Ten Commandments had been carved large in stone and publicly displayed, as many would misconstrue the meaning of the term 'monumental.' Rather, even if they did not use the exact language of archaeologists and art historians, the Supreme Court recognized that the Ten Commandments display in McCreary County was functionally monumental. The text was produced and presented so as to be actively received by the local community. It materialized particular meanings for the groups of people interacting with it. The cause for dissenting opinions among the justices actually concerned the meaning of the text. In attempting to explicate this meaning, the Court joined a long list of interpreters of such cases stretching back into the Iron Age, as we will see later in this study.

In order to determine the text's meaning the court addressed aspects of the text that few in the public – and few among textual critics – would typically consider. Rather than addressing their form or even semantic content, the Supreme Court questioned how the surrounding community related to the Ten Commandments monument and especially what the text meant in the specific context of the courthouse. That is, in order to determine what viewers of the Ten

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[2] McCreary County, Kentucky, et al. v. American Civil Liberties Union of Kentucky et al., 545 U.S. 844 (2005).

[3] This particular case was a 5–4 decision.

Commandments might understand to be their purpose, the court needed to analyze not the text alone but also its context and the sequence of events surrounding its erection as a monument. In other words, this case was not so much a question about the Ten Commandments monument as it was about its particular monumentality. Both opinions accepted that the Ten Commandments were a monument, but they could not agree on what exactly they were monumentalizing in this specific instance. The conflicting opinions are essentially two separate accounts of what made the Ten Commandments monumental in McCreary County.

Writing for the majority, Justice Souter argued that in determining the meaning of the monument, "purpose needs to be taken seriously…and needs to be understood in light of context."[4] On this basis, he concluded that this particular Ten Commandments display monumentalized ideological support for a particular religion – Christianity. He noted that the initial dedication of the display was attended by a Christian pastor, who there publicly declared that religious principles were the foundation for civic ethics. The text was secondarily contextualized within a display linking it to governmental texts that affirmed the existence of God. Finally, the display was recontextualized within an exhibit dedicated to the "Foundations of American Law." This final display was deemed incapable of erasing the prior history of the monument and thus unsuccessful in presenting the Ten Commandments in a secular light. Accordingly, the court ruled that this display still amounted to materialized support for a particular religious outlook. The function of the text was determined not only by its words but by its ceremonial inauguration, its particular presentation to the public, its contextualization within the courthouse, and its specific history. Souter thus outlined an acceptable method for

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[4] *McCreary County v. ACLU*, 545 U.S. 844, 874 (2005).

determining a text's particular monumentality and its socially embedded meaning, and this method did not rely merely on the words of the text.

Justice Scalia, on the other hand, appealed in his dissenting opinion to the broader cultural background of the text. That is, the monument also had to be understood in light of other receptions of its rhetoric. On this basis, he argued that the Ten Commandments did not appeal to any one religious tradition but rather to several through its acknowledgement of a common creator. The Ten Commandments, after all, were recognized as God-given by Christians, Jews, and Muslims – the three largest religions in the United States. In other words, this display of the Ten Commandments did not monumentalize a religion so much as they monumentalized a person for several different religious communities. According to Scalia, "publicly honoring the Ten Commandments is thus…indistinguishable from publicly honoring God."[5] Though it was entirely unintentional, Scalia's opinion echoes that of Tiglath-pileser III in a similar case of monument display in Gaza in the 8th century BCE. He wrote of his victory stele (potentially complete with inscription), "I set it up in the palace of Gaza, and I counted it as one of the gods of their land."[6] Publicly honoring the stele was thus to be indistinguishable from publicly honoring Tiglath-pileser, even as though he were a god. Scalia had inadvertently appealed to the Iron Age function of monuments.

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[5] *McCreary County v. ACLU*, 545 U.S. Scalia, dissenting.

[6] Angelika Berjelung, "Shared Fates: Gaza and Ekron as Examples for the Assyrian Religious Policy in the West," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. Natalie Naomi May, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 155; Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 141, 179 Summary Inscription 4:11', 8:17'.

Both opinions rendered in the McCreary County v. ACLU decision accepted that the Ten Commandments were monumental, and each offered a reading of the text's specific monumentality and how to arrive at it. What was really at issue in this case, then? James Watts argues that the question of the Ten Commandments' monumentality in the many cases like this actually concerns the text's monumentality in competition with other texts. Whatever the precise meaning of the Ten Commandments was in the context of the McCreary County Courthouse, the problem remains that the text was being enshrined as an American monument in a civil context. Displayed alongside other "Foundations of American Law," the Ten Commandments was inadvertently entered into a competition with other monumental texts used to constitute American civic identity – the Constitution foremost among them. The stakes in this case were thus much larger than simply a question of what was the monumentality of this specific iteration of the Ten Commandments. The question lurking behind this was what monumental texts should the United States government use to constitute its societal values and norms? Should the Ten Commandments be allowed onto the same field as texts like the Constitution?[7]

This study will advance an approach to the Ten Commandments that will make this foray into Supreme Court opinions particularly relevant. Leaving its American context behind, I will argue that the text was designed as a cultural monument in each of its major appearances in the Hebrew Bible. This may be borne out simply by approaching the Ten Commandments in light of a more nuanced definition of what makes an object monumental, but it can also be demonstrated based on comparison with contemporary Levantine monuments – especially a particular class of

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[7] James W. Watts, "Ten Commandments Monuments and the Rivalry of Iconic Texts," *Journal of Religion and Society* 6 (2004).

texts that I label "I Am" monuments. Therefore, though separated in time by some thousands of years, the Supreme Court's approach to this issue is instructive in seeking to analyze the Ten Commandments – henceforth, the Decalogue[8] – in their original sociocultural context as well.

Monuments in the Ancient World – The Decalogue and the "I Am" Monuments

We can reasonably assume that the Decalogue was an object of communal interpretation. The Hebrew Bible repeats the entire text in slightly different forms twice – once in Exodus and once in Deuteronomy – and contains a number of allusions to its rhetoric elsewhere. We might tentatively label it a monument at least from an art historically informed perspective based on that information alone, but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the Decalogue was also received as a monument by its original audience as well. First and foremost, the Decalogue opens with the pronouncement "I am Yahweh." This "I Am" opening for a text was the tell-tale sign of a particular class of monuments in the ancient Levant – "I Am" monuments. These monuments were inscribed with texts that invariably opened with an "I Am" statement identifying an individual speaking through the monument who would then proceed to propose a communal perspective for his audience to accept. We will see in the course of this study that such inscriptions were only produced during certain historical periods and primarily in the

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[8] I will utilize the term "Decalogue" primarily to refer to the texts now preserved in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 as well as their potential precursors. I will not recognize Exodus 34 as preserving a "Ritual Decalogue," nor will I attempt to label earlier editions of the Decalogue separately as have other scholars. I thus avoid as much as possible terms such as *Urdekalog* and Heptalogue. For such a history of the Decalogue, see Erhard Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 289–302.

Levant. Their unique "I Am" opening was a clue to their monumentality; it occurred as an opening in no other context.[9]

"I am Yahweh," however, is quite a common statement in the Hebrew Bible – occurring 212 times to be exact.[10] This figure does not even include similar statements such as "I am God." So what makes the statement in the Decalogue so unique? The answer lies in its context. This "I Am" statement is not the only indication that the Decalogue is adapting Levantine monumental discourse. The Decalogue also contains violation clauses typical of Levantine "I Am" monuments – restrictions concerning engagement with images, the monumental name, and associated rituals. The socially oriented commandments – such as "Thou shalt not murder!" or "Thou shalt not covet!" – are also encountered in other "I Am" inscriptions. Two "I Am" inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian – CEKKE and BULGARMADEN – even contain longer social contracts incumbent on their target communities. The Hebrew Bible explicitly imagines the Decalogue as contained on an inscribed monumental object, though we must leave for later the question of whether this was always a set of stone tablets or perhaps something else. Most notably, the Decalogue contains the one and only instance in the Hebrew Bible of Yahweh collectively addressing the people of Israel without mediation. We will see that the primary purpose of Levantine "I Am" monuments was to permit an important individual – usually a king – to directly address a populace and reshape them. Viewing these parallels in concert suggests that the Decalogue really is imitating the monumental discourse of Levantine "I Am"

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[9] Timothy Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78, no. 2 (2019).

[10] The occurrences of *ʾnky yhwh* – as in the Decalogue – in contrast to *ʾny yhwh* are admittedly fewer – only 11 times.

inscriptions.[11] The "I Am" statement that opens it is the first indication of this adaptation, but the rest of the Decalogue's content is what confirms it.

The Decalogue began as an object of communal interpretation utilizing typical ancient strategies of inviting such interpretation. This necessitates a broader approach than has yet been advanced by biblical scholarship. The meaning of the text and its purpose must not be determined on the basis of semantic content alone, but also in light of its context – how it was depicted, how it was integrated into the Hebrew Bible's narrative world, and how the community was depicted as engaging with it. Additionally, these elements of the text must be analyzed in historical sequence, both in terms of the revisions of the text preserved in the Hebrew Bible and in terms of a history of monumental rhetoric in the cognate cultures contemporary with ancient Israel. Only then can we fully understand the monumentality of the Decalogue – that is, its social power in its original context and the quality that has allowed it to continue capturing communities' imaginations ever since.

Previous Scholarship on the Decalogue as a Socially Embedded Text

No previous research has outright labeled the Decalogue a monument nor analyzed it with a model based on monumentality. However, several previous approaches to the text have attempted to discern the text's function in its original setting and – in tandem with that the text's actual origin – its communal engagement and source of authority. It would stretch the patience of the reader to examine each and every such study of the Decalogue here, so I will build upon and

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[11] Timothy Hogue, "The Monumentality of the Sinaitic Decalogue: Reading Exodus 20 in Light of Northwest Semitic Monument-Making Practices," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 138, no. 1 (2019): 79–99.

depart from the more influential studies of the past century. For the purpose of this study, I will focus on major turns in form criticism of the Decalogue, and leave aside questions of source and redaction criticism until they are relevant later on.[12]

One of the most significant studies of the Decalogue's social embedment was Sigmund Mowinckel's 1927 monograph *Le Décalogue*.[13] Mowinckel argued that the original setting of the Decalogue was cultic, specifically that it was used as part of the New Years Festival liturgy. In Mowinckel's view, the Decalogue would have been performed orally by the people at the beginning of the festival in order to declare their purity.[14] While the specifics of Mowinckel's theory have mostly been discarded, his cultic association for the Decalogue remains influential. As will be argued in this study, his view of the Decalogue as a performative text should also still be taken seriously.

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[12] For a broader history of Decalogue scholarship, see Brevard Childs or, more recently, Nathan Lane. Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974), 385–93; Nathan C. Lane, *The Compassionate, but Punishing God: A Canonical Analysis of Exodus 34:6-7* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2010), 33–40.

[13] Sigmund Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1927).

[14] Mowinckel, 114–21; See also Sigmund Mowinckel, "Zur Geschichte Der Dekaloge.," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 55, no. 3–4 (1937): 218–235, https://doi.org/10.1515/zatw.1937.55.3-4.218. While Mowinckel's study has been the most influential in suggesting this setting for the Decalogue, his conclusions could have been inferred from earlier comparisons of the Decalogue to the Egyptian Book of the Dead. Though this connection was dismissed as early as 1913, its view of the Decalogue as a negative confession modeled on declarations of purity in "The Admonition of Maat" in the Book of the Dead is essentially the same function proposed by Mowinckel. This theory was explored again as recently as 2009, but for the most part it appears to have disappeared from scholarship. Ernest Ward Burch, "The Decalogue of Exodus 20" (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 1913), 20–21; Eduard Nielsen, *Die Zehn Gebote: Eine Traditionsgeschichtliche Skizze*, Acta Theologica Danica 8 (Prostant apud Munksgaard, 1965), 69–70; Erhard Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 84, no. 1 (1965): 50–51; Jared C. Hood, "The Decalogue and the Egyptian Book of the Dead," *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 23 (2009): 53–72.

Albrecht Alt adapted some of Mowinckel's conclusions in his seminal essay *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts.*[15] Alt's most significant contribution was to distinguish between what he termed casuistic and apodictic law in the Hebrew Bible. Casuistic law was stated in terms of crime and consequence in hypothetical "if…then…" clauses. Alt connected this form of law to Ancient Near Eastern law codes, especially those of the Hittites.[16] Apodictic law, on the other hand, was simply stated in terms of imperatives. Alt found no precedents for this in ancient Near Eastern law codes, and so he determined that it was a uniquely Israelite development deriving from the cultic sphere, though he did not agree with all of Mowinckel's particulars for its cultic usage.[17] Alt's connection of portions of the biblical laws to other Ancient Near Eastern corpuses opened the door for further comparative work to proceed.

The most significant addition to Alt's thesis came from George Mendenhall.[18] While Alt had connected casuistic law to Hittite law codes, Mendenhall proposed that apodictic law derived from Hittite treaties. Following Korošec, Mendenhall proposed 6 standard elements of Hittite treaties: preamble, historical prologue, stipulations, directions for placement in a temple and regular public reading, a god-list, and blessings and curses. Mendenhall proposed that the first two of these elements were represented together by Exodus 20:2 and that the rest of the

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[15] Albrecht Alt, "Die Ursprünge Des Israelitischen Rechts," ed. S. Hirzel, *Berichte Über Die Verhandlungen Der Sächsischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften Zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historisch Klasse* 86, no. 1 (1934).

[16] Alt, 112–32.

[17] Alt, 133–71. Alt instead proposed that the Decalogue was a liturgy for the Feast of Tabernacles during the Sabbath Year.

[18] George E. Mendenhall, "Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East," *The Biblical Archaeologist* XVII, no. 2, 3 (May 1954): 26–44, 49–76.

Decalogue comprised the stipulations. While he himself admitted that last three elements were not present in the Decalogue, subsequent scholars – such as Beyerlin – have gone so far as to suggest that all six elements are present.[19] While some have problematized Mendenhall's connection of the Decalogue to Ancient Near Eastern treaties, his view remains the dominant perspective in the field.[20] While the present study disagrees with this connection, Mendenhall nevertheless came close to ascertaining the monumentality of the Decalogue by connecting it to a socially formative text form.

The first significant challenge to Mendenhall's thesis was Erhard Gerstenberger's dissertation *Wesen und Herkunft des "Apodiktischen Rechts."*[21] Gerstenberger argued that the original setting of the Decalogue was not cultic at all, and therefore the text was not to be connected with ritualized treaties. In fact, he suggested that the Decalogue should not even be considered law but rather labeled it "prohibitive."[22] He built this argument by connecting the

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[19] Viktor Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag Zu Ihrer Juristischen Vertrag* (Leipzig, 1931); Mendenhall, "Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East," 36–40; W. Beyerlin, *Herkunft Und Geschichte Der Ältesten Sinaitraditionen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961), 59–67.

[20] For a recent examples of studies following Mendenhall's thesis, see Michael Coogan, *The Ten Commandments: A Short History of an Ancient Text* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014); Kenneth A. Kitchen and Paul J. N. Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 768. See also David H. Aaron, *Etched in Stone: The Emergence of the Decalogue* (New York - London: T & T Clark, 2006). Aaron argues that the Decalogue was late literary composition but that it was designed as an anti-covenantal text. Aaron thus still sees covenant in the background of the Decalogue, even if it is inspiring the composition in a different way. For a broader survey of the literature dealing with this connection, see George E. Mendenhall and Gary A. Herion, "Covenant," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Friedman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 1179–1202.

[21] Erhard P. Gerstenberger, *Wesen Und Herkunft des "Apodiktischen Rechts"* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965).

[22] Gerstenberger, 55–61.

Decalogue to the clan context, arguing that the commandments derived from tribal ethics.[23]

When proposing a comparative for such a setting, Gerstenberger resurrected an earlier thesis that

connected the Decalogue to the Egyptian Book of the Dead, especially Chapter 125 – "The

Admonitions of Maat." Gerstenberger suggested that instruction texts such as Chapter 125, the

teachings of Amenope, the Papyrus of Ani, or the counsels given to Merikare provided the same

kind of prohibitions as those encountered in the Decalogue.[24] While his assertions appear to have

disappeared from current scholarship, his work was significant for challenging Mendenhall's

theory. The present study also agrees with his work in so far as he correctly noted that the

Decalogue is not a legal text.

Dennis McCarthy's *Treaty and Covenant* developed a more significant challenge to

Mendenhall's understanding of the Decalogue within the same line of scholarship.[25] While

McCarthy richly developed Mendenhall's comparison between Ancient Near Eastern treaties and

Deuteronomy and other Deuteronomistic texts, he rejected Mendenhall's association of the genre

with the Decalogue. Instead, McCarthy argues that the Decalogue is a theophanic text: its

purpose is to manifest Yahweh, not to conclude a loyalty oath with him.[26] Furthermore,

McCarthy argues that the covenant concluded at Sinai is based primarily on ritual performance

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[23] Gerstenberger, 110–17.

[24] Alongside these Egyptian texts, Gerstenberger suggests a connection to the second tablet of the Šurpu incantation series, but he neglects to develop this thesis further. Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," 50–51.

[25] Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, Analecta Biblica 21 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978).

[26] McCarthy, 163–67.

"with steles as witnesses."[27] McCarthy thus uncovered that Sinai was not the setting of a treaty being concluded but rather of monument making, even though he does not explicitly label it so. In this way, McCarthy's understanding of the Decalogue comes closest to that expressed in this study without openly acknowledging that the text is monumental.[28]

To these typically considered studies, we should add another strain of research that has been mostly ignored and insufficiently developed. A small group of scholars has recognized that the rhetoric of the Decalogue was derived from Northwest Semitic monumental inscriptions. Arno Poebel first noted this in 1932 as a part of his study *Das Appositionell Bestimmte Pronomen Der 1. Pers. Sing. in den Westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*.[29] His work, however, was preceded by Mowinckel's and succeeded by Alt's, both of which likely contributed to the relegation of his own study of the Decalogue to obscurity. Poebel's asserted connection between the Decalogue and Northwest Semitic inscriptions was posited again independently by Umberto Cassuto in his 1951 commentary on the book of Exodus.[30] He was

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[27] McCarthy, 174.

[28] McCarthy's work is also notable for arguing that there is no clear vector of transmission for the Hittite treaties to the Hebrew Bible. He points out that while the treaty form in Deuteronomy appears to resemble Hittite treaties, they are separated by hundreds of years, during which we simply do not know how the treaty was developing. McCarthy, 174. For a further critique of this vector, see Jacob Lauinger's review of *Treaty, Law, and Covenant in the Ancient Near East* by Kenneth Kitchen and Paul Lawrence, who also accept Mendenhall's genre assignment of the Decalogue. Jacob Lauinger, "Approaching Ancient Near Eastern Treaties, Laws, and Covenants," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136, no. 1 (2016): 125–34; reviewing Kitchen and Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*.

[29] Arno Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*, Assyriological Studies 3 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), 53–57.

[30] Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1951), 76, 241.

followed by Nahum Sarna in his commentary on Exodus where he explicitly connected the

Decalogue to the Yehawmilk Inscription (KAI 10), the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (KAI 13),

the Kulamuwa Inscription (KAI 24), the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26), the Mesha Inscription

(KAI 181), the Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202), the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), and the Bar-

Rakib Inscription (KAI 216).[31] While both Cassuto and Sarna proposed that this connection to

royal inscriptions was an aspect of how the Decalogue derived its authority, neither made any

attempt to develop further connections. The fact that these texts were monumental and the

Decalogue might be as well was never alluded to by any of these scholars.

The King and His Monument

 Part of the reluctance to search for parallels to the Decalogue in monumental discourse

may stem from the overemphasis on cultic or religious contexts for the text's use and origin as

opposed to political ones. This, of course, relies upon the faulty preconception that the religious

and political spheres were separated in the ancient Near East, when in fact they were fluid and

permeably with one another. Furthermore, the Hebrew Bible regularly conceives of Yahweh as a

king, utilizing the "God is king" metaphor and its many sub-metaphors.[32] Such a conception of a

deity as a monarch was not unique to ancient Israel, but it may have been unique in its intense

application. So strong was the identification of Yahweh as king, that he even received some

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[31] Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus Commentary*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 15, 109. Sarna notes this connection despite his earlier acceptance of Mendenhall's thesis in *Exploring Exodus.* Nahum M. Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Origins of Biblical Israel* (New York: Schoken Books, 1986), 134–44.

[32] On these metaphors, see especially Marc Zvi Brettler, *God Is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 76 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); Shawn W. Flynn, *YHWH Is King: The Development of Divine Kingship in Ancient Israel*, vol. 159, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014).

typical trappings of ancient Near Eastern monarchs that were denied to the kings of Israel and Judah.[33]

The Bible regularly depicted Yahweh as a king and co-opted elements of royal rhetoric in order to enhance this depiction. It has even previously been noted that Yahweh's role in Exodus is not precisely as a deity but rather as a divine king. He defeats his enemies and rescues his people much as an ancient Near Eastern king would do with the support of the gods. Yahweh combines the royal and divine roles. The story of Sinai is then not simply about a theophany or a covenant. Rather, it is about the enthronement of Yahweh as king of Israel.[34] It should come as no surprise that monuments would be erected to commemorate such an enthronement, or that the biblical writers would utilize monumental discourse in order to depict those monuments. On the one hand, the biblical writers tended to co-opt elements of royal discourse for Yahweh.[35] On the other hand – and this has yet to be appropriately recognized by the secondary literature on Semitic inscriptions – monumental discourse co-opted elements of divine rhetoric for kings, as will be explored in more detail in the chapters to come. The Decalogue thus utilizes monumental discourse that was originally restricted to the divine and later appropriate by Levantine kings in order to develop the Israelite concept of a divine king.

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[33] Brettler, *God Is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, 165.

[34] Mark S. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2016), 18–19.

[35] In fact, this co-option may even be attested in epigraphic sources, if Frank Moore Cross' reading the Khirbet Beit Lei inscriptions is correct. He reads an "I Am" formula at the beginning of Inscription A ([ʾ]ˈnˈy . *yhwh* "I am Yahweh…"). Frank Moore Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions from Ḥirbat Bayt Layy [Khirbet Beit Lei]," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 300, https://brill.com/view/book/9789004369887/BP000023.xml.

Monuments and Monumentality

This book will argue that the Decalogue was monumental to the original communities in which it was embedded as well as innumerable subsequent ones. Before this assertion can be examined, however, the terms *monument* and *monumentality* must be more carefully defined. 'Monument' has often been used in a modern Western context to denote large, durable, significant public works intentionally constructed to awe or otherwise emotionally impress their visitors. Citizens of modern nations are expected to easily identify famous national monuments and the events, personages, or concepts they were erected to commemorate. In studies of the Ancient Near East, 'monumental' is often used interchangeably with 'lapidary,' demonstrating a similarly modern Western perspective on ancient material culture. Such definitions of 'monument' are overly preoccupied with an object's form while failing to adequately address its function or meaning in a particular cultural setting.

Theoretical work in art history over the last century has sought to redefine monuments as socially embedded objects that interact with communities in culturally specific ways. These studies have postulated that a monument is only truly monumental if it successfully produces meaning for a community.[36] Wu Hung has argued:

> [O]nly an object possessing a definite monumentality is a functional monument.
> Monumentality thus denotes memory, continuity, and political, ethical, or religious
> obligations to a tradition. This primary meaning underlies a monument's manifold social,

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[36] Alois Riegl began the research that led to the view of monuments advanced by this study in 1903. His work especially challenged the notion that monuments must be state-sponsored public works. Riegl instead analyzed monuments based on how they were received by society. See Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Wien [etc.] : W. Braumüller, 1903); Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin," trans. K. W. Forster and D. Ghirado, *Oppositions* 25 (1982): 20–51. The most significant recent work is that of art historian Wu Hung. See Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*.

political, and ideological significance. As scholars have repeatedly stated, a monument,

no matter what shape or material, serves to preserve memory, to structure history, to

immortalize a figure, event, or institution, to consolidate a community or a public, to

define a center for political gatherings or ritual communication, to relate the living to the

dead, and to connect the present with the future.[37]

More simply, James Osborne argues that a monument should be defined as "an object, or suite of

objects, that possesses an agreed-upon special meaning to a community of people."[38] He then

defines monumentality as "an ongoing, constantly renegotiated *relationship* between thing and

person, between the monument(s) and the person(s) experiencing the monument."[39] In short, a

monument is an object that produces special meaning for a community as they interact with it.[40]

The defining feature of such an object is its potential to produce communal meaning in various

ways – in other words, its monumentality.

To put it another way, if a monument can be said to be a conductor of communal

meaning, monumentality is its conductivity. It is an object's potential to produce or afford

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[37] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 4.

[38] James F. Osborne, "Monuments and Monumentality," in *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology*, ed. James F. Osborne (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2014), 4.

[39] Osborne, 3. Emphasis in original. Bradley similarly argued that a monument is an object which can affect "a subtle change in the relationship between people and the natural world." Richard Bradley, *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe*, Monographs of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 8 (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1993), 20. Also see Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 14.

[40] Note that the meaning only arises as communities actually interact with the monument. This is especially the case in the Ancient Near East, where monuments had to be activated by their users. These were never passive conveyers of meaning, but rather active – even agential in the emic perspective – producers of meaning. Zainab Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 173.

meaning. In the same way that many properties might lend to a material's conductivity, there are many ways in which a monument may potentially produce meaning. Monumentality then may be said to be multidimensional.[41] Furthermore, in the same way that one material may be more conductive than another, one object's monumentality is not equal to another's. Monumentality can fade away, and it can be enhanced. In short, it is dynamic, and it is dependent as much if not more so on monument reception as on monument production.[42]

Osborne illustrates these definitions utilizing a particular piece of Mesopotamian sculpture – the Guennol Lioness. This piece is probably to be identified as a work of the Proto-Elamite culture dating to roughly 3,000 BCE. The original publication of the object described it – correctly, in Osborne's opinion – as monumental. The lioness is also only 3.25 inches long. What, then, justifies its claim to the label of 'monument'? Osborne suggests that the answer lies in the relationship between the object and its current cultural context. Regardless of the lioness' original context – which is considerably difficult to reconstruct – modern scholars and laypeople alike have chosen to treat the object as a monument. It was even auctioned off in 2007 for the startling sum of $57.2 million – a monumental value to ascribe to a miniscule object. In short, the Guennol Lioness is a monument because modern scholars, auctioneers, and its current owners – a veritable community of different people – imagine it to be so.[43] The current audience may very

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[41] Alice Mandell and Jeremy D. Smoak, "Reading Beyond Literacy, Writing Beyond Epigraphy: Multimodality and the Monumental Inscriptions at Ekron and Tel Dan," *MAARAV* 22, no. 1–2 (2018): 79–112.

[42] James F. Osborne, "Monuments of the Hittite and Neo-Assyrian Empires During the Late Bronze and Iron Ages," in *Mercury's Wings: Exploring Modes of Communication in the Ancient World*, ed. F. S. Naiden and Richard J. A. Talbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 88–90; James F. Osborne, "Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 0, no. 0 (2017): 2.

[43] Osborne, "Monuments and Monumentality," 1–2, 13–14.

well understand the object as more monumental than did the Proto-Elamites.

The Guennol Lioness may admittedly be a case of moderns making a mountain out of a molehill or in this case a monument out of a bauble. But there is also some evidence to suggest that the lioness' current context is not the only one in which it has acquired such monumentality. The original publisher of the object noted that it closely resembled depictions of lionesses on cylinder seals from Susa. He drew particular attention to the fact that these even smaller depictions of lionesses were depicted alongside mountains as if of a comparable size.[44] In some cases, the lioness even appears to hold up the mountain. Whatever the precise relationship between the Proto-Elamites and the Lioness, the symbol of the lioness was clearly of collective significance to have appeared in multiple media. It might even be said to have conveyed a particular image of power in relation to the mountains. In short, we can reasonably say that the Guennol Lioness produced some special meaning for its original community. In other words, it was quite probably monumental in Elam 5,000 years ago as well.

If the Guennol Lioness seems unimpressive, compare it to the example of Stonehenge. No modern visitor to the site of Stonehenge would consider it anything but a monument, and yet debate rages as to what it may have signified to its prehistoric audience. Ultimately, these debates are immaterial to the classification of Stonehenge as a monument, however. It is monumental precisely because it produces meaning for communities, even though that meaning or those communities may change. This, in the words of Richard Bradley, is "what visitors to Stonehenge on midsummer morning recognize and what its excavators seem to forget," namely,

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[44] Edith Porada, "A Leonine Figure of the Protoliterate Period of Mesopotamia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70, no. 4 (n.d.): 225.

that "experience is at the heart of how monuments are used."[45] Stonehenge is monumental

precisely because moderns imagine it to be so, and so did its prehistoric constructors – if the

labor invested into its construction and layout are any indication.[46]

The examples of the Guennol Lioness and Stonehenge are a important reminders that the

meaning produced by monuments is in fact constructed in the minds of the people engaging it.[47]

Monuments do not contain meaning but rather provoke the imaginative construction of it.

Bradley argues that monuments "required a greater act of the *imagination*: a process of

recreating a past that was really beyond recall and making it play an unrehearsed part in the

present."[48] Because such acts of imagination undergird the function of monuments, Timothy

Pauketat has suggested the connection to the imagination is really the defining feature of

monuments. He argues:

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[45] Bradley, *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe*, 47.

[46] Investment of labor is often – but not always – a tell-tale indicator that an object may be monumental. Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (1996): 16–19; Claudia Glatz and Aimée M. Plourde, "Landscape Monuments and Political Competition in Late Bronze Age Anatolia: An Investigation of Costly Signaling Theory," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 361 (2011): 36–38.

[47] Jennifer G. Kahn and Patrick Vinton Kirch, *Monumentality and Ritual Materialization in the Society Islands: The Archaeology of a Major Ceremonial Complex in the "Opunohu Valley, Mo"orea*, Bishop Museum Bulletin in Anthropology 13 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2014), 223.

[48] Bradley, *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe*, 129. quoted in Alessandra Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE* (Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 2. Emphasis mine. In her study of the monuments of Deir el Medina, Lynn Meskell reaches a similar conclusion, arguing: "Remembering entails evoking a concrete image within the mind, fostered by the imagination: memory and imagination are to some degree interchangeable." Lynn Meskell, "Memory's Materiality: Ancestral Presence, Commemorative Practice and Disjunctive Locales," in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. R. M. Van Dyke and S. E. Alcock (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003), 48. More broadly, Patrick Hutton has described collective memory in general as "a process of imaginative reconstruction, in which we integrate specific images formulated in the present into particular contexts identified with the past." Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993), 78.

They inspire, motivate, and actively engage people by disproportionately articulating

social relationships to other places, substances, moving celestial objects, and the great

beyond. I would suggest that the most monumental of all, those with the greatest

historical impact, are precisely the ones that articulate our visions of a future world with

the fundamental powers of the cosmos and social order…Indeed, I also suggest that such

qualities are the defining elements of monuments worldwide to varying degrees.

Monuments, to be monuments, must be more than big memorials. They must possess the

qualities of monumentality, the foremost of which is the imaginary. We do not merely see

them and remember. We feel them and imagine.[49]

Monuments are objects that prompt communities of people to imaginatively construct meaning.

Monumentality is the potential of such objects to provoke community-scale imagination that

results in the construction, experience, or maintenance of special communal meaning.

Now, if the above definition holds, are we to understand any object that produces

meaning as monumental? And are monuments, as one archaeologist argues, merely "in the eye of

the beholder"?[50] This is not the case because the imagination triggered by monuments is

explicitly collective.[51] Monumentality consists in provoking many individuals to collectively

interpret an object. It is the collectivization of special meaning affordance that truly makes an

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[49] Timothy Pauketat, "From Memorials to Imaginaries in the Monumentality of Ancient North America," in *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology*, ed. James F. Osborne (State University of New York Press, 2014), 442.

[50] F. Hole, "A West Asian Perspective on Early Monuments," in *Early New World Monumentality*, ed. R. L. Burger and R. M. Rosenswig (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2012), 457.

[51] This assertion builds on Henri Lefebvre's contention that monuments "claim to express the collective will and collective thought." Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991), 143.

object monumental. Consider the case of Hittite monumental inscriptions. With very few

exceptions, these inscriptions always begin with the Akkadogram *UMMA* "thus (says)" followed

by the king's name and titulary.[52] This means of framing the inscription was borrowed directly

from typical epistolary practice.[53] In other words, the monumental text functions on a semantic

and poetic level exactly as would a letter from the king. The key difference is the target: the

letter is typically targeted at an individual while the monument is targeted at a collective. The

letter invites an individual to interpret its contents, while the monument invites a community to

do the same. The materiality of the inscription, its lapidary execution, and its special spatial

deployment all contribute to this function, but they are not what makes the inscription

monumental. The inscription's monumentality relies upon the potential to relate to a collective as

a community,[54] and we must always bear in mind that the community was also created and

recreated through this act of relating each time the monument was activated.

By connecting monumentality to imagination, we may also highlight that monumentality

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[52] Hans G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 74; Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1983), 21; Jared L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World - Society of Biblical Literature 31 (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 135.

[53] For more on these epistolary formulas, see Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, ed. Gary Beckman, Writings from the Ancient World - Society of Biblical Literature 15 (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 56–59.

[54] A community may be defined as a group of people who primarily relate to one another personally or interpersonally, even if only in an imagined way. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 7; Charles E. Carter, "A Discipline in Transition: The Contributions of the Social Sciences to the Study of the Hebrew Bible," in *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Charles Edward Carter and Carol L. Meyers (Eisenbrauns, 1996), 6.

is not strictly a monument's meaning but rather its affordance of meaning.[55] As stated above, it is the potential to provoke collective imagination that results in meaning-making. The meanings assigned to monuments are thus primarily possibilities. They are entirely dependent upon the interpretation of those visiting the monument. Nevertheless, because "people's encounter with [a monument] will be constrained or enabled in distinctive and definite ways,"[56] this potential to provoke imagination can be safely reconstructed at least in part. It simply depends on the specific parameters of the monument – whether its discourse, physical attributes, setting, or associated performances. While form and intention are not enough to make an object monumental, they nonetheless promoted the kinds of interactions that could monumentalize. Demonstrating monumentality in an ancient context must therefore center on an analysis of the interactions prompted by the form, rather than treating the form alone as evidence that an object was monumental.

One of the most significant meanings afforded by monuments is identity. Identity can be most simply defined as "a subtype of meaning;" that is, whereas meaning answers the question of "what something is," identity answers "who someone is."[57] Beyond this, questions of identity become exceedingly complex, and an approach to identity connected to the Decalogue is in grave danger of devolving into a debate over what kind(s) of identity it promotes (e.g., ethnic, national, religious, etc.). I will sidestep this debate for now by highlighting again that

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[55] Pauketat, "From Memorials to Imaginaries in the Monumentality of Ancient North America," 442.

[56] Pauketat, 432.

[57] Theodore R. Schatzki, *The Site of the Social: A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social Life and Change* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2002), 47.

approaching monumentality concerns affordance rather than meaning. That is, this approach is not concerned with precisely what an object means but rather with *how* it means. Similarly, I am not concerned with the contents of the identities formed around monuments but rather with *how* they are constituted. Monumentality is based on *affordance* rather than meaning and *social formation* rather than identity. Social formation "refers broadly to the *construction* and *configuration* of social relations" and is a "dynamic, constructive, relational process."[58] Similarly, monumentality "denotes…political, ethical, or religious obligations to a tradition," and serves to "consolidate a community or a public" and "to define a center for political gatherings or ritual communication."[59] These processes are unified around the constitution of identity rather than the specific contents of that identity. Monuments are thus a material correlate to social formation and especially the affordance of particular social relations rather than specific identities.a

The monuments I will address in this study afforded social formation to their users. Seth Sanders argues that "the inscriptions propose new kinds of political order, and they do it in a form designed to help create them."[60] As we will see in more detail below, this was accomplished in part as monumental inscriptions invited their users to project into the proffered

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[58] Nathaniel B. Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, vol. 11, Biblical and Judaic Studies (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 33.

[59] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 4.

[60] Seth Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, Traditions (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 118.

perspective – usually that of the king or another elite.[61] Realistically, we cannot reconstruct to what degree the users accepted this perspective or reified the proposed social order. We can, however, reconstruct two material correlates to social formation. First, when the users engaged the monuments as a collective, they witnessed themselves as a community such as that proposed by the inscriptions. They were thus molded into particular social roles, which may or may not have aligned perfectly with those imagined by the inscription.[62] Second, the mere acceptance of an object as a monument – a material affording communal meaning – promoted social formation. This is true whether or not the users agree on their interpretations of the monument, contra Osborne's insistence that the meaning be agreed-upon. Catherine Bell argues that "the most symbolic action, even the basic symbols of a community's ritual life, can be very unclear to participants or interpreted by them in very dissimilar ways." Nevertheless, such symbols "still promote 'social' solidarity," and this "social consensus does not depend upon shared information and beliefs" but is rather "promoted because they rarely make any interpretation explicit."[63] Again, monument reception strongly suggests social formation, regardless of the specific social relations constructed within this process.

History of Monuments and Monumentalities

 If the foregoing definitions seem vague to the reader, this is in part intentional on the part

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[61] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[62] Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics* (Oxford: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 4–5; Ian Hodder, "The Spectacle of Daily Performance at Çatalhöyük," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben (Oxford: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 82.

[63] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 183.

of the theorists developing them. According to Wu, monumentality is never transcultural or transhistorical, so any attempt at a general definition will result in "empty words until they are historically defined."[64] Osborne similarly emphasizes that monumentality can only be understood "in the context of its relationship to the community of which it forms a part."[65] In other words, we can only develop specific definitions of 'monument' and 'monumentality' within specific sociohistorical contexts. It is not enough to say that the Decalogue is a monument simply because it produces meaning for various communities. We can only reconstruct its original monumentalities by comparing its modes of meaning affordance with those of other monuments from the Ancient Near East.

The Hittite example above draws our attention to two of the key features of Ancient Near Eastern monuments that I will focus on in this study: reembodiment[66] and social formation. Hittite royal monumental inscriptions first produce special meaning by *reembodying* the king; they reproduce his voice in the form of an inscription introduced with the word *UMMA* "thus (says)." As a result, the presence of the king is extended to the monument and activated within the minds of its users. This gave rise to a rich tradition of reembodiment in text in the Iron Age

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[64] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 4.

[65] Osborne, "Monuments and Monumentality," 4.

[66] I am borrowing the term 'reembodiment' from psychological studies of individual's relations with objects. I believe this term is preferable to 'embodiment,' which tends to assume anthropomorphism. In contrast to embodiment, reembodiment describes the extension of the self to any form of object. Furthermore, reembodiments need not reproduce an entire person but only certain aspects of the self. They can also be duplicated without limit. Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 80; Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, 13–14; William Morris, ed., *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: American Heritage Publishing/Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 147; Russel W. Belk, "Extended Self in a Digital World," *Journal of Consumer Research* 40, no. 3 (2013): 481–84.

Levant that we will explore in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to note that, thus

reembodied, the king could address the populace through the medium of the monument.[67]

Second, the reembodiment of the Hittite king and his collective address in the

monumental inscription promoted *social formation.* When the populace was addressed by these

inscriptions, they were invited to perceive themselves as a public and thus conceive of

themselves as a community. Social formation results from the users' collectivized reaction to the

propositions of the monumental text. The monument is thus a monument because it both affects

and effects a community: it has a cognitive affect upon the users interacting with it, and this

affect actually brings a community into being.

The same observations have previously been made of the Code of Hammurabi. In

addition to containing the eponymous laws, this monumental inscription is also framed by a

prologue and epilogue narrated in the first-person by Hammurabi himself. This rhetorical

strategy – in tandem with iconographic elements on the stele – actually manifested Hammurabi

before his audience, allowing him to speak directly to them in their imaginations.[68] The stele

containing the Code was even more remarkable for being one of the earliest examples of such a

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[67] This pairs well with more general observations of monuments as a medium of communication. Monuments in many different cultures function by promoting interaction between a community and the ideas or individuals conjured by the object. Leif Gren, "Petrified Tears: Archaeology and Communication Through Monuments," *Current Swedish Archaeology* 2 (1994): 87; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 16–19; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 3; Pauketat, "From Memorials to Imaginaries in the Monumentality of Ancient North America," 432.

[68] Gerdien Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Brill, 1995), 93–95; Kathryn E. Slanski, "Classification, Historiography and Monumental Authority: The Babylonian Entitlement 'narûs (Kudurrus),'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 52 (2000): 112–14; Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 113, 128–37; Kathryn E. Slanski, "The Law of Hammurabi and Its Audience," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 24, no. 1 (2012): 102; Stephen L. Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, Forschungen Zur Religion Und Literatur Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments 247 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 14–21.

text explicitly addressing the populace – the subjects of Babylonia, their future generations, and Hammurabi's potential successors.[69] The text even specifically prescribes a set of ritual actions for this audience to activate the stele:[70] namely, the reading aloud of the text, the invocation of Hammurabi's name, and the recitation of a specific prayer.[71] By so targeting his communication, Hammurabi was able to "mould," in Marian Feldman's terms, the subjects of the territorial state newly created during his reign. This constitution of Babylonians as subjects of a territorial state rather than a city-state was the chief social aim and innovation of Hammurabi's monument.[72] Reembodiment and social formation thus went hand in hand as the key affordances of the monumental text. This was the Code's particular monumentality when it was produced.

In light of the dynamic and sociohistorically determined qualities of monuments, the present study will adapt Wu's method of producing both a *history of monuments* and a *history of monumentality*. A *history of monuments* attempts to document the shifting forms of monuments, while a *history of monumentality* focuses on the evolution of the processes involved in a community's construction of meaning through monuments. Wu argues that combining these approaches makes it possible to address questions of

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[69] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 93–107.

[70] Note that Ancient Near Eastern monuments must always be activated by their users. They are never passively experienced. For this reason, I label the individuals making up the communities that relate to them 'users'. Jonker, 18–19; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 163.

[71] Martha T. Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71, no. 13 (1995): 17–18.

[72] Marian H. Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," in *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*, ed. Sharon R. Steadman and Jennifer C. Ross (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2010), 159–61.

how forms were selected and employed in ritual and religious contexts, how they oriented

people both physically and mentally, how they exemplified common moral and value

systems, how they supported and affected the constitution of collective identities and

specific political discourses, and how they suited individual ambitions and needs.[73]

The peoples of the ancient Near East used different types of monuments to perform different

purposes, and at different historical periods they may have used the same types of objects in

different ways to communicate similar and different messages. This method seeks to periodize

these shifts.

We cannot proceed with an analysis of the Decalogue in light of the foregoing if we

presume a general definition of ancient Near Eastern 'monument' or 'monumentality'. Instead,

we must construct a history of monuments from the surrounding region in order to determine

how monuments and their monumentalities changed over time. Against this backdrop we may

begin a study of the history of the Decalogue's monumentality, because – like other enduring

monuments – it may have continued to produce meaning to communities but it has done so by

different means in each sociohistorical context in which it is embedded. The embedding of

monuments in such contexts is the key reason that the form of a monument may remain the

same, but its monumentality can shift. As new generations of users come to the monument with

new social conventions and local assumptions, new interactions with the discourse of the

monument are produced and new meanings made. Unless this process is regularly repeated, the

object can and likely will cease to function as a monument.[74]

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[73] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 14.

[74] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 114.

<u>The Art Historical Relationship Between Epigraphic Remains and Manuscript Traditions</u>

Materiality matters. This fact will be immediately apparent to anyone who has observed small children interacting with comfort objects. At the time of writing, my 8-month-old son cannot speak. He may be beginning to understand some lexical items, but language is as yet not an effective means of communication between us. If he is fussing, I cannot simply tell him "calm down" or "it'll be alright" and expect results. I can, however, present him with his panda blanket and he will almost immediately be soothed. Even if he is playing happily, he will mime soothing motions when presented with the panda blanket. Humans use objects as communicative media even before they can speak, and they remain essential parts of communication even after the acquisition of language. Even in the case of texts, so much of what they communicate is afforded by their material, medium, aesthetic features and accompaniments, the spaces they occupy, and the ways in which we physically interact with them. Almost no one would read the phrase "Make America Great Again," for example, on a red baseball cap and again on a roll of toilet paper and make the mistake of thinking that each text says the same thing.

But how can we connect a study of the monumentality of epigraphic remains to that of a manuscript tradition like the Hebrew Bible? Scholars like Wu Hung, Mark Smith, Jeremy Smoak, and Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme have shown that "imagined materiality" matters just as much for communicating meaning.[75] This is especially true of monuments, which function primarily within the imagination. Consider Wu's example of the Nine Tripods. The Nine Tripods were a set of bronze vessels cast to commemorate the creation of the Xia Dynasty

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[75] I am borrowing the term "imagined materiality" from Mark Smith in particular. In his usage, this essentially entails the projection of qualities of material objects onto figures that are otherwise only present in the imagination. This projection is promoted by strategic textual and literary depictions. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, 27–28.

– China's legendary first dynasty. They were utilized in rituals devoted to the imperial ancestors, and possessing them granted the holder the right to rule as emperor. These objects and the rituals they were used in were so sacred that they were kept hidden from public view, but the accounts relayed to the public about the current place of the tripods still allowed these objects to function on the communities in which they were embedded. The Nine Tripods also probably never existed. One evidence of this is the fact that the Nine Tripods transform in depictions over time to better match the monumental bronzes of their contemporary setting. Nevertheless, Wu chose the Nine Tripods as his paradigmatic example of a Chinese monument. These objects were monumental because they successfully produced special meaning for the communities in which they were embedded. They accomplished this solely as they were depicted and described, because there were probably never any material bronzes to be encountered otherwise. Far from diminishing the monumentality of the Nine Tripods, this imagined materiality actually enhanced it because their monumentality could be updated in each subsequent depiction as the monuments in the surrounding culture changed.[76] This book will propose a similar process for the Decalogue.

Imagined materiality was also an essential means of constructing monuments within depictions in the Ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible.[77] For example, Gudme compares the tabernacle account in Exodus 25-40 to the Egyptian *Book of the Temple.* The *Book of the*

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[76] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 6–12.

[77] Imagined materiality is especially significant to cases of ekphrasis, a depiction of a monument in which "the words…evoke, and in some sense create, a monument," to quote Rebecca Pyatkevich. On this process more generally, see Ruth. For ekphrasis in the Ancient Near East, see Thomasson and Bahrani. Rebecca Pyatkevich, "Erecting Monuments, Real and Imagined: Brodsky's Monuments to Pushkin Within the Context of Soviet Culture," *Ulbandus Review* 12, no. Pushkin (2010 2009): 162; Webb Ruth, "Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre," *Word & Image* 15, no. 1 (1999): 7–18; Allison Karmel Thomason, "From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet: Conceptions of the Material World at Nineveh," *Iraq* 66, no. Nineveh. Papers of the 49th Recontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part One (2004): 151–62; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 45, 157–59, 212–13.

Temple is a literary depiction of an ideal temple. Like the Nine Tripods, the *Book of the Temple* was thought to have originated in Egypt's legendary past as a decree and model of a Second Dynasty king that was then lost. Similarly, the tabernacle is framed within an account from Israel's legendary past, and its architectural descriptions allows its users to reconstruct it within their minds. Both the temple in the *Book of the Temple* and the tabernacle in the book of Exodus may or may not have actually existed; that is immaterial to their monumentality.[78] They are monumental precisely because their imagined materiality allowed them to produce special meaning for particular communities, even though they primarily existed as literary depictions.[79]

A history of monuments and history of monumentality provides a sophisticated means for connecting epigraphic remains to manuscript traditions. Apart from careful art historical records, monumentality can only be depicted as it is, never as it was. Recall that the Nine Tripods transformed in depictions as the monuments in the broader culture changed. This was in part because these new forms were more meaningful to contemporary audiences. But this was also because the older monuments and especially communal interpretations of and interactions with them were inaccessible to contemporary writers. This is because monuments are the bearers of

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[78] In fact, there are many examples of Ancient Near Eastern literary texts "pretending" to be monuments, such as the 'Foundation Deposit' of Amenhotep son of Hapu from Egypt or Mesopotamia's entire corpus of '*narû*-literature.' Jan Assmann, "Inscriptional Violence and the Art of Cursing: A Study of Performative Writing," *Stanford Literature Review* 8 (1992): 61; Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 90–99.

[79] Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, "Dyed Yarns and Dolphin Skins: Temple Texts as Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible," *Jewish Studies* 50 (2014): 8–9. Jeremy Smoak has made a similar argument about the connection between monumental writing in actual architectural settings and the layout of the tabernacle texts in the book of Numbers. A forthcoming study by Julia Rhyder applies a similar logic to approaching the monumentality of the tabernacle in Exodus more explicitly than did Gudme. Jeremy D. Smoak, "From Temple to Text: Text as Ritual Space and the Composition of Numbers 6:24-26," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, Forthcoming; Julia Rhyder, "The Tent of Meeting as Monumental Space: The Construction of the Priestly Sanctuary in Exodus 25-31, 35-40," in *Ritual Space and Ritual Text: New Perspectives on Monumentality and Monumental Texts in the Southern Levant*, ed. Jeremy Smoak, Alice Mandell, and Lisa Joann Cleath (Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel, Forthcoming).

their own memory. Even if a monument survives to be interpreted by another community, the meaning a previous community constructed and the mode of its production will likely change. Monumentality is dynamic.

Unless some other account is preserved, only the monument can present its meaning and only the present community can interpret it. Thus, when the authors of the biblical account depicted monuments, they depicted them as they knew them. When the editors of these accounts updated them, they did so according to their own perception and experience of monuments. And so – in addition to factors like language, archaeology, and more general history – art history has an important role to play in dating the composition of biblical texts depicting material culture.[80] The biblical writers will undoubtedly have depicted the material culture of their own time – not that of the narrative's time. Otherwise, we must propose that the composers and editors of these passages were recalling traditions of monuments without any means of recollection, or that they were accidentally reinventing attested Iron Age monumentalities at a later date. Both options are less likely than assuming that the writers involved in composing and editing the Decalogues utilized their own experience in their literary activity.

Manuscript traditions also provide an essential window into the reception of material and epigraphic remains. The example of the Nine Tripods is so fascinating because their monumentality was updated to reflect the monuments of new periods. This provides significant evidence for their reception as monuments. If the communities interacting with them did not accept them as monumental, there would be no need to revise their monumentality over time. In

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[80] The combined use of material culture, linguistic change, and history to date biblical texts has recently been proposed and described by Ron Hendel and Jan Joosten. I generally follow their proposal in this study but with special attention to art historical factors. Ronald S. Hendel and Jan Joosten, *How Old Is the Hebrew Bible? A Linguistic, Textual, and Historical Study*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2018).

the ancient Levant, our primary evidence for monumentality is in material remains. Only a few texts exist that explicitly describe monument reception in addition to production. The Hebrew Bible and its evolving account of the Decalogue will prove to be an invaluable piece of evidence in this regard. The Decalogue was not only produced as a monument but also received as one. Both processes are on display in the Bible.

The Structure of This Study

This study will argue that the Decalogue was depicted in the Hebrew Bible as a Levantine "I Am" monument. As such, it utilized typical elements of Levantine monumental discourse to reembody Yahweh. That is, the Decalogue fundamentally functioned as a means of imaginatively encountering and engaging Yahweh. This reembodiment invited the users of the Decalogue to relate to Yahweh to bring about social formation. Their communal interpretation of the Decalogue within the text and reception of it as a monument promoted social cohesion and identity formation. The monumentality of the Decalogue thus consisted of affording reembodiment for Yahweh and social formation for Israel.

Moreover, this study will suggest that the reception of the Decalogue as a monument can be confirmed by changes in its depiction. Specifically, the depicted monumentality of the Decalogue changed over time in responses to sociohistorical shifts in monumentality. Just as the Nine Tripods were depicted differently in different time periods to better match the monumental Bronzes of the writer's present, the Decalogue's monumentality shifted in Exodus and Deuteronomy as its editors updated it to better match the prestige monumental inscriptions of their respective times. A closer comparison of the history of Levantine "I Am" monuments with the reception history of the Decalogue's monumentality will provide a means for periodizing these changes. The result will be a history of the Decalogue's monumentality.   The next

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chapter will consist of a history of what I label Levantine "I Am" monuments – the monumental texts most similar to the Decalogue. This chapter will argue that Levantine monumental inscriptions – especially those opening like the Decalogue with the phrase "I am…" – primarily functioned to create imagined encounters with the individuals they represented. That is, they reembodied the agent behind the monument. This was accomplished through the combination of several particular aspects of these inscriptions, and a more detailed analysis of each of these aspects will allow for the periodization of the inscriptions' monumentality. In addition to local variations in monumentality, these inscriptions may also be divided into broad historical periods that will inform my analysis of the various occurrences of the Decalogue.

The third chapter will transition into a history of the Decalogue's monumentality. This chapter will analyze the Decalogue both as it was produced and as it was integrated into the book of Exodus. While I will not argue that the Decalogue was composed alongside the rest of the book, its integration into Exodus nevertheless allows for the fullest comparative analysis with Levantine "I Am" inscriptions. This setting of the text thus reveals the most about its original production even if its insertion was subsequent to that. Furthermore, the setting reveals that the Decalogue was composed using the model of monumental inscriptions from the surrounding cultures as produced in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. While this observation will not necessarily allow for a more exact dating of the Decalogue, it does at least allow us to identify more specifically the traditions it is conversing with in Exodus.

The fourth chapter will continue the history of the Decalogue's monumentality by analyzing the revision of the text in Deuteronomy. The book of Deuteronomy reproduced the Decalogue in full but not as it appeared in the book of Exodus. While some revisions appear to be the result of historical accidents and theological shifts, several changes reflect a significant

transition in the Decalogue's monumentality. The fact that the Decalogue was revised in the first place reveals that it was a malleable text, and its transplantation from Sinai to Moab in the narrative of Deuteronomy reveal that it was conceived of as something portable as well. Among other shifts, these two features suggest that the Decalogue's monumentality was adapted to better match that of portable, literary monuments made later in the history of the eastern Mediterranean. Most significantly, these revisions within Deuteronomy provide essential evidence for the early reception of the Decalogue as a monument. This is essential data we lack for the vast majority of Levantine "I Am" monuments. While the exact date of the present forms of the texts may still be open to debate, the monumentality of the Deuteronomy Decalogue thus appears to post-date that of the Exodus Decalogue.

The fifth chapter will collate the data from the preceding chapters into a coherent history of the Decalogue in light of its monumentality. The Decalogue developed out of a stream of monument-making traditions that first took root in the ancient Near East during the Bronze Age. The initial production of the Decalogue reflects similar outgrowths of earlier monument-making traditions in the neighboring Levantine cultures of the Iron Age. This first production is most clearly reflected by the next stage in the Decalogue's history – its insertion into the book of Exodus. At this point in the text's history, it still reflects a monumentality consistent with Levantine monumental inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries. But as the Levantine monumentalization practices changed in response to the resurgence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, so too did the biblical text eventually update the monumentality of the Decalogue. As it appears in Deuteronomy, the text appears to line up more with the monumentality of texts and literature from the later 8th and 7th centuries. This is the broad arc of the Decalogue's history as a monument against which all other instances of the text must be set.

PART I

A HISTORY OF LEVANTINE "I AM" MONUMENTS

CHAPTER 2

THE MONUMENTALITY OF LEVANTINE "I AM" INSCRIPTIONS

Introduction

In order to conduct a history of the Decalogue's monumentality, we must first broadly consider the nature and history of the monuments it most resembles. The biblical data treated in the bulk of this study was drawing upon a much larger tradition of Levantine monumental discourse. In particular, the Decalogue was composed, edited, and contextualized in order to imitate what I label Levantine "I Am" inscriptions.[81] Though inscriptions of various genres fall into this category, they function in roughly the same way and share a common monumental discourse.[82] These inscriptions fundamentally provoke an imagined encounter with the individual identified in the first-person in the inscription's opening lines. They reembody a significant individual in order to provoke social formation. This was the monumentality adapted by the Decalogue, but it was reified in different ways at different times by Levantine "I Am" monuments. This chapter will construct a history of those monuments before we attempt to locate the Decalogue among them.

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[81] I label these thus on the basis of their opening with the "I am" formula. This formula was uniquely developed in the Levant and served a particular purpose in the monumental discourse of the region. It is important to stress at the outset that the label "I Am" inscription is a functional designation and not a reference to genre. Monuments of this type include memorial inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, funerary inscriptions, and hybrids of those genres. These inscriptions are united by their monumental function, however. Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[82] Monumental discourse does not refer merely to verbal discourse in a monument but also iconographic, architectural, spatial, and ritual discourse. These various dimensions of meaning affordance in monuments will be developed in more detail for Levantine "I Am" monuments below. Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 149–51.

<u>The Case for "Levantine Monumental Inscriptions"</u>

Throughout this study I will refer to Levantine monumental discourse, as opposed to Northwest Semitic, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Syro-Anatolian, Syro-Hittite, or any other such labels that have been applied to these inscriptions. There are various reasons why I believe the term "Levantine" is preferable to these other labels in the context of this study. "Northwest Semitic" and "Hieroglyphic Luwian" are both linguistic/epigraphic descriptors and thus unsuitable for describing non-linguistic elements of monumental discourse. "Syro-Anatolian" does better at providing a regional label, but even as the definition of this region is expanding it is never used to include southern Levantine polities like Israel or Moab. "Syro-Hittite" suffers from the same regional restrictions and also implies a further limitation to the successor states of the Hittite Empire. While the Hittites did provide significant grist for the mill of Levantine monumental discourse, they were not its sole progenitors. Their successor states also wielded significant influence over a much larger region than the empire previously covered. In contrast to these other labels, "Levantine" implies a broad regional association for this monumental discourse without limiting it to only the Northern Levant or to particular linguistic or epigraphic traditions.

In addition, an analysis of Levantine monumental discourse will allow me to draw on a broader range of evidence than is often utilized in studies of particular monuments. I will use the term Levantine monumental inscriptions as a collective label for both the Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian corpora. These corpora are admittedly in very different languages written in substantially different writing systems. That is where the differences end, however. There is mounting evidence that these linguistic differences were actively bridged through calquing and

borrowing of major poetic devices, tropes, and themes.[83] There are also clear cases of the

adaptation of Hieroglyphic Luwian-inspired orthography and iconography in Northwest Semitic

inscriptions.[84] Furthermore, the ritual and spatial deployment of the inscriptions are not

significantly different but rather point to a shared tradition of monumental discourse.[85] Eva von

Dossow is thus absolutely correct to conclude that the separation between these two corpora is

not one of cultures but of disciplines.[86] The Northwest Semitic inscriptions and Hieroglyphic

Luwian inscriptions were unique expressions of the same underlying monumental discourse.[87]

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[83] E. Masson, "La Stèle Mortuaire de Kuttamuwa (Zincirli): Comment L'appréhender," *Semitica et Classica* 3 (2010): 53; Ilya Yakubovich, "West Semitic God El in Anatolian Hieroglyphic Transmission," in *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, ed. Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, and J. L. Miller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 396; I. Yakubovich, "Review of Investigationes Anatolicae: Gedenkschrift Für Erich Neu, Ed. J. Klinger, E. Rieken, and C. Rüster, and Studia Anatolica in Memoriam Erich Neu Dicata, Ed. R. Lebrun and J. De Vos," *Kratylos* 56 (2011): 181; Ilya Yakubovich, "Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* 65 (2015): 35–53; H. Craig Melchert, "Remarks on the Kuttamuwa Stele," *Kubaba* 1 (2010): 3–11; H. Craig Melchert, "Bilingual Texts in First-Millennium Anatolia," in *Beyond All Boundaries: Anatolia in the First Millennium BCE*, Forthcoming; Sanna Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," in *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean*, ed. Alice Mouton, Ian Rutherford, and Ilya Yakubovich (Brill, 2013), 234–38; Timothy Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 381 (2019); Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[84] M. W. Hamilton, "The Past as Destiny: Historical Visions in Sam'al and Judah under Assyrian Hegemony," *The Harvard Theological Review* 91, no. 3 (1998): 222; E. J. Struble and Virginia R. Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 356 (2009): 20; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 82.

[85] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 5–18, 115–37.

[86] Eva von Dassow, "Nation-Building in the Plain of Antioch, from Hatti to Hatay," in *Glimpses into the Historiography of Assyriology*, ed. Agnès Garcia-Ventura and Lorenzo Verderame (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

[87] S. Mazzoni, "L'arte Siro-Ittita Nel Suo Contesto Archeologico," *Contributi E Materiali Di Archeologia Orientale* 7 (1997): 301; E. von Dassow, "Text and Artifact: A Comprehensive History of the Aramaeans," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, no. 4 (1999): 249; G. Bunnens, "Aramaeans, Hittites and Assyrians in the Upper Euphrates Valley," in *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates. The Tishrin Dam Area. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Barcelona, January 28-30, 1998*, ed. G. del Olmo Lete and J. L. Montro Fenollós, Aula Orientalis Supplementa 15 (Barcelona: Editorial Ausa, 1999), 615; Guy Bunnens, "Syria in the Iron Age: Problems of Definition," in *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 7 (Leuven: Peeters,

Historical Background of Levantine Monumental Discourse

Levantine textual monumentality emerged as a development of more ancient Syrian and Anatolian monumentalities. During the Bronze Age, portions of Syro-Anatolia were variously controlled and influenced by Hatti, Egypt, Mittani, and Assyria, and the region inherited its monumental traditions from these great powers. By the end of the Bronze Age, the region was divided between the Hittites in the West and the Assyrians in the East, and these two exerted the most influence on the region's culture.[88] With the Bronze Age collapse, both of these major states withdrew from the region. This did not entail a collapse of socio-political systems in Syro-Anatolia, however. Many cities that had previously been incorporated into the Hittite Empire reorganized themselves as independent city-states but preserved some Hittite traditions. This is particularly striking in the case of Carchemish, the ruler of which during the Early Iron Age was a direct descendant of the Hittite emperor Šuppiluliumaš I who even claimed the imperial title "great king" when the Hittite government in Hattuša collapsed.[89] Carchemish both carried on the

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2000), 16–17; M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A. M. Wittke, "Einleitung. Die Außenwirkung Des Späthethischen Kulturraumes: Güteraustausch - Kulturkontakt - Kulturtransfer," in *Die Außenwirkung Des Späthethischen Kulturraumes: Güteraustausch - Kulturkontakt - Kulturtransfer. Akten Der Zweiten Forschungstagung Des Graduiertenkollegs "Anatolien Und Sene Nachbarn" der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (20. Bis 22. November 2003)*, ed. M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A. M. Wittke (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 2–4; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 9; Seth Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 369 (2013): 51; Virginia R. Herrmann, Theo van den Hout, and Ahmet Beyazlar, "A New Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscription from Pancarlı Höyük: Language and Power in Early Iron Age Samʾal-YʾDY," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75, no. 1 (March 11, 2016): 70, https://doi.org/10.1086/684835.

[88] The Euphrates acted as a boundary between these two empires. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 5.

[89] The rulers of Aleppo and Malatya also had familial connections to the Hittite royal family for a time. The rulers of Aleppo were viceroyalty installed by Šuppiluliumaš I, the first being one of his sons – Telepinu. This situation is somewhat complicated, though, and it is certain that the last known viceroy – Halpaziti – was of different stock. Aleppo survived into the Iron Age, but it did not wield as much influence in the region as Carchemish. Interestingly, the rulers of Malatya in the early Iron Age appear to have been descendants of the Hittite kings. Gilibert, 7–14; Sanna Aro-Valjus, "Luwians in Aleppo?," in *Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the*

monument-making traditions of the Hittite Empire and wielded considerable artistic influence over the other polities in the region.[90]

"I Am" inscriptions first appeared during the Late Bronze Age in North Syria. The earliest example is the inscription on the statue of Idrimi of Alalaḫ.[91] . In the 15th century BCE, Idrimi, the King of Alalaḫ, erected a textual monument celebrating his rise to power. The text originally appeared unique in the context of Bronze Age monumental inscriptions, leading A. Leo Oppenheim to conclude that it was "of a specific literary tradition, totally different in temper and scope than that of the ancient Near East."[92] However, Edward Greenstein and David Marcus later demonstrated that many of the problems in the text disappear when it is connected to West Semitic literary traditions such as those preserved in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic

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Occasion of His 70th Birthday, ed. Itamar Singer, Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, 2010), 3–4.

[90] Monumental styles similar to the "Carchemish school" have also been uncovered at Tell Ahmar, Arslan Taş, Srin, Malatya, and Maraş. Because the workshops of this period worked on commission and were not only patronized by the respective city's royal house, it has been proposed that some of these non-Karkamišean examples may have in fact been crafted at Carchemish. Additionally, the monumental workshop at Zincirli – though independent – was undoubtedly aware of the Carchemish school and emulative of it. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 121–25.

[91] The only possible competitor for earliest "I Am" inscription is ZA 31 – a Kassite Babylonian inscription of Kaštiliašu III. Though it has also been dated to the 15th century, the distance between Babylon and Alalaḫ as well as Babylon's subsequent abandonment of the "I Am" formula – and indeed the Kassite rejection of first-person narrative in inscriptions altogether – make it difficult to suggest that these represent the same rather than parallel developments. Alexa Bartelmus, "Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions from the Kassite Period," *KASKAL: Rivista Di Storia, Ambienti E Cultura Del Vicino Oriente Antico* 7 (2010): 149–50; Kathleen Abraham and Uri Gabbay, "Kaštiliašu and the Sumundar Canal: A New Middle Babylonian Royal Inscription," *Zeitschrift Für Assyriologie* 103, no. 2 (2013): 186; Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[92] A. Leo Oppenheim, "Review of The Statue of Idri-Mi. Sidney Smith," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14, no. 3 (1955): 200.

inscriptions.[93] Furthermore, if we allow that the content and structure of the text were not the only aspects of it that afforded meaning, its similarity to the rest of the ancient Near East becomes much more apparent.

The inscription was carved on a statue of the king himself, visually manifesting Idrimi while the text aurally manifested him. It has been argued that the "I Am" was first developed for use in the Idrimi inscription in order to imply that the statue it was inscribed on was speaking to its users. In other words, as the inscription announced *a-na-ku* ᵐ*id-ri-mi* "I am Idrimi," the audience was provoked to imagine a conversation with Idrimi mediated by the statue and its text.[94] These words were carved across the mouth of the statue, emphasizing that they were meant to manifest the voice of the king, much as was done through Hittite monuments.[95] The inscription thus rendered the king active and present at his monument and allowed him to directly address his people.

The inscription was likely originally placed in a cultic installation, but it was apparently buried by later users of the monument after being destroyed. This burial may have been a further strategy to ritually deactivate the monument after its destruction or a means of honoring the

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[93] Edward L. Greenstein and David Marcus, "The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1976): 63 ff.

[94] Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 237; Tremper Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1991), 60; Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse." For a recent edition of the text see Jacob Lauinger, "Statue of Idrimi," Oracc: The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, accessed July 10, 2017, http://oracc.org/aemw/alalakh/idrimi/X123456/html.

[95] Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*, 60. In fact, the Hittites adopted this same formula near the end of the empire. It is present in KBo 12.38 and is reconstructed for the NIŞANTAŞ inscription. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 74–75; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 236–38.

broken monument, which had ritually expired.[96] What is clear is that the object was socially

powerful and continued to be past its original production. This power necessitated a proper

response in later generations. Idrimi's inscription manifested him to his target community, it

created liminal space through its ritual integration, and its social power was ritually activated (or

deactivated) by subsequent generations.

Sanna Aro argues that the "I Am" formula was later adapted by the Hittite kings, who

had already adapted the practice of fashioning statues in the style of Idrimi.[97] Specifically, the "I

Am" formula has now been definitively restored at the beginning of NIŞANTAŞ, a Hieroglyphic

Luwian rock inscription of Šuppiluliuma II.[98] Most surprisingly, this inscription was duplicated

in Hittite on a clay tablet in the context of an annalistic narrative – KBo 12.38.[99] The Hittite

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[96] For more on the former possibility, see Yosef Garfinkel, "The Destruction of Cultic Objects and Inscriptions during the First Temple Period," *Eretz-Israel* 29 (2009): 100–104; Nathaniel B. Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 335. For the latter, see David Ussishkin, "The Syro-Hittite Ritual Burial of Monuments," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29, no. 2 (1970): 124–28; Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*, 60; Arlette Roobaert, "A Neo-Assyrian Statue from Til Barsib," *Iraq* 58 (1996): 80–82; Natalie Naomi May, "Decapitation of Statues and Mutilation of the Image's Facial Features," in *A Woman of Valor: Jerusalem Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Joan Goodnick Westenholz*, ed. Wayne Horowitz, Uri Gabbay, and Filip Vukosavović, Biblioteca Del Proximó Oriente Antiguo 8 (Madrid: Consejo Superor de Investigaciones Científicas, n.d.), 111; Natalie Naomi May, "Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 16.

[97] H. Otten, "Neue Quellen Zum Ausklang Des Hethitischen Reiches," *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 94 (1963): 17; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 241.

[98] Andreas Schachner et al., "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 2015," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, no. 1 (2016): 31–32.

[99] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 76–81. We will return to a discussion of KBo 12.38 in the next chapter. Though separated by some centuries, it at least demonstrates that the literary deployment of an "I Am" inscription was not limited to the Hebrew Bible.

adaptation of the "I Am" formula reveals a significant aspect of the monumentality of "I Am" monuments: their special communicative capacity.

The importance of texts to monument-making in Hittite Anatolia was uniquely realized through the Hittites' monumentalization of pre-existing text conventions. The most striking example of this was the opening formula for royal inscriptions. Memorial inscriptions, royal edicts, and even suzerain and international treaties almost always open with the formula *UMMA* PN "Thus (says) PN."[100] That is, the Hittites adapted standard Akkadian epistolary style for the purpose of monumental composition.[101] Hittite textual monuments were meant to be communicative texts, and so they opened them as if they were letters. In this case, however, the text was meant to communicate to more than just a discrete individual, as did most letters. Instead, the convention was elevated to target a communal audience. The format was thus monumentalized.

There are only two major Hittite royal inscriptions that do not open with the *UMMA* formula. The first is the exception that proves the rule. An annalistic text of Anitta of Kuššar – potentially the oldest text recorded in Hittite – begins with Anitta's name, patronymic, and title. This is followed immediately by the Akkadian command *qibi* "speak!" While somewhat unusual without an addressee or the particle *-ma*, this command is well known from the introductions to Akkadian letters and again represents the Hittite monumentalization of epistolary convention.[102]

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[100] Güterbock, 74; Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," 21; Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*, 135.

[101] For more on these epistolary formulas, see Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 56–59.

[102] Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," 22–23.

The other exception comes from the very end of Hittite history. It is the inscription mentioned above of Šuppiluliuma II that begins with the phrase "I (am)." For our present purpose, it will suffice to note that this opening still functioned in roughly the same way as the epistolary influenced monumental texts.[103] It served as a unique marker of a monumental inscription to differentiated it from other genres of texts that adapted epistolary formulae. Nevertheless, it also maintained the function of epistolary by casting the monumental text as an intimate form of communication.

What was the function of opening a monumental inscription as if it were a letter? These openings make abundantly clear that the monumental inscription is to be understood as the direct speech of the Hittite king. In addition to the monument manifesting the presence and agency of the king, the Hittites also made explicit that the text manifested the king's voice as well. In other words, the monumental text verbally and aurally manifested the agent. These openings allowed the king to communicate through the monument as if he had written a letter to its users. Through these monumental letters, the king addressed the monument's users as if he were speaking directly to them and standing right in front of them. This was the most important innovation of the Hittites, and one which was further developed by the post-Hittite states of the Iron Age Levant.[104]

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[103] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 74; Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," 21; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 237.

[104] My understanding of the function of these Hittite formulae is primarily based on the work of Kristel Zilmer and Seth Sanders, even though they focus their work on inscriptions from other cultures (Scandinavian and Northwest Semitic inscriptions respectively). Given that the Hittite monumental texts contain the same types of verbal cues, I propose that they functioned in the same ways. See especially Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114; Kristel Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 1 (2010): 137; Kristel Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia: The Interplay between Oral Monumentality and Commemorative Literacy," in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. Slavica Rankovic, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 20

It is highly likely that the Hittite adaptation of the "I Am" formula led to its iterations

among the Neo-Hittite polities of the Iron Age.[105] The newly independent Levantine states

entered a period of transition in the early Iron Age, in which they maintained some of the

monumental traditions of the Bronze Age but also began developing new ones. Between the 12th

and early 9th centuries BCE, the Levantine polities were actively reshaping their identities, and

monument-making was a key component of this. During this period, "I Am" monuments first

reappeared in Hieroglyphic Luwian and were later adapted into Northwest Semitic dialects.

Though these monuments were inscribed initially in a different language, that does not

necessarily mean that these exemplars came from a different culture. Rather, the Hieroglyphic

Luwian monuments and Northwest Semitic monuments expressed the same Syro-Anatolian

monumental tradition in different languages.[106] The Hieroglyphic Luwian exemplars simply

emerged first because they represent a roughly continuous tradition from the Hittite Empire.[107]

(Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), 147; Kristel Zilmer, "Monumental Messages and the Voice of Individuality and Tradition: The Case of Scandinavian Rune Stones," in *Modes of Authorship in Hte Middle Ages*, ed. Slavica Ranković, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 22 (Ontario, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 309–14; Seth Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," *MAARAV* 19, no. 1–2 (2012): 35; Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 50.

[105] Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 240–44.

[106] For a discussion of Syro-Anatolian monumentality as a shared cultural tradition between Luwian-speaking and Semitic-speaking groups, see Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 9–10.

[107] Most Bronze Age inscriptions date to the reigns of the last two Hittite kings, Tudḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II. Between 1200 and 1000 BCE, only a few inscriptions are preserved representing the transitional period between the empire and the independent polities of the Iron Age. The vast majority of Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments date to the Iron Age, especially from the 10th to the 8th century BCE. J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, vol. Volume I (Berlin - New York: de Gruyter, 2000), 17–22; Annick Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts (2nd Revised Edition)*, 2nd ed., Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum Orientis 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 2–3; Annick Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 2–14.

Levantine monumental traditions did not develop in a vacuum, however. The Assyrians again exerted influence on the region and its cultures during the incursions of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The Assyrians restarted military operations (and as a result artistic interactions) in the Levant in the late 12th century, during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE).[108] This interaction peaked with the imperial auspices of Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) and his son Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE) in the mid-9th century.[109] While there are Northwest Semitic inscriptions that predate Shalmaneser III (e.g. KAI 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 201), the earliest known Northwest Semitic "I Am" inscription (the Mesha Inscription – KAI 181) dates to only shortly before his reign (c.a. 850 BCE).[110] However, it is important to note that Shalmaneser III's last campaign west was in 829 BCE, and the Assyrian state fell into disarray during the last years of his reign and afterwards.[111] As a result, Assyrian hegemony in the region collapsed, and the Levantine states were freed from direct Assyrian pressure until the next major incursion by

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[108] Sanna Aro, "The Origins of the Artistic Interactions between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria Revisited," in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, ed. M. Luukko, S Svärd, and R. Mattila, Studia Orientalia 106 (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 9–18.

[109] Irene J. Winter, "Art as Evidence for Interaction: Relations Between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria," in *Mesopotamien Und Seine Nachbarn. Politische Und Kulturelle Wechselbeziegungen Im Alten Vorderasien von 4. Bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. H. Kühne, H. J. Nissen, and J. Renger, Berliner Beiträge Zum Vorderen Orient 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), 357; Federico Giusfredi, *Sources for a Socio-Economic History of the Neo-Hittite States*, Texte Der Hethiter 28 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2010), 52–53; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 8; Trevor R. Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 211–44.

[110] Bruce Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*, Archaeology, Culture, and Society (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 7, 136–37.

[111] Shigeo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3 (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 224.

Tiglath-pileser III in 743 BCE.[112] Levantine monumentality then changed significantly after Tiglath-pileser III's subjugation of the region. All of the Syro-Anatolian states were annexed as provinces in 708 BCE. Hieroglyphic Luwian then disappeared as a monumental language, while Northwest Semitic monuments continued to be produced in somewhat different forms.[113]

Not all similarities between Assyrian monumental traditions and those of the Levant are the results of Assyrian influence, however. The Assyrians also adopted elements of the well-established Levantine traditions. Carchemish in particular seems to have lent considerable elements of its monumental discourse to Assyria in addition to the other polities within the Levant. Elements of Karkimišean architecture, statuary, and even inscription practices were adapted by the Assyrians as early as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (114-1076 BCE), and new features of their discourse continued to appear as late as the reigns of Assurnaṣirpal II (883-859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (859-824 BCE).[114] The form of the "I Am" inscription itself was eventually adopted from the Levant by Assyria during the reign of Sennacherib (705-681 BCE).[115] In short, rather than speaking of influence in one or the other direction, it is perhaps

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[112] Ibid., 308; Shigeo Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," *Orient* 49 (31-51): 32, 44.

[113] Douglas J. Green, *"I Undertook Great Works": The Ideology of Domestic Achievements in West Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 296–97; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 8–9.

[114] On these artistic interactions, see especially Winter, "Art as Evidence for Interaction: Relations Between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria"; Irene J. Winter, "Carchemish Ša Kišad Puratti," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 177–97; Guy Bunnens, "From Carchemish to Nimrud Between Visual Writing and Textual Illustration," *Subartu* XVI (2005): 21–24; Aro, "The Origins of the Artistic Interactions between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria Revisited."

[115] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

better to speak of interaction between Levantine and Assyrian monumental discourse, in which some features can historically be show to have originated in one region or the other.

Method and Corpus

Levantine "I Am" inscriptions centered on a single fictionalized individual. As discussed earlier, Douglas Green suggested the contrasting terms "historical king" and "inscriptional king" to account for this fictionalization in royal inscriptions. These emphasize that the king presented in a royal inscription is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the historical person it purports to describe.[116] Similarly, this study will differentiate the monument commissioner and the *agent*. The agent is the one who is reembodied to deliver a communal message through a monument.[117] The agent primarily exists in the minds of the users of the monument; he is not necessarily the same as the historical monument commissioner, whose original message can change over time as it is reused and reinterpreted.[118]

This study will address five dimensions of Levantine "I Am" monuments that anchor their monumentality and produce the encounter with the agent.[119] The first element of a textual

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[116] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 19–20.

[117] The term 'agent' can be more broadly applied than Green's "inscriptional king," and emphasizes that the person in question is imagined as a function of the monument as opposed to the narrative. Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[118] My choice of the masculine pronoun for this study is not to suggest that all agents were male, only that all the inscriptions chosen for this study happened to have been commissioned by men. There are significant examples of female agents in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, and we may now have an example of a monument set up by a queen inscribed in Samalian. This Northwest Semitic exemplar, however, is somewhat poorly preserved and will be relegated to secondary importance for this study. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:334–38; André Lemaire and Benjamin Sass, "The Mortuary Stele with Sam'alian Inscription from Ördekburnu near Zincirli," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 369 (2013): 128–29.

[119] I arrived at these five categories by combining heuristic models suggested by Edmund Thomas for monumental texts and James Watts for iconic texts. First, both suggest analyses of the semantic content and structure of the text.

monument experienced by its users is its spatial dimension: the monument's integration into a

broader monumental, urban, or natural context. This defines the interactive space for engaging

the monument. Next, the users would engage the monument's aesthetic dimension: its physical

form and appearance including the type of object used, any iconography employed, and the

orthography of the text. By reading the text or hearing it read in the context of public

performance, the users would next experience the semantic dimension and especially its

presentation as direct speech. In Levantine "I Am" monuments, the presentation of the text as

direct speech reembodied the agent in the minds of the users. The content of that speech directly

materialized the agent's proposed social order for the users. Simultaneously, the users would

encounter the text's poetic dimension. This included the text's rhetorical techniques and

structure. In the case of Levantine "I Am" monuments, the inscriptions poetics were especially

dependent on their creative and strategic use of deixis. These elements guide the monument's

users through their encounter with the agent by providing instructions for their orientation

toward the different elements of his message. Finally, the users' response – their interaction with

the monument – activated and maintained the imagined encounter and allowed them to engage in

social formation. This was the monument's performative dimension.

It should be emphasized again that these aspects must be reconstructed based on the

objects alone. Because the communities engaging them no longer exist, we can only engage the

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Both address this as a single category, but I have chosen to separately analyze the content and rhetoric of textual monuments as they have unique though related functions. Next, both suggest analyzing the aesthetic or iconic qualities of the text. Thomas completes his analysis by addressing how the text is integrated into a broader context, and Watts completes his by addressing performative aspects of the text. Edmund Thomas, "The Monumentality of Text," in *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology*, ed. James F. Osborne (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2014), 60–61; James W. Watts, "The Three Dimensions of Scriptures," *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts and Contemporary Worlds* 2, no. 2–3 (January 1, 2008): 6–7.

horizons of meaning affordance indicated by these aspects and not the precise engagement that took place on the ground in the ancient world. An ideal user may have engaged with all of the aspects of monumentality reconstructed in this book, but it must be emphasized that many users probably engaged certain aspects of monuments at the expense of others. Again, ancient monumentality must always be described in terms of *potential* meaning affordance. The actual relationships between people and objects are beyond reconstruction, but the potential means of relating are well within the purview of studies of textual and material culture.

The utility of this analytical approach can be demonstrated with a brief look at KAI 214 – the Hadad Inscription. The monumental text was inscribed on a statue of the god Hadad placed in a royal necropolis, which the text suggests was a setting for funerary and remembrance rituals (line 14).[120] The text was thus integrated into a pre-existing location for ritual engagement and transformed into a locus for that engagement as well as for social formation.[121] The depiction of Hadad was to play a special role in the ritual dimension of the text, as it provided a material referent for the deity with whom users and agent were to interact. The text commences with the phrase ʾnk pnmw "I am Panamuwa," presenting the inscription as direct speech and thereby producing the presence of the agent.[122] The agent then proceeds to voice his version of history

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[120] This inscription refers to the location as a *mqm* "(burial) place." Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 191; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 125.

[121] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 98; Seymour Gitin, Trude Dothan, and Joseph Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," *Israel Exploration Journal* 47, no. 1/2 (1997): 7.

[122] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114; Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 12; Annick Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," in *Audias Fabulas Veteres. Anatolian Studies in Honor of Jana Součková-Siegelová*, ed. Šárka Velhartická (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2016), 293.

(lines 1-15), narrating his actions so as to reveal and legitimate his ideology.[123] After having

legitimated his ideology, Panamuwa then makes demands in light of it (lines 15-34). The

sequence of these units draws the users into an imagined encounter in which they must respond

to Panamuwa's ideology.[124] Specifically, Panamuwa gives instructions for ritual engagement

with his monument, for the preservation of his monument, and for how his successors might

emulate him in the future.[125] By directing collective practice, the monument thus proposes social

order marked by that practice. In sum, The Hadad Inscription was situated within a ritual

complex to provoke engagement with it. It was presented in such a way as to create an imagined

dialogue with Panamuwa. That dialogue consisted of Panamuwa relating his version of social

order, and demanding a response from the monument's users. The text's rhetorical structure

prompted that response, which took the form of ritual engagement and emulative collective

practice. The Hadad Inscription's monumentality was thus the potential to provoke an imagined

dialogue between Panamuwa and his successors that structured subsequent social formation.

The remainder of this chapter will catalogue the monumental functions of the features

delineated above by drawing broadly on the Iron Age corpus of "I Am" monuments. "I Am"

monuments were admittedly produced in the Levant during the Bronze Age and they continued

to be produced in the Hellenistic period. However, the differences evinced by "I Am"

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[123] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 185–93.

[124] K. Lawson Younger Jr., "Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib: Two Structural Analyses," *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 18 (1986): 103.

[125] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 184; Hayim Tawil, "The End of the Hadad Inscription in the Light of Akkadian," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32, no. 4 (1973): 477–82.

inscriptions from these periods as well as the distribution of evidence illustrated below suggest that the monumental discourse imitated by the Decalogue should be sought among the inscriptions of the Iron Age and I will mostly limit my analysis to these inscriptions.[126]
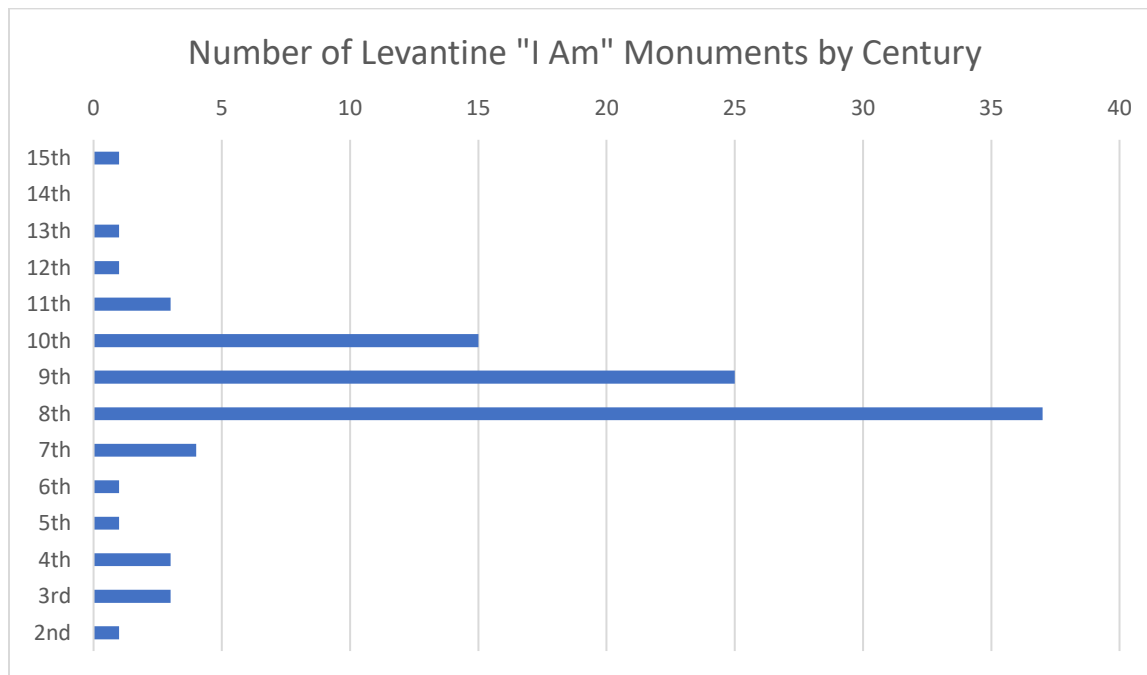
Figure 1: Distribution of Levantine "I Am" monuments by century.

Limiting my analysis thus to monuments dating between the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Persian Period produces the following list of inscriptions: in Northwest Semitic the Yehawmilk Inscription (KAI 10), the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (KAI 13), the

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[126] Only four "I Am" inscriptions survive from the Late Bronze Age. One of these – ZA 31 – is a brick inscription from Kassite Babylon that may not be related to the tradition of North Syria and Anatolia. The Idrimi Inscription likely served as inspiration for the adaptation of the "I Am" formula in the two Hittite examples, and these Hittite examples directly inspired emulation in the Neo-Hittite and other Levantine states. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the Hittites adapted Idrimi's formula to best suit pre-existing Hittite monumental discourse, and that Hittite discourse could not be uncritically emulated by the Neo-Hittites as they were no longer projecting an ideology on an imperial scale. Bartelmus, "Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions from the Kassite Period," 149–50; Abraham and Gabbay, "Kaštiliašu and the Sumundar Canal: A New Middle Babylonian Royal Inscription," 186; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC"; Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

Kulamuwa Orthostat (KAI 24), the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26), the Mesha Inscription (KAI 181), the Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202), the Bar-rakib Palace Orthostats (KAI 216, 217, and 218), 261, the Kerak Inscription (KAI 306), the Tel Dan Inscription (KAI 310), the Katumuwa Inscription, and the Çineköy Inscription;[127] in Hieroglyphic Luwian KARATEPE 1,[128] ÇINEKÖY,[129] ADANA 1,[130] KARKAMIŠ A14a, KARKAMIŠ A14b, KARKAMIŠ A1b, KELEKLİ, KARKAMIŠ A11a, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, KARKAMIŠ A12, KARKAMIŠ A13d, KARKAMIŠ A23, KARKAMIŠ A6, KARKAMIŠ A15b, CEKKE, KÖRKÜN, KARKAMIŠ A5b, KARKAMIŠ A17a, KARKAMIŠ A18a, TELL AHMAR 2, BOROWSKI 3, TELL AHMAR 5, ALEPPO 2, TELL AHMAR 1, TELL AHMAR 6,[131] MARAŞ 8, MARAŞ 4, MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 14, KÜRTÜL, MARAŞ 2, MARAŞ 13,

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[127] Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, vol. Band 1, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002); Dennis Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 356 (November 1, 2009): 51–71; Struble and Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context"; Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant"; Virginia R. Herrmann, "The KTMW Stele from Zincirli: Syro-Hittite Mortuary Cult and Urban Social Networks," in *Redefining the Sacred: Religious Architecture and Text in the Near East and Egypt 1000 BC-AD 300*, ed. Elizabeth Frood and Rubina Raja, Contextualizing the Sacred 1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 153–81; Recai Tekoglu et al., "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 144, no. 3 (2000): 961–1007, https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.2000.16174.

[128] KARATEPE 1 refers to the Luwian portion of the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual from Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Phoenician inscription is labeled KAI 26.

[129] ÇINEKÖY refers to the Luwian portion of the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual from Çineköy. It is standard practice for Luwian inscriptions to be labeled in all caps in contrast to Northwest Semitic inscriptions. This inscription may be found in Tekoglu et al., "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy."

[130] This inscription is listed in Hawkins' corpus but not transliterated or translated. An edition of it may be found in J. David Hawkins, Kazim Tosun, and Rukiye Akdoğan, "A New Hieroglyphic Luwian Stele in Adana Museum," *Höyük* 6 (2013): 1–6.

[131] For edition, see Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 91–94.

İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN 1-2, PALANGA, KIRÇOĞLU, BABYLON 1, ALEPPO 6,[132] ARSUZ 1, ARSUZ 2,[133] HAMA 4, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, HINES, TALL ŠṬĪB,[134] HAMA 8, HAMA 1, HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 6, HAMA 7, SHEIZAR, KULULU 1, KULULU 4, ÇİFTLİK, SULTANHAN, KAYSERİ, BOHÇA, HİSARCIK 1, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, EĞREK, HİSARCIK 2, ANDAVAL, BOR, BULGARMADEN, PORSUK, and BEIRUT.[135] To these, two Akkadian inscriptions should be added: the Kapar(r)a Inscription from Tell Halaf and the Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur Inscription from Arslan Tash.[136] Both of these inscriptions may be considered Akkadian realizations of the Levantine tradition. I will exclude, however, Akkadian "I Am" inscriptions from Mesopotamia, which merely adapt the "I Am" formula to head otherwise standard Mesopotamian monumental inscriptions.

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[132] For edition, see J. David Hawkins, "The Inscriptions of the Aleppo Temple," *Anatolian Studies* 61 (2011): 35–54.

[133] For editions of ARSUZ 1 and ARSUZ 2, see Belkıs Dinçol et al., "Two New Inscribed Storm-God Stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and ARSUZ 2," *Anatolian Studies* 65 (2015): 59–77.

[134] This inscription is a recently discovered duplicate of RESTAN. For editions and some discussion, see Hatice Gonnet, "Une stèle hiéroglyphique louvite à Tall Šṭīb," in *Entre nomades et sédentaires. Prospections en Syrie duNord et en Jordanie du Sud*, Travauxde la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 55 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2010), 97–99; Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 61.

[135] Unless otherwise noted, all of these inscriptions may be found in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. The order of inscriptions in this list follows that used in Hawkins' corpus. Those inscriptions not in the corpus have been listed after inscriptions associated with the same region.

[136] For editions of these, see Bruno Meissner, "Die Keilschriftentexte auf den steinernen Orthostaten und Statuen aus dem Tell Halaf," in *Auf fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur - Festschrift Max Feiherr von Oppenheim zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Mitarbeiten*, ed. E. F. Weidner, Archiv für Orientforschung 1 (Berlin: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1933), 71–79; Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 161–63.

Figure 2: Sites of Iron Age and Persian Period Levantine "I Am" inscriptions discovered in situ. The size of markers indicates the number of independent inscriptions discovered there.

All of the inscriptions in my corpus are all delivered in the first-person and reasonably well-preserved enough to analyze. As much as possible, this study will contextualize the monumentality of the Decalogue within the monumentality of these inscriptions. Where it is helpful, these inscriptions will be compared to the broader corpora of Northwest Semitic inscriptions and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions with which they share the most in common.[137] Neo-Assyrian monuments will also provide an important comparative body of evidence for some periods in the history of these inscriptions.[138]

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[137] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*; Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*.

[138] Shigeo Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," *Orient* 42, no. 1 (1999): 1–18; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III*

The corpus proposed here may be broadly periodized into five major phases. I have derived four of these phases from the diachronic presentation of monuments proposed by Alessandra Gilibert in her study of monuments from Zincirli and Carchemish.[139] I propose here relabeling one of her phases and adding an additional one to better account for Levantine "I Am" monuments from other sites. The resulting periods are 1) the archaic transitional period (12th to mid-10th century BCE), 2) the age of civic ritual (late 10th to early 9th century BCE), 3) the age of territorialization (870-790 BCE), 4) the age of court ceremony (790-690 BCE), and 5) the age of increased internationalism (7th century BCE through the Persian Period). The major breaks I make from Gilibert are as follows. I replace her "mature transitional period" with "the age of territorialization." As will be shown below, this period was marked by an overt emphasis on warfare and interstate competition not seen before or after among Levantine "I Am" monuments. I also follow her last category with "the age of increased internationalism." The 7th century BCE in particular saw a broad shift in monuments based on Assyrian pressure. While Shalmaneser III (859-824 BCE) had campaigned to this region a century earlier and had some effect on Levantine monument engagement practices, it was under Tiglath-pileser III that an imperial

(859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West; Shigeo Yamada, "History and Ideology in the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III: An Analysis of Stylistic Changes in the Assyrian Annals" (Royal Assyrian Inscriptions: History, Historiography and Ideology, Jerusalem, 2003); Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011); James Novotny and Joshua Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 5/1 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

[139] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 115–32.

system was truly imposed on the west.[140] As a result of Tiglath-pileser III's imperial ambitions, both Assyrian and Levantine monumental discourse changed significantly.[141] This only intensified under the Sargonids in the 7th century, and the Levantine states that had not been incorporated as provinces during this time took to radical reformulations of their social relations and hierarchies.[142] Most importantly, new "I Am" monuments nearly ceased to be erected during the 7th century and are very sparsely attested in the centuries afterwards in the Levant.
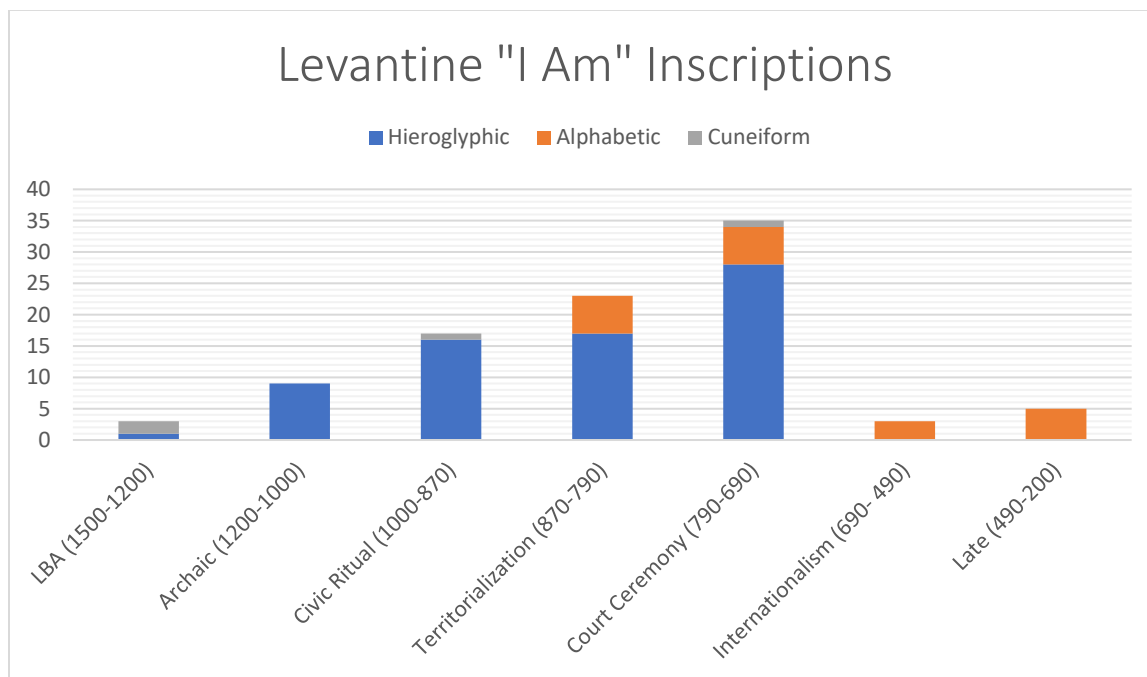
Figure 3: Levantine "I Am" monuments by epigraphic type and period.

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[140] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 8–9; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 31.

[141] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 294–97; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 48.

[142] C. L. Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 162 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 8–104.

The Assyrians actually adopted the form during the 7th century and may have restricted its use among their subject and tributary states. In general, the Assyrians sought to restrict monumentalization practices among their governors and vassals in order to solely claim what they saw as a royal prerogative.[143] This rule is most interestingly demonstrated by some of the few exceptions to it. In 780 BCE, the Assyrian governor of Til-Barsib – formerly a center in the Luwian state of Masuwari – erected his own "I Am" inscription in Akkadian, Luwian, and Aramaic. While the erection of this monument by an Assyrian elite and his use of Akkadian Cuneiform points to Assyrian pressure in the region, the fact that this official rather than the Assyrian king erected the monument speaks to the relatively weak hold of the crown on the region during this time, especially when compared with the later reforms of Tiglath-Pileser III.[144] Even more significant in this regard are the effectively royal inscriptions of Suhu, which were only erected during a very short period at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 8th century BCE when Assyrian control of the region was not very strong.[145] Four such inscriptions from the 8th century adapted the "I Am" formula.[146] Apart from these five examples from the 8th century, the

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[143] Ann Shafer, "The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1998), 32–33; Ann Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context*, ed. Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2007), 135; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 44–47.

[144] K. Lawson Younger Jr., *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Polities* (Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2016), 362–65.

[145] Shana Zaia, "How To (Not) Be King: Negotiating the Limits of Power within the Assyrian Hierarchy," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 77, no. 2 (2018): 207–8.

[146] Nadav Na'aman, "The Suhu Governors' Inscriptions in the Context of Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions," in *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Dan 'el Kahn (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2008), 223–34.

"I Am" formula did not appear again in Cuneiform until the Assyrian kings themselves adapted it. The formula appeared in 46 Neo-Assyrian inscriptions from the 7th century at precisely the time when the formula was on the decline among the Levantine states. It appeared in a further 4 Neo-Babylonian inscriptions and once more in the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great.[147]
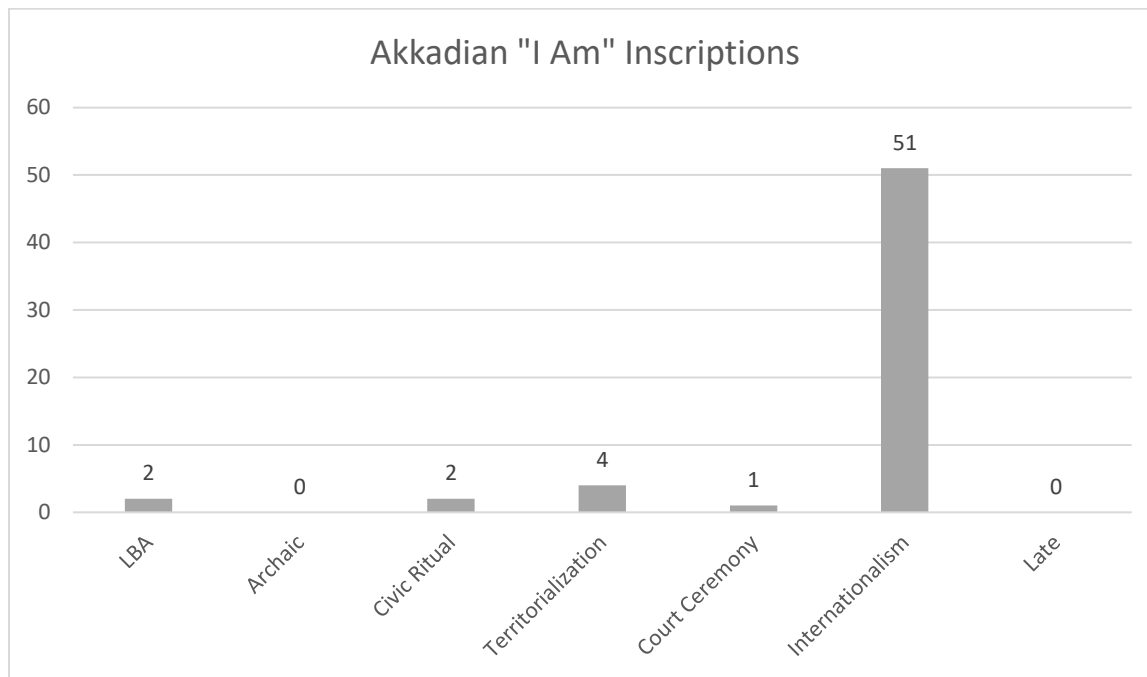
Figure 4: Distribution of "I Am" inscriptions written in Akkadian.[148]

The Akkadian examples of "I Am" inscriptions were the last examples of the form's use in royal inscriptions or even in emulations of royal inscriptions. The subsequent examples in

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[147] For the Neo-Babylonian examples, see Nabonidus 23, 49, 56, and 2001 in Frauke Weiershäuser and James Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Amēl-Marduk (562-560 BC), Neriglissar (560-556 BC), and Nabonidus (555-539 BC), Kings of Babylon*, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire 3 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2019). For an edition of the relevant lines of the Bisitun Inscription, see W. C. Benedict and Elizabeth von Voigtlander, "Darius' Bisitun Inscription, Babylonian Version, Lines 1-29," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10, no. 1 (1956): 1–10.

[148] Note that this chart includes the examples from Alalaḫ and Kassite Babylon discussed briefly above as well as a regent's inscription from 10th century Assur that is otherwise not relevant to this study. For treatments of the 10th century inscription, see James Novotny and Poppy Tushingham, "Aššur-Rēša-Iši II 2001," The Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online (RIAo) Project, 2017, http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/Q006010/..

Northwest Semitic dialects from the Hellenistic period were all set up by private individuals and seem most associated with funerary monuments. These are limited to two examples in Phoenician from Cyprus,[149] three Phoenician-Greek bilinguals from Athens,[150] and one Aramaic-Greek bilingual that was found in Armazi, Georgia.[151] Some of these inscriptions include nothing but the "I Am" formula, and those that are longer are only expanded by brief dedications of the monument. These features as well as the lateness and far-flung deployments of these inscriptions suggest that they should be treated as a new type of monument indicative of a new monumentality, even if they derive some of their discourse from earlier Levantine "I Am" monuments. These inscriptions will not be addressed in the material below.

The Spatial Dimension: Distributing the Agent

The first aspect of a Levantine "I am" monument that its users might experience was its spatial integration into a broader context. A monument's placement specifies a location for ritual engagement as well as social formation.[152] The integration of monuments into built and natural environments allowed them to tap into the power of the landscape as well as reshape it by

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[149] Kition Funerary Inscription B1 (KAI 35) and B 38. Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo and Vassos Karageorghis, *Inscriptions Phéniciennes*, Fouilles de Kition 3 (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1977), 48–51, 86–87.

[150] KAI 53, 54, and 59. For an engaging study of KAI 54 with references to the other two, see Jennifer M. S. Stager, "'Let No One Wonder at This Image': A Phoenician Funerary Stele in Athens," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 74, no. 3 (2005): 427–49.

[151] Bruce M. Metzger, "A Greek and Aramaic Inscription Discovered at Armazi in Georgia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 15, no. 1 (1956): 18–26.

[152] Meskell, "Memory's Materiality: Ancestral Presence, Commemorative Practice and Disjunctive Locales," 39–42; Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," 7.

imbuing it with new meaning.[153] They drew the users' attention and suggested a symbolic center

or boundary. A monument's integration created a socially formative interactive zone: a stage for

ritual engagement and a domain for directed collective practice.[154] Levantine "I Am" monuments

accomplished this in particular by either suggesting a radiating boundary with the monument as

the center of the specified domain, or by bounding larger interactive arenas. During a particular

period of their history, "I Am" monuments were even deployed on a regional scale in order to

transpose center-oriented ideologies to peripheral zones in order to propose an agent-defined

territory. Whatever the specified domain, the monument's deployment ultimately indicated a

particular location for users to encounter the agent.[155] We may label these interactive domains

'theatres.' A 'theatre' is "any building, plaza, landscape, pilgrimage route, or other setting in

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[153] Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 295; Ömür Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 2 (2007): 180; Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 139; Kahn and Kirch, *Monumentality and Ritual Materialization in the Society Islands*, 218–19.

[154] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 77; Meskell, "Memory's Materiality: Ancestral Presence, Commemorative Practice and Disjunctive Locales," 39; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 143; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 75, 84, 98; Pauketat, "From Memorials to Imaginaries in the Monumentality of Ancient North America," 441–42; Ömür Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 18–20.

[155] The integration of some of these monuments must be reconstructed based on the text and inscribed object. Only some were found *in situ*. In particular, the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (KAI 13), the Kulamuwa Orthostat (KAI 24), the Azatiwada Inscription (KARATEPE 1 and KAI 26), the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), and the Katumuwa Stele were found in their original primary context. The Bar-Rakib Palace Inscriptions (KAI 216-217) and the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310) were found in secondary context. The Yehawmilk Inscription (KAI 10), Mesha Stele (KAI 181), Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202), Neirab Stelae (KAI 225 and 226), Kerak Inscription (KAI 306), and the Çineköy Inscription were found in tertiary context.

which spectacles are performed."[156] The deployment of monumental objects in specific places and the performance of particular rituals within and around them served to activate the space in tandem with the monument and map the world proposed in the inscription onto the physical space in which it was deployed and performed.[157] Levantine "I Am" monuments were deployed in theatres of various scales that were united by their purpose of proposing a space for collective spectacle to conjure the presence of the agent.

<u>Bounded Ritual Theatres – Centralized Monuments</u>

Centrally emplaced monuments proposed an intimate connection between the agent and the space most aligned with his ideology. They could also suggest a radiating boundary around the agent's chosen theatre.[158] Typical small-scale theatres of "I Am" monuments were palaces, temples, and other clearly bounded sites of ritual interaction. Perhaps the simplest examples of this are actually non-royal emulations of "I Am" monuments, which were necessarily restricted in their deployment. One of the best documented examples of a centralized monument is the Katumuwa Stele. This funerary stele was found in situ in an "assembly hall" or "mortuary chapel" that is also indicated as the inscription's functional location in the text.[159] The text

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[156] Lawrence S. Coben, "Other Cuzcos: Replicated Theaters of Inka Power," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Lawrence S. Coben and Takeshi Inomata (Oxford: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 223.

[157] Alessandra Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," *KASKAL: Rivista Di Storia, Ambienti E Culture Del Vicino Oriente Antico* 10 (2013): 49.

[158] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 166.

[159] Struble and Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," 33; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 96. For the translation of *syd* as "assembly hall" see Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 26.

suggests that this assembly hall is the extent of the agent's claimed interactive zone and the stele occupies the focal point of this chamber. It was clearly the designated ritual locus, as evidenced both by ritual instructions in the text and an accompanying basalt bench and table for use in the prescribed offerings. This location was specifically accessible to the agent's dependents and descendants who acquired the chamber.[160] The monumental text thus lies at the symbolic center of the assembly hall and designates it as the extent of its operative domain.[161] It was specifically within this assembly hall that Katumuwa could be encountered by the monument's users.

Centralized monuments could operate according to more complex spatial syntax, however. This was especially true of royal monuments, which were deployed to reflect and manipulate the concentric construction of cities.[162] One of the key features of Levantine cities – especially those of the northern Levant – was that they were laid out in such a way as to demonstrate a clear hierarchy of space. City centers – such as those at Zincirli, Carchemish, and Hama, for example – were typically walled off and accessibly by means of central processional roads. The city center itself was further subdivided into ceremonial and residential regions, and the ceremonial area was dominated by the ceremonial plaza – a large-scale theatre designed for ritualized engagement with monumental art and architecture. Gilibert argues that such ceremonial plazas "should be analyzed as the material correlate of the "citizens" as a generic

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[160] Struble and Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," 42; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 96.

[161] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 48.

[162] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 99–106.

political subject."[163] These plazas suggest the scale of the rituals to be carried out within them, including those targeting "I Am" monuments. They imply the number of users that could be engaged by the agent at any given time.[164] As such, it was essential the agent's presence be manifested within these plazas and distributed throughout them.[165] This distribution could be accomplished in part by means of "I Am" monuments.

Perhaps the best examples of the spatial syntax described above are the "I Am" monuments of Katuwas from early 9th century Carchemish. Katuwas erected six "I Am" monuments in the environs of the temple of the Storm-god at Carchemish and their particular deployments reveal important aspects of the potential spatial dimensions of such monuments. As described above, the potential users of these monuments would find themselves on a processional road clearly leading to the citadel upon entering Carchemish. They would first encounter the city's ruler – Katuwas – upon reaching the King's Gate restricting entry to the citadel. Katuwas was manifested within the gateway by means of three "I Am" monuments – most notable the portal orthostats KARKAMIŠ A11b+c flanking the southern entrance of the

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[163] Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 37–40.

[164] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 104.

[165] For this sense of distributed personhood, see A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 96–154; Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," 190–97; Whitney Davis, "Abducting the Agency of Art," in *Art's Agency and Art History*, ed. Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 209; Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," 150; Irene J. Winter, "Agency Marked, Agency Ascribed: The Affective Object in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *On Art in the Ancient Near East*, vol. II From the Third Millenium BCE, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 34.2 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 307–32.

gateway but also by KARKAMIŠ A11a and KARKAMIŠ A13d within the gateway.[166] These

gateway monuments point the liminality afforded by them. The associated inscriptions legitimate

Katuwas' role as ruler through his military successes, construction efforts, and his religious

devotion to the Storm-god and other deities of Carchemish; they even explicitly narrate the

triumphal processions the gate was designed to facilitate.[167] The ideal user passing through the

gate would be transformed when they accepted the ideology proposed by Katuwas in his "I Am"

inscriptions.[168] It is most important to note in this regard, that these three "I Am" inscriptions are

the only ones Katuwas erected that give descriptions and instructions for the ritual processions to

take place at the gate and in the ceremonial plaza beyond.[169] KARKAMIŠ A11a even gestures to

the temple of the Storm-god, which is the ultimate target of the procession.[170] This procession

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[166] For editions of these inscriptions and summaries of their contexts, see Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:94–108, 115–17.

[167] Marina Pucci, "THE KING'S GATE COMPLEX AT KARKAMIŠ: ANALYSIS OF SPACE," in *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften Zur Archäologie Und Geschichte Altvorderasiens Ad Honorem Hartmut Kühne*, ed. Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M. Czichon, and F. Janoscha Kreppner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 219–20.

[168] I have adapted the term 'ideal user' from Peter Stockwell's description of the 'idealised reader.' Any work of art – textual or not – can be interpreted in multiple ways. Though monuments could still function if they were not interpreted precisely as their creators intended, the monument-makers of Levantine monuments do appear to have particular interpretations in mind. The 'ideal user' is thus the user that correctly interprets the monument and is transformed by it as the agent proposes. Of course, the real users probably only approached this ideal to various degrees. Peter Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics: An Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 43.

[169] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 110.

[170] Pucci, "THE KING'S GATE COMPLEX AT KARKAMIŠ: ANALYSIS OF SPACE," 221.

and its associated rituals were the means of transformation for the users.

Upon passing through the gateway, the users of the monuments would come face to face with the temple of the Storm-god and the neighboring palatial complex, but they would be unable to access it directly as the southern entrance was positioned off-center from the main cella of the temple. Instead, they would need to turn 90° to the right to access the temple, at which point their gaze would instead be invited to the Lower Palace Area – the ceremonial plaza south of the palace and temple bounded by decorated walls, buildings, and gateways.[171] Within the plaza, they could encounter Katuwas two more times in a monument along the Herald's Wall along the southern border of the plaza (KARKAMIŠ A12)[172] and then along the great staircase north of the plaza leading to a side entrance into the temple of the Storm-

Figure 5: The "I Am" inscriptions of Katuwas in the Lower Palace Area of Carchemish.

1. KARKAMIŠ A11a
2. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c
3. KARKAMIŠ A13d
4. KARKAMIŠ A12
5. KARKAMIŠ A23
6. KARKAMIŠ A2+3

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[171] Elif Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, ed. Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 181.

[172] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 38–39.

god (KARKAMIŠ A23).[173] Upon completing their procession to the temple of the Storm-god, the users would meet Katuwas one final time in a portal orthostat pair flanking the doorway to the temple's cella (KARKAMIŠ A2+3).[174] Within the inscription, Katuwas proclaims his election by the Storm-god and calls down curses on any who do not respect his legacy. Taken together, these six monuments allowed Katuwas to distribute his presence throughout the ceremonial plaza. He appeared along major liminal zones linking the different parts of the plaza to other areas in the city as well as along the plaza's boundaries. Finally, he deployed a monument at the center of the temple where he could be activated along with the storm-god. In fact, we might even say that Katuwas created the ceremonial plaza in the sense of ritualizing it precisely by distributing his presence along its boundaries.[175]

Similar deployment of monuments may be observed at Zincirli. Like Carchemish, Zincirli's urban landscape was dominated by a central walled citadel approached by means of a processional road. Upon passing through the citadel gate, the users would find themselves in a ceremonial plaza. To their right, they would see the palace of Kulamuwa, marked by its portico and an "I Am" orthostat – KAI 24. The users would encounter Kulamuwa through the inscription, in which he legitimated his reign over the state based at Zincirli and proposed his

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[173] It is also possible that KARKAMIŠ A23 originally served as a portal orthostat in a temple of Kubaba, functioning analogously to KARKAMIŠ A2+3 in the temple of the Storm-god. If this was the case, this inscription was secondarily reused at the great staircase leading to the temple of the Storm-god. Gilibert, 37.

[174] Gilibert, 50–51. For an edition of this as well as the other two inscriptions discussed in this paragraph, see Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:108–15, 117–21.

[175] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 119; Aslı Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," in *Cities and Citadels in Turkey: From the Iron Age to the Seljuks*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 40 (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2013), 134.

ideology to the monument's users. Ideal users of the inscription would thus accept Kulamuwa's ideology upon entering the citadel and before proceeding into the palace.[176]

During the last half of the 8th century – within the Age of Court Ceremony – Bar-rakib transformed the Zincirli citadel to make it even more exclusive. He divided the citadel plaza in half and constructed a much larger palatial complex in its southern half. Now, after passing through the gateway to the citadel and perhaps viewing the monument of Kulamuwa that was still standing, users would turn to the left and come to a portico dividing a newly bounded southern plaza from the northern plaza they had already entered.[177] Flanking the gateway into the southern plaza, the users would come into contact with the twin orthostat inscriptions of Bar-Rakib – KAI 216 and 217 – which legitimated his reign on the basis of his loyalty to the Assyrian king and his massive construction of the new palace. The inscriptions even explicitly refer to Kulamuwa's orthostat, drawing on its semantic tropes, replicating the portico from Kulamuwa's palace on a larger scale, and even deictically gesturing at the old palace.[178] Upon entering the southern plaza and turning again to their left, the users would be able to enter the palace of Bar-Rakib and encounter him again in a final short "I Am" monument – KAI 218 – that flanked the doorway paired with an uninscribed orthostat.[179] While Kulamuwa chose to be

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[176] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 79–84.

[177] Marina Pucci, *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture*, BAR International Series 1738 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 68; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 84–85.

[178] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 87–88; Timothy Hogue, "Redirecting the Audience, Reinscribing the Past: The Transmission and Transposition of Monumental Discourse at Ancient Sam'al," *Manuscript and Text Cultures*, Forthcoming.

[179] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 85–87.

manifested by a single monument at the gateway to the citadel, Bar-rakib developed this spatial dimension further and distributed himself across the different boundaries of his newly formed ceremonial plaza.

1. Colossal ruler statue
2. Kulamuwa Orthostat (KAI 24)
3. Probable location of Bar-Rakib Orthostats KAI 216 and 217
4. Bar-Rakib Orthostat KAI 218
5. Uninscribed Bar-Rakib Orthostat
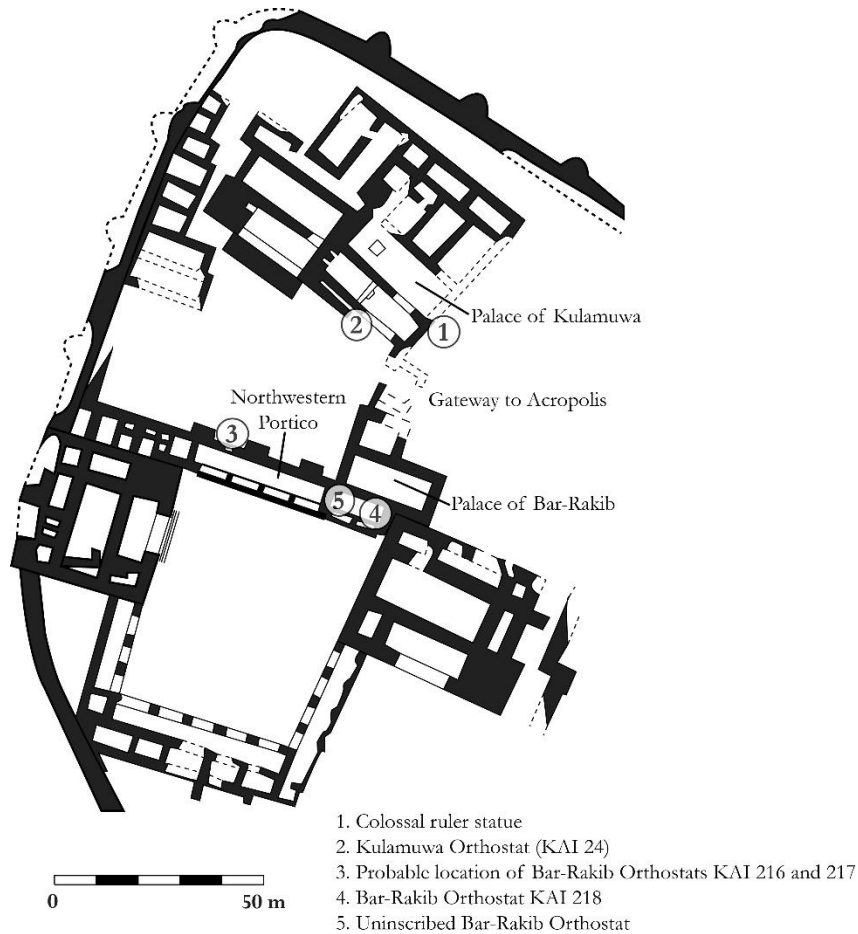
Figure 6: The Acropolis of Zincirli during the Reign of Bar-Rakib

As suggested by the above examples from the early 9th and late 8th centuries, the central deployment of "I Am" monuments involved the careful construction and bounding of ritual theatres. These theatres could be as small as Katumuwa's assembly hall or as large as Katuwas' ceremonial plaza. In the Age of Court Ceremony, these spaces became even more exclusive. Even former citadels were further subdivided, their boundaries guarded by newly erected "I Am" monuments and accessible only by the elite. The liminal boundaries were still transformative for

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those who could cross them, but now also for those who were not permitted. Exclusivity and concealment thus became an increasingly important means of affordance for these inscriptions. The agent's power and legitimacy was projected to non-elite viewers as mystery.[180] However, for a brief time before this shift to greater exclusivity, Levantine "I Am" monuments were deployed on a far grander scale.

Territorial Distribution – Peripheral Monuments

The production of peripheral monuments served a similar function to centralized monuments, but they had a slightly different directionality. As the users imaginatively moved through monuments, they could be reconstituted as a community.[181] More generally, the boundary marking implied by these peripheral monuments prompted community bounding and social formation.[182] The users were thus molded into the ideal participants of the spectacle carried out in the theatres bounded by such monuments, or, in the case of peripheral monuments, they were molded into the ideal citizens of a particular political domain. The most obvious examples of peripheral monuments were city gateway monuments. Gateways in Syro-Anatolia and the Levant acted as liminal ceremonial zones.[183] They attracted cultic interaction intended to

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[180] Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 130–31. For a discussion of similar segregation in Egyptian ritual and the projection of power to non-elites through their being barred from participation, see John Baines, "Public Ceremonial Performance in Ancient Egypt: Exclusion and Integration," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, Archaeology in Society (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2006), 276–86.

[181] Pauketat, "From Memorials to Imaginaries in the Monumentality of Ancient North America," 432–34, 441.

[182] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 94–97.

[183] Ömür Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, ed. Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 82; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and*

initiate the users into the ideology the monuments represented.[184]

The Azatiwada Inscription, for example, was inscribed in two versions – one in Hieroglyphic Luwian (KARATEPE 1) and one in Phoenician (KAI 26) – on orthostats flanking the northern and southern gates of the city it dedicated. A third somewhat divergent version of the inscription was inscribed on a statue of the Storm-god within the city.[185] The monumental text essentially announced and materialized ownership of the city by bounding it. The placement of the monument at the gates of the city thus reflected its function of marking the extent of Azatiwada's domain. This would announce to the monument's users that they were entering Azatiwada's ideological domain when they crossed the threshold of the gate. The placement of such monuments at Azatiwataya's gate suggested that the entire city was Azatiwada's ritual theatre.[186]

The gateway monuments at Azatiwataya transformed the users in the same way the monuments at Zincirli and Carchemish transformed participants in ceremonial processions. This transformation was likely in part effected by forcing the monuments' users to linger at the gateway. Noticeably, the Phoenician version of the text was placed on the left side of the

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the Archaeology of Performance, 67–75, 105; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 46.

[184] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 24–25.

[185] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:45–46; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 232; Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 132.

[186] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 134.

gateway as one enters the city, even though this text must of course be read from right to left.[187] This would require that the user capable of reading the inscription pass partially through the gateway to reach the beginning of the inscription and then proceed backwards in order to read it. This is a marked difference from the iconography of the gate, which depicts processing ritual participants moving smoothly through the gate into the city.[188] The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the right side of the gate is even more haphazard in its deployment. The orthostats bearing the inscription are placed alongside each other in complete disregard for narrative sequence. This caused some scholars to infer that they had been reordered secondarily, but an analysis of the accompanying iconographic representations precludes such an interpretation. Rather, the haphazard deployment was intentional. On the one hand, this may simply demonstrate that Hieroglyphic Luwian was simply included as a symbolic text during this late period.[189] However, following the same logic of the Phoenician gate inscription, this haphazard deployment may reflect that those few specialists capable of reading the text were intended to have difficulty picking up the narrative. Placing the text out of order required that the reader linger in the gateway to be addressed by Azatiwada.

Some Levantine peripheral monuments extended the idea of the gateway monument or the bounded ceremonial plaza to regional functionality, possibly due to the influence of 9th

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[187] Özyar, 132.

[188] Özyar, 128.

[189] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:45; Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 132.

century Assyrian peripheral monuments.[190] While most Assyrian monuments were centrally installed in capital cities, there was also a significant practice erecting monuments in peripheral zones, especially in newly subjugated cities.[191] According to Ann Shafer, these peripheral monuments "consistently marked the important culminating or transitional points in the campaigns."[192] These were sometimes treated as markers of cosmic boundaries between the civilized Assyrian state and the outer chaotic world.[193] More significantly, the erection of peripheral monuments allowed the Assyrian king to distribute his presence throughout the frontiers of his state. Through his material manifestation in the peripheral monument, the king and his ideology could be present on the frontier, engaging in perpetual ritual practice to transform that border place into a location aligned with the urban core. At the same time, monuments within the urban core would recapitulate these materialized rituals, tying the core

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[190] The first person to do this was actually Mesha, who commissioned the oldest known Northwest Semitic "I Am" monument. As noted above, he placed KAI 181 in the center of his domain, but he also erected a similar stele at Kerak in the south. This inscription – KAI 306 – is not preserved well enough to analyze fully, but what little remains seems to be modeled on KAI 181. It appears that Mesha may have used these inscriptions to bound his domain. KAI 306 in particular may have been meant to convert the populace of Kerak to a Dibonite perspective, as the south of Moab seems to have been considered more hostile to Mesha according to KAI 181.

[191] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 133, 141.

[192] Shafer, 136. This function of the placement of peripheral monuments is also reflected by their literary integration into royal annals. Aššurnaṣirpal II described the erection of monuments at the end of campaigns 9 times in his annals. This was significantly expanded by his successor Shalmaneser III, whose annals and inscriptions include over 50 descriptions of monument-making. Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 274–75. A similar practice is attested among the Hittites. Šuppiluliuma II recorded the erection of mountain monuments to commemorate both his subjugation of Cyprus and his father Tudḫaliya IV's victory over Cyprus before him. In KBo 12.38, he even concluded the conquest account with a Hittite translation of the full text of the associated monumental inscription. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered."

[193] Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," 10–12; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 295–96.

and periphery together through a complex network of complementary monuments and the king's shared presence in both places.[194] Ultimately, the concerted use of peripheral and central monuments allowed the Assyrian kings to transform "the geography of the empire" into "a narrative map, a spatial narrative."[195] The agent's message was thus writ large on the entirety of the state.

KAI 310 – the Tel Dan Stele – serves as a significant example of this practice in a Levantine context. The monumental text extended the domain of the agent – presumably Hazael – to a new frontier at Tel Dan in the 9th century BCE. Though the inscription legitimated the reign of Hazael, he chose to place it on the periphery of his kingdom rather than in his capital at Damascus.[196] This emplacement fundamentally changed the reception of the monument's content and its message.[197] The text legitimates Hazael's reign in Aram-Damascus by especially narrating his victories against Israel, and it was set up in a newly subjugated city on the frontier

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[194] Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," 195.

[195] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 84.

[196] William Schniedewind identified this broken inscription as a memorial inscription, similar to texts such as the Mesha Stele. The Tel Dan Stele represents a unique subset of memorial inscriptions, however, due to its context. The Mesha Stele was likely set up in Mesha's citadel, while the Tel Dan Stele is a peripheral monument. This placement would have resulted in a markedly different ideological implication. William M. Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stela: New Light on Aramaic and Jehu's Revolt," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 302 (1996): 87.

[197] Shigeo Yamada, "Appendix A: Aram-Israel Relations as Reflected in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," in *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 3 (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 311.

he captured in those battles.[198] The inscription occupied ideologically liminal space, so its users were likely a community meant to redefine itself relative to a Hazael-centered ideology.[199] By placing the inscription at Tel Dan, Hazael targeted its occupants in an attempt to constitute them as his citizens. His monument designated Tel Dan as a location where he could be encountered and therefore as a part of his domain. The location of the monument on Aram's periphery suggested that this was the furthest extent of Hazael's controlled space, and it designated a new frontier for the expansion of Hazael's power network. Notably, Hazael apparently bounded both the northern and southern frontiers of his kingdom, as the fragment of a monumental inscription of his has also been uncovered at Tel Aphis, a territory he captured when he conquered Hama.[200]

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[198] Andrew Knapp, "The Dispute over the Land of Qedem at the ONset of the Aram-Israel Conflict: A Reanalysis of Lines 3-4 of the Tel Dan Inscription," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73, no. 1 (2014): 105–16.

[199] This function for the Tel Dan Stele may further be suggested by the apparently intentional destruction of the stele. Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh argued that the stele was smashed in antiquity by the Israelites when they recaptured the city. Yosef Garfinkel argued that this destruction was strategic and ideoligcal. The change in Tel Dan's affiliation was ritualistically affected by destroying the monument of its previous holder. Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *Israel Exploration Journal* 43, no. 2/3 (1993): 98; Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *Israel Exploration Journal* 45, no. 1 (1995): 9; Garfinkel, "The Destruction of Cultic Objects and Inscriptions during the First Temple Period," 102–3.

[200] Stefania Mazzoni, "TELL AFIS IN THE IRON AGE: The Temple on the Acropolis," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77, no. 1 (2014): 51, https://doi.org/10.5615/neareastarch.77.1.0044; Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Tell Afis in the Iron Age: The Aramaic Inscriptions," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77, no. 1 (2014): 54–55; Younger Jr., *A Political History of the Arameans*, 475–76.
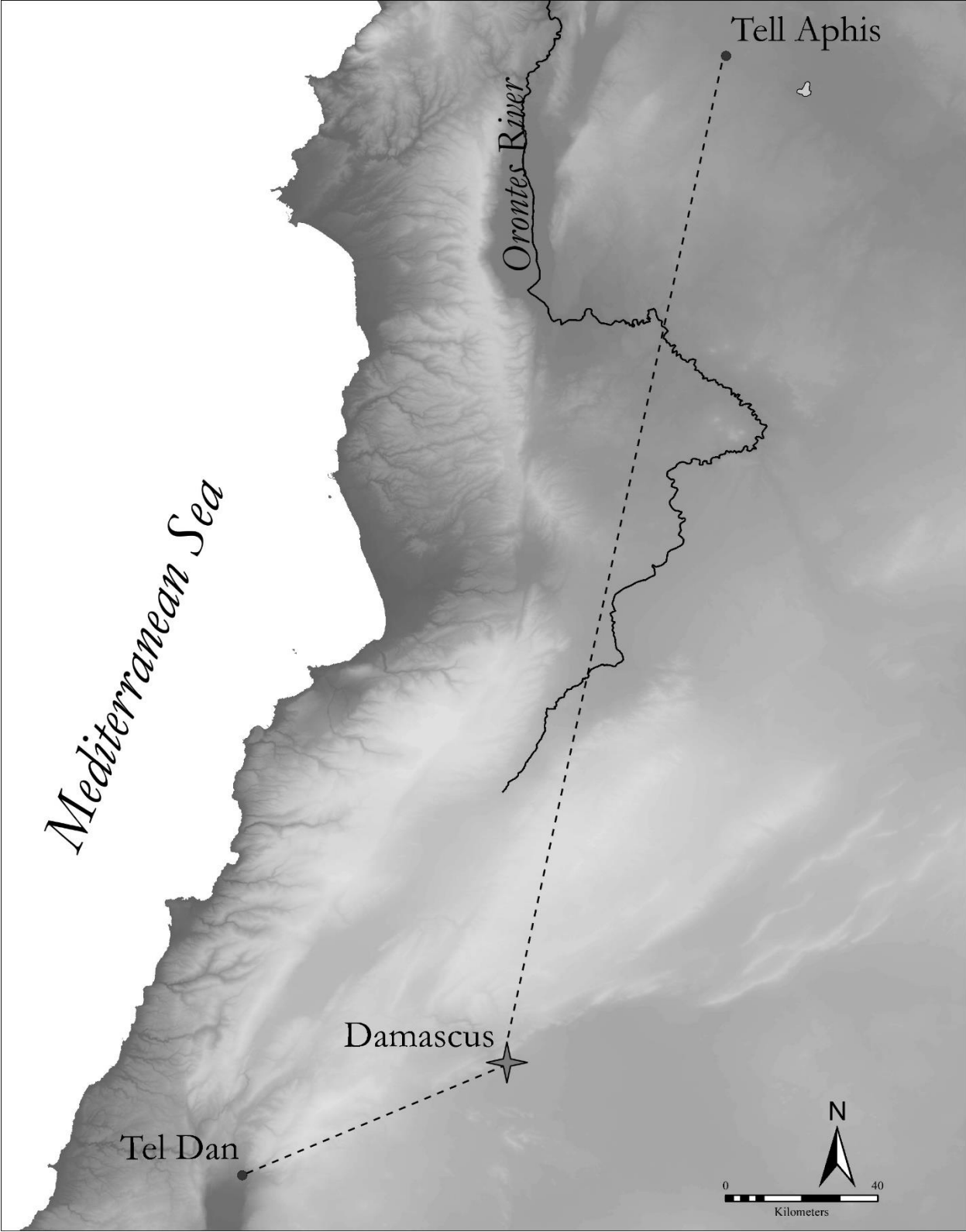
Figure 7: The territorial deployment of Hazael's inscriptions.

The concerted deployment of central and peripheral monuments appears to have functioned to create territory using the same logic for the creation of monumental theatres discussed above. By distributing his presence between a territory's core and its periphery, a king could simultaneously perform his ideology on both edges of his kingdom. By implication, that ideology was binding every in between. One of the more impressive examples of this is the Mesha Inscription – KAI 181. This mid-9th century inscription was emplaced at Qarḥoh – Dibon's acropolis and the very center of Mesha's domain.[201] The text itself identifies Qarḥoh as its center point, but then narrates Mesha's actions through all of Moab. In the inscription, Mesha sets out from Dibon and consolidates his power first in northern Moab and then in southern Moab.[202] The narration of events according to a geographic rather than a chronological pattern is a reflection of the monument's emplacement in a set location and targeting of a particular region. The basic principle of Mesha's evaluation of these zones is that the further a territory is from Qarḥoh the more in need of taming it is. This implies a radiating boundary with Qarḥoh and the Mesha Inscription at the center.[203] The inscription thus provokes the users to imagine not only Qarḥoh as a socially formative place but all of Moab as well. The polity proposed by Mesha is partially reified by the placement of his radiating monument in the acropolis.

Mesha's proposed territory was further reified by the apparent duplicate or near-duplicate

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[201] Mari Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973): 189–91; Ghösta Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, vol. 1, Studies in The History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 16; Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*, 147.

[202] Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*, 142–43.

[203] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 306.

inscription that Mesha set up at Kerak in southern Moab. Only the first few lines of KAI 306 are preserved, but those that are legible present no differences from KAI 181. Mesha thus proposed his territorial ideology not only in Dibon but also in a peripheral zone in southern Moab – the region most ideologically distant from Mesha according to the inscription. Such peripheral monuments were targeted at users less likely to be aligned with the agent's ideology. Peripheral monument-making involved the transferal of central praxis and perspective to the periphery in order to convert it into centrally-oriented space.[204] Much as Katuwas set up "I Am" inscriptions to bound the ceremonial plaza at Carchemish with a central inscription in the temple of the Storm-god, Mesha bounded placed a central monument in the cult site of his chief deity – Chemosh – and then bounded his territory with a peripheral monument in Kerak. The implication is that the theatre for Mesha's manifestation is the entire region

Figure 8: The territorial deployment of Mesha's "I Am" inscriptions.

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[204] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 147–48.

under his proposed control. As the ceremonial plaza was the "material correlate" to a city's subjects in Gilibert's terms, Mesha transformed all of Moab into the correlate of his polity's subjects.[205] The territoriality proposed in the inscriptions is reflected in their territorial deployment and was ideally reified by that deployment.

Douglas Green's analysis of the Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202) is also instructive in this regard. This inscription proposed a new identity to the people of Aphis through its placement in that city.[206] The ideological center of the agent's domain was his capital city at Hazrak, as revealed by the extensive narration of Zakkur's successful defense of that city. When the inscription transitions to relating the domestic achievements of Zakkur – the actions most relevant to the implied readers – the activity at Hazrak is limited to only two lines (B 3-4). The inscription then relates Zakkur's activity in peripheral zones (B 5-10) before zooming in on his construction and cultic installations at Aphis, which receive more attention in the text than those of any other city (B 11-15). The inscription appears to legitimate Zakkur's reign in the eyes of his implied Aphisite readers. Through the monument, the Aphisites were meant to encounter Zakkur and reorient themselves in accordance with his perspective. They are thus presented with a new social order, predicated by their position at the new frontier of Zakkur's domain. This is

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[205] Bruce Routledge, "The Politics of Mesha: Segmented Identities and State Formation in Iron Age Moab," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43, no. 3 (January 1, 2000): 235–45; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 39 N. 19.

[206] The Zakkur inscription may represent the continuation of this practice in the absence of Assyrian imperial pressure. The 9th century practice continued into the early 8th century because the Assyrians were not actively reshaping monumental traditions in the Levant at that time. A similar continuation of the practice is seen among Assyrian provincial governors closer to the Assyrian heartland as pressure from the capital decreased during the turmoil following Shalmaneser III's reign. Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 234–35.

accomplished first by the placement of the inscription in Aphis.[207]

Zakkur was simply participating in the territorialized monumental rhetoric of the region he had come to control. As discussed above, such peripheral monument-making in greater Hama was also undertaken by Hazael when Aram-Damascus controlled the region, but it was attested even earlier during the dynasty of Urhilina. Urhilina's "I Am" inscriptions provide perhaps the best illustration of bounding territory in the same manner as bounding ceremonial plazas. Urhilina produced at least four duplicate "I Am" inscriptions that were distributed through his frontiers. QALAT EL MUDIQ was deployed 46 km northwest of Hama,
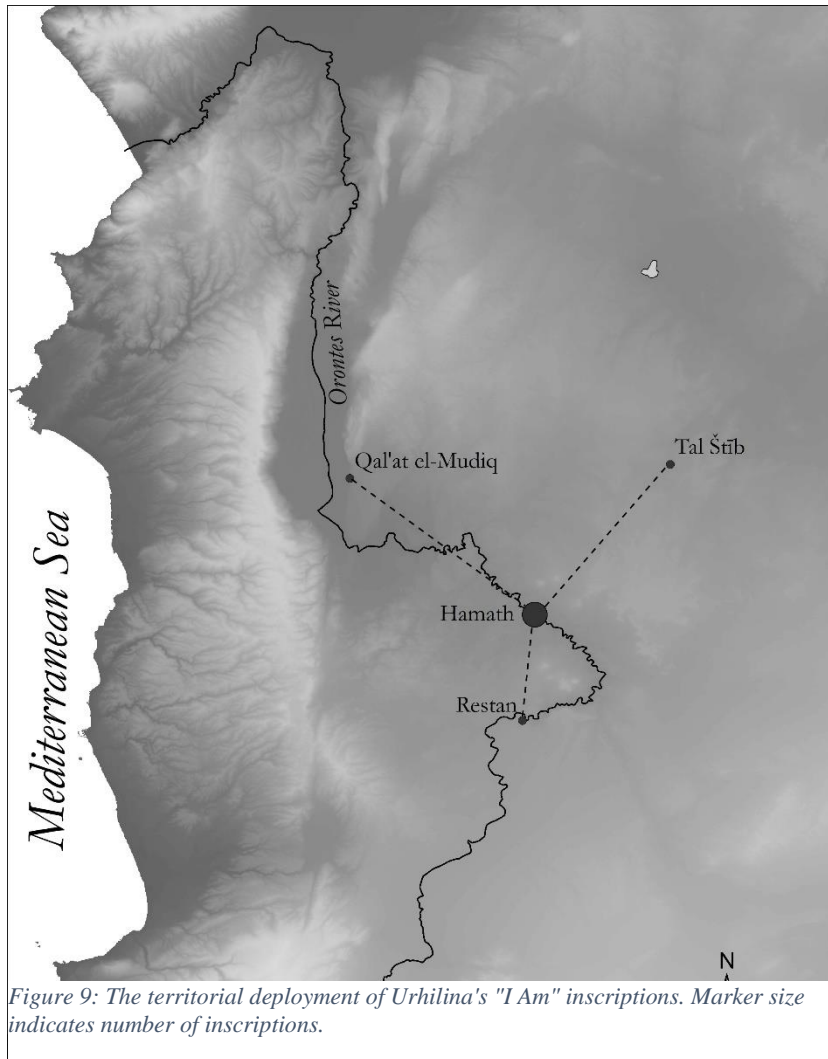
Figure 9: The territorial deployment of Urhilina's "I Am" inscriptions. Marker size indicates number of inscriptions.

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[207] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 164–66. Green's analysis is predicated on the assumption that Aphis and Hazrak are two separate cities. New evidence suggests that this is unlikely, and that Aphis was instead a particular quarter of Hazrak. Nevertheless, Green's analysis is still productive for our understanding of how peripheral monuments were deployed and indeed of how "I Am" monuments were used in general in the Levant. Even if Aphis was not on the periphery of Zakkur's territory, it does notably lie between the two halves of his kingdom – Hama to the north and Luʿaš to the south. Furthermore, Zakkur's capture of this territory from Hazael and his foreign origin suggested by his chosen gentilic - ʾš ʿny "a man of Ana(t), likely the city in Mesopotamia – would have required that he carefully legitimate himself to his new subjects. Mazzoni, "TELL AFIS IN THE IRON AGE," 43; Amadasi Guzzo, "Tell Afis in the Iron Age," 54.

presumably the capital of Urhilina's state. TALL ŠṬĪB was similarly deployed 41 km north-northwest of Hama, while RESTAN was deployed 26 km south of the capital city.[208] These three inscriptions demonstrate that Urhilina was bounding his territory in both the north and the south by distributing his presence to those frontiers by means of duplicate "I Am" inscriptions. Another copy of these inscriptions, HINES, was discovered out of context in Northern Iraq. While the deployment of this inscription cannot be spoken about with great certainty, if it truly was excavated from the nearby tell, this would suggest an eastern frontier as well.[209]

The Levantine innovations in peripheral monument-making did not last, however. Current evidence suggests that this practice ended when Tiglath-pileser III began incorporating the states of Syro-Anatolia into the Assyrian empire. The are no examples of Levantine peripheral monuments after his conquests. Peripheral monument-making appears to be a practice that Tiglath-pileser III and subsequent Assyrian kings reserved for themselves.[210] However, even the Assyrian practice was changed and did not continue the practices of Shalmaneser III that Levantine monument-makers may have adapted. Tiglath-pileser III only erected peripheral monuments at frontier zones that had not previously been reached by Assyria.[211] His inscriptions

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[208] Gonnet, "Une stèle hiéroglyphique louvite à Tall Šṭīb," 97.

[209] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:407–9.

[210] Ann Shafer, "The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1998), 32–33; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 44.

[211] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135.

attest the erection of 10 such monuments, only one of which was set up in the Levant at Gaza.[212]

The vast majority of Tiglath-pileser III's monuments were erected in his palace, however, and

this shift was mirrored in the Levantine monuments of the same period.[213] The brief emergence

of the practice of territory-scale peripheral monument erection is why I have chosen to relabel

Gilibert's "Mature Transitional Period" of 870-790 BCE as "the Age of Increased Territoriality."

"I Am" monuments of this period were especially marked by their unique territorial

deployment.[214]

During the rest of the 8th century, the erection of peripheral "I Am" monuments was far

more restricted and appears to have shifted in terms of its function. The primary example is

CEKKE, which apparently acted as a border stele marking the donation of a city to the ruler of

Carchemish.[215] The ruler in question is Kamanis, so this stele may be dated to approximately 760

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[212] Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 36; Matthew Suriano, "Breaking Bread with the Dead: Katumuwa's Stele, Hosea 9:4, and the Early History of the Soul," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 134, no. 3 (2014): 402.

[213] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 130–31; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 33–34.

[214] There is only one example of the use of "I Am" monuments in a peripheral context in the Iron Age before 870 BCE. The identical inscriptions ARSUZ 1 and ARSUZ 2 narrate the military achievements of a king Suppiluliuma I of Palistin. These have been dated to the late 10th century, but the circumstances of their discovery makes them currently impossible to provenance with great certainty. What is known is that they were uncovered "somewhere on the coastal strip west of the southern end of the Amanus range and north of the mouth of the river Orontes." §7 appears to identify them as having been erected in a conquered city. The line reads: *za-sa-pa-wa-mu* URBS+*MI* PES₂.PES(-)*tara/i-ta* "This city opposed? me." The proximal deictic reference indicates that the inscription was originally deployed in the city in question. The verb, while difficult to understand, seems to imply that this city was hostile prior to Suppiluliuma's military activity. Dinçol et al., "Two New Inscribed Storm-God Stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and ARSUZ 2."

[215] The only other peripheral "I Am" monuments from the 8th century are the Tabalian rock inscriptions BULGARMADEN, HISARCIK 1, and HISARCIK 2. The deployment of these monuments is uniquely affected by their form, however, so these examples will be taken up in the following section on the aesthetic dimension.

BCE. Both the form and purpose of CEKKE have clear Assyrian precedents in the Antakya Stele and the Pazarcık Stele, which date to the reigns of Adad-Nirari III (811-783 BCE) and Shalmaneser IV (783-773 BCE) respectively.[216] Both the Assyrian and Karkamišean examples from this period suggest a shift from peripheral monuments marking frontiers to their use to mark boundaries between states.

Both central and peripheral monuments perpetuated the agent's arrival, presence, and agency.[217] They specified the location where the users could encounter the agent and the zone within which his agency extended.[218] The monument was neither merely a means of marking a ritual stage nor a ritual implement.[219] The monument was a medium through which the agent was constantly participating as a ritual agent.[220] The integration of the monument constantly reified the agent and his message at that location, allowing him to translate his power onto the environment and communicate his ideology to the users there. The integration of the monument

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[216] J. David Hawkins, "Some Historical Problems of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions," *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979): 160–62; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 14.

[217] Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 36.

[218] Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," 1, 11; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 296. Note that the article in *Orient* was reproduced in English and expanded as the fourth part of *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, but this particular point was weakened in translation. In *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, the agent "was associated" with activities surrounding the monument "as a participant." In the original article, the agent "passed/gazed through his image" (その像を通して) and "was considered to participate" (参与するものと見なされた) in all its associated rituals.

[219] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 98, 114.

[220] Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," 11; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 146–47.

thus transformed the surrounding space by creating a liminal zone within which the users themselves could be transformed. "I Am" monuments accomplished this through their deployment on thresholds, on the boundaries of ritual theatres, and on a territorial scale through their deployment in frontier zones.

The Aesthetic Dimension: Reembodying the Agent

After the spatial dimension, the next aspect of monumentality experienced by users of Levantine "I Am" monuments was the aesthetic dimension.[221] The users' reception of the writing depended on the material used, the physical form it took, the objects it was associated with or inscribed on, the writing's orthography, and its attendant iconography. In fact, for many illiterate users, the aesthetic dimension might be the primary aspect of the text's monumentality with which they could engage, unless the text itself was read to them. It was thus essential that the aesthetic dimension of the object work in tandem with the text in order to provoke the users to imagine an interaction with the agent. In fact, comparative evidence suggests that this was precisely what the aesthetic dimension of monuments accomplished. Ancient Near Eastern art – including Levantine art associated with "I Am" monuments – was never art for art's sake or even art for the purpose of representation. Rather, these art objects participated in real world practice in significant ways.[222] They could be seen to participate because they produced or in Bahrani's

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[221] Edmund Thomas referred to this dimension of a text's monumentality as "the writing," but he limits his discussion to the writing's size and orthography. I intend a broader category here encompassing the form of the monument and iconography, so I have adapted the term "aesthetic dimension" from the work of Zainab Bahrani. Thomas, "The Monumentality of Text," 60–61; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*.

[222] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 131–34.

terms "conjured" – presence.[223] Seth Sanders has already suggested such a function for the text

of Levantine "I Am" monuments, but this function was in fact produced by the aesthetic

dimension as well.[224] According to Bahrani, "it is the work itself that elicited such a response

through its material, shape and surface."[225] In other words, one of the primary dimensions of

meaning affordance for monuments was the aesthetic: their material, construction, and the

artistic techniques required to shape them.[226]

In approaching the aesthetic dimension of monuments, I wish to especially highlight that

the physical form and artistic details of these objects were not mere representations, symbols,

and signifiers. As just discussed, these materials also possessed a "vital presence," and this was

their defining feature in the eyes of their ancient viewers.[227] Stelae, orthostats, statuary, and even

the architectural contexts for monumental inscriptions were "modes of presencing" and "ways of

encountering that person."[228] In modern psychology and cognitive science, such objects would

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[223] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 29.

[224] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114; Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 12.

[225] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 32.

[226] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 88.

[227] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 15.

[228] Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*, 128–37.

be labeled indicators of the extended self.[229] In this understanding, the self includes an individual's possessions and objects otherwise understood to represent that individual, forming a part of what Bahrani labels the "bodyscape."[230] Identity was not restricted to the human body, and particular objects – when conceived of as part of the extended self – could reembody the individual. These objects metonymically pointed to a self – the person depicted or better manifested by the monument and its text.[231] This ability to evoke a vital presence in otherwise lifeless material is now known to be the result of common cognitive processes in humans known as conceptual integration and material anchoring. In this process, an object is blended in the mind of a user with the identity and personhood of another individual.[232] In short, these objects were designed and deployed to provoke their users to imagine the agent interacting with them.

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[229] Belk, "Extended Self in a Digital World," 477–84.

[230] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 77–79. The concept of the "bodyscape" has also been discussed by Jan Assmann but under the heading of "components of the person." Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 14, 88.

[231] Tom Hare, *ReMembering Osiris: Number, Gender, and the Word in Ancient Egyptian Representational Systems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*, 128; Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," 148–65; Kathryn E. Slanski, "The Law of Hammurabi and Its Audience," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 24, no. 1 (2012): 107; Stephen L. Herring, "A 'Transubstantiated' Humanity: The Relationship between the Divine Image and the Presence of God in Genesis I 26f," *Vetus Testamentum* 58, no. 4/5 (2008): 480–94; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 236.

[232] Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 204–11.

The monumental objects were extensions of the agent's self - virtual manifestations of the agent that the monument users were to engage.[233]

Much could be said about the minute details of orthography and iconography in Levantine "I Am" inscriptions, but for the purpose of this summary I will limit my comments to the epigraphic supports and iconographic amplifications of writing. The inscribed object was an essential source of meaning for these texts, and when we turn to a discussion of the Decalogue's monumentality we will find that such epigraphic supports were typically depicted without further comment on potential iconography or orthography. It needs to be noted first, though, that the various inscribed objects we differentiate in modern studies did not necessarily occupy different categories in ancient categorizations of monuments. For example, the Sam'alian Aramaic term *nṣb* was used to refer to both statues in the round and stelae, so the term likely refers to a functional category ("monument") rather than a formal one.[234] The same may be true for the Phoenician and Hebrew cognate terms *mṣbt/mṣbh*.[235] Similarly, the Luwian *wanid-* was used to describe both statues and stelae.[236] It may be the general case that the ancient Near Eastern

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[233] Timothy Hogue, "Katumuwa's Nbš – An Image on the Stele or a Ghost in the Shell? A Test Case for Cognitive Monumentality and Virtual Encounters in Ritual Space," In preparation.

[234] Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels," 58.

[235] Carl F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 35, no. 2 (1972): 48; Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 422 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2005), 31.

[236] See, for example, MARAŞ 14 where the inscribed statue is referred to both as a *tarud-*, the typical word for statue, and a *wanid-*, the typical word for stele. Even *tarud-* was occasionally applied to monuments other than statues, such as in IVRIZ 1, a rock inscription.

categorization of art objects was motivated more by functional or ontological distinctions than formal differences.[237] Nevertheless, it is worth considering the various epigraphic supports from a formal perspective for the sake of building a catalogue of terms to use in this study. The remainder of this section will thus consist of brief discussions of stelae, statues, wall reliefs, portal beasts, rock reliefs, and finally orthography.[238]

It is also important to note that "I Am" monuments rarely acted alone. In some cases, "I Am" monuments were integrated into larger monumental assemblages alongside other monumental objects. In other cases, the "I Am" inscription could be duplicated onto a number of different objects. According to Seth Sanders, "varied combinations of objects, texts, and actions indicate the supernatural participants" at the location of the monument.[239] That is, an agent's presence could be distributed in a particular location along with other conjured presences by means of a combination of objects in addition to a singular monument. Furthermore, there was no reason to assume that the agent's presence was singular; it could multiplied in various forms by means of many "I Am" monuments and other objects working in tandem. For example, KARATEPE 1/KAI 26 was inscribed on several orthostat reliefs in two different monumental gateways and also on a statue of the Storm-god. These were further amplified by monumental

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[237] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 68.

[238] I have adapted these categories from Sanna Aro, "Art and Architecture," in *The Luwians*, ed. H. Craig Melchert, vol. 68, Handbook of Oriental Studies (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 307–37.

[239] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 49.

buildings, plazas, and an aniconic stele.[240] Similarly, the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310) was probably erected in one of the monumental gateways at Dan, leading directly to a ceremonial plaza beyond equipped with multiple aniconic stelae and spaces for offerings.[241] In general, the only element of the monument consistently interacting with the space and the monument's users to produce the agent's presence is the text, which could be materialized by means of a number of different types of epigraphic supports.

The aesthetic dimension may appear to be the most difficult to justify exploring in a study intended to connect these considerations to the Decalogue. At the very least, I would argue that an exploration of the aesthetic dimension reveals important aspects of how these objects functioned in general in addition to the specific reifications of those functions. Nevertheless, how could the iconography and epigraphic support of Levantine "I Am" monuments be reproduced in a literary context? In fact, such process are not unheard of in the ancient Near East. Ekphrasis has been demonstrated in several contexts. In this process, monuments are reproduced through literary descriptions.[242] Though it is one of the oldest exemplars, even Šuppiluliuma II's "I Am" monument was reproduced in full in a literary context in his account of his conquest of Cyprus in

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[240] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 123.

[241] David Ilan, "Iron Age II *et-Tell*/Bethsaida and Dan: A Tale of Two Gates," Forthcoming, 111–32.

[242] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 83–98; Thomason, "From Sennacherib's Bronzes to Taharqa's Feet: Conceptions of the Material World at Nineveh"; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 45.

KBo 12.38.[243] Such ekphrasis of monuments have now been observed within the Hebrew Bible as well.[244] As we will see in the coming chapters, the Decalogue is consistently depicted alongside aniconic stelae – the most common epigraphic support for "I Am" inscriptions. Even though later editors took some liberties with the depicted epigraphic supports for the Decalogue, the composers of its original contexts very likely understood what "I Am" inscriptions were supposed to look like and their efforts to cast the Decalogue as such an inscription included careful depictions of their aesthetic dimension.

Stelae

Stelae were by and large the preferred epigraphic support for "I Am" inscriptions in the Iron Age Levant. Of the inscriptions in the corpus delineated above, 45 were inscribed on stelae: İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN 1-2, MARAŞ 8, KELEKLİ, TELL AHMAR 5, ARSUZ 1, ARSUZ 2, BABYLON 1, TELL AHMAR 6, ALEPPO 2, BOROWSKI 3, TELL AHMAR 2, TELL AHMAR 1, KARKAMIŠ A12, MARAŞ 2, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, TALL ŠṬĪB, HAMA 8, SHEIZAR, KÖRKÜN, the Mesha Stele (KAI 181), the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310), the Yehawmilk Stele (KAI 10), the Katumuwa Stele, the Neirab Stelae (KAI 225-226), KÜRTÜL, KULULU 1, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, KULULU 4, ANDAVAL, BOHÇA, BOR, ÇİFTLİK, EĞREK, KAYSERİ, SULTANHAN, CEKKE, ADANA 1, KARKAMIŠ A5b, KARKAMIŠ A17a, and KARKAMIŠ A18a. Somewhat surprisingly, a plurality of these

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[243] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 81; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 236–37.

[244] Gudme, "Dyed Yarns and Dolphin Skins: Temple Texts as Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible"; Smoak, "From Temple to Text: Text as Ritual Space and the Composition of Numbers 6:24-26."

monuments – 20 in all – are aniconic.[245] Aniconic stelae are attested in all of the periods outlined

in the historical schema proposed above and appear to be the most broadly attested from of "I

Am" stele in geographic terms as well, occurring everywhere from northern Tabal to Moab.

Also, accounting for a quarter of all of the Iron Age "I Am" monuments, aniconic stelae are the

most common epigraphic support encountered overall.

Aniconic stelae did not function solely as epigraphic supports, however. They also played

a significant role in the overall function of the monument. At their most fundamental, stelae

functioned as extensions and reembodiments of various objects, people, and deities.[246] This is

true across the ancient Near East for stelae whether they were inscribed or uninscribed, iconic or

aniconic.[247] Even stelae which explicitly served to commemorate events still in some sense

functioned as if they were standing in for people; their function as witnesses suggests that they

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[245] The Mesha Stele, the Tel Dan Stele, IZGIN 1-2, TELL AHMAR 5, HAMA 8, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, TALL ŠṬĪB, SHEIZAR, KULULU 1, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, KULULU 4, SULTANHAN, KAYSERİ, BOHÇA, EĞREK, KARKAMIŠ A5b, KARKAMIŠ A12, and KARKAMIŠ A18a.

[246] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 35–37; D. Bonatz, *Das Syro-Hethitische Grabdenkmal: Untersuchugen Zur Entstehung Einer Neuen Bildgattung in Der Eisenzeit Im Nordsyrisch-Südostanatolischen Raum* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 32–64, 115–17, 156–57; Daniel E. Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 82–86; Aro, "Art and Architecture," 317–26; Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, Brown Judaic Studies 346 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2006), 65; Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," in *Worship, Women, and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*, ed. John J. Collins, T. M. Lemos, and Saul M. Olyan, Brown Judaic Studies 357 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2015), 107–11; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 43, 59–60.

[247] It is also worth noting in this regard that "I Am" monuments were occasionally accompanied by uninscribed, aniconic stelae. See, for example, the plaza installations surrounding the Tel Dan Stele and KARATEPE 1/KAI 26. Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 36; Andrew R. Davis, *Tel Dan in Its Northern Cultic Context* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 59–60; Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 123.

exuded some sort of personal agency and were more than simple reminders.[248] The stele – like other ancient Near Eastern art objects – was a "mode of presencing," to borrow a phrase from Zainab Bahrani.[249] They manifested individuals or groups in the minds of those engaging them. Equipped with an "I Am" inscription, the stele could accomplish this function even more explicitly. The inscription specified the individual that the stele was conjuring.

The second significant group of "I Am" stelae are those which include iconographic depictions of the agent. In these examples, the manifestation of the agent afforded by the stelae was specifically localized in the image of the agent carved on it. Typically, this image was carved above or alongside the text. In most of these examples, the agent is depicted alone.[250] In some cases, however, the agent is depicted with other individuals. In one case, the monument appears to depict members of the agent's family,[251] but usually the agent is depicted with deities.[252] In these latter examples, the intention of the monument must be to manifest the deity alongside the agent, or, more specifically, they manifest the agent activated by the text and his image within the presence of the deities depicted alongside him.[253] This practice is likely cognate

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[248] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 41–51; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 174.

[249] Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*, 137.

[250] The Neirab stelae (KAI 225-226), the Katumuwa Stele, MARAŞ 8, BOR, ÇİFTLİK, and ANDAVAL.

[251] İSPEKÇÜR and possibly MARAŞ 2.

[252] ARSUZ 1, ARSUZ 2, DARENDE, KELEKLİ.

[253] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:304.

with typical votive practice in Mesopotamia and the Levant, in which statues of supplicants were placed before divine images so that they were reembodied in perpetual prayer.[254] Such a function will be explored in a more detail in the section on statuary below.

In four of the "I Am" stelae with representations of the agent, that representation is actually the Luwian Hieroglyph EGO$_2$.[255] EGO is the logographic realization of the first-person pronoun *amu* "I" which opens "I Am" inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian. This hieroglyph depicts the top half of a person in side profile, with the person pointing to themselves. EGO$_2$ is the designation for the hieroglyph when it is extended into a full portrait of the speaker. It is also sometimes labeled "the *amu*-figure."[256] This variation accounts for roughly one-sixth of all occurrences of the hieroglyph EGO in Luwian.[257] While only four of the "I Am" stelae attest EGO$_2$, it appears on many of the other epigraphic supports to be discussed below. Most significantly, the combination of the image of the agent with the pronoun used to indicate him in the text reveals that the "I Am" formula opening these inscriptions served a purpose similar to

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[254] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 43; J.N. Postgate, "Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch," in *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, ed. Colin Renfrew and Ezra B.W. Zubrow, New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 177; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 146; Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Dedicatory Inscriptions as Communication with the Divine," in *Mediating Between Heaven and Earth: Communication with the Divine in the Ancient Near East*, ed. C. L. Crouch, Jonathan Stokl, and Anna Elise Zernecke (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2012), 9; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 79.

[255] ARSUZ 1, DARENDE, ÇİFTLİK, and ANDAVAL. Note also that the inscription İSPEKÇÜR includes a glyptic figure modeled on the hieroglyph EGO. This development may have set the stage for the eventual combination of portrait and hieroglyph in EGO$_2$. Surprisingly, though, the figure modeled on EGO in İSPEKÇÜR is not the agent but rather his wife. Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 289.

[256] C.f. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:115.

[257] Hawkins, Volume I:115; Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 289.

that of monumental images.[258] The pronoun – both as a visual and a semantic element – actually conjured the agent.[259] This possibility will be explored in more detail below in the section on the semantic dimension.

The last group of "I Am" stelae depict deities without the agent. 11 of the stelae listed above fall into this category.[260] All of these depict the Storm-god rather than the agent. The function of the attendant iconography is more difficult to pin down in these cases, but one possibility presents itself. I have argued elsewhere that in statues similar to these stelae, the inscription manifests the agent while the image manifests the deity whose presence the agent desires to enter.[261] These thus provide a unique realization of the votive practice mentioned above in connection to stelae that depict the agent and deity together. Again, this unique function of "I Am" monuments depicting deities will be discussed below in connection to statuary, where their function is made especially explicit.

Statuary

Statues are arguably the epigraphic support most similar to stelae in that they are still free-standing sculptures. Of the inscriptions listed above, 12 are inscribed on statues or statue-

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[258] Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 293–94; Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[259] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[260] ADANA 1, TELL AHMAR 1, TELL AHMAR 2, TELL AHMAR 6, BOROWSKI 3, ALEPPO 2, BABYLON 1, KÜRTÜL, CEKKE, KÖRKÜN, and KARKAMIŠ A17a.

[261] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

bases: KARKAMIŠ A15b, MARAŞ 4, MARAŞ 14, MARAŞ 13, KIRÇOĞLU, PALANGA, ÇINEKÖY, KAI 26 C (the Azatiwada Inscription), KAI 202 (the Zakkur Inscription), KAI 214 (the Hadad Inscription), KAI 306 (the Kerak Inscription), and the Kapar(r)a Inscription. As was the case for stelae, statues are attested as epigraphic supports for "I Am" inscriptions throughout their historical and geographic distribution. Of these statue inscriptions, KARKAMIŠ A15b, MARAŞ 14, PALANGA, and KAI 306 are inscribed on broken statues or statue-bases without a preserved statue, so they provide little information for our present purpose other than that statues were acceptable epigraphic supports for these types of texts. MARAŞ 4 and MARAŞ 13 are inscribed on preserved statues that reveal a straightforward and rather interesting relationship between the statue and its text. These are both ruler statues and both open with an extended hieroglyph for the first-person pronoun – EGO$_2$ or the *amu*-figure. In these cases, the pronoun clearly indicates the statue, which served a parallel function to the pronoun in that it manifested the speaker of the inscription.[262] This is especially indicated by the extension of the hieroglyph for the first-person pronoun, which appears to be a drawing in miniature of the person speaking or perhaps even the statue itself.[263] The fact that the introductory pronoun and the statue function in the same way is thus revealed by the fact that the pronoun is essentially a duplicate of the statue in miniature.

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[262] The ability of statues in particular to conjure presence has been studied in more detail than that of any other ancient Near Eastern art objects. On this function for statues, see Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 91–92, 106; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 236; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 43, 68, 75–76.

[263] Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 290–91.

The remaining examples are far more interesting, however. The Zakkur Inscription, Hadad Inscritpion, Azatiwada's statue inscription, and ÇINEKÖY probably all date to the 8th century and all are inscribed on statues of deities.[264] Also, all of these inscriptions are in Northwest Semitic dialects; the Hieroglyphic Luwian version of ÇINEKÖY is admittedly carved on the same object as the Semitic inscription, but the Luwian versions of KARATEPE 1 are all on orthostats while the final, divergent Semitic edition of the text is the only one carved on the divine statue. These are especially remarkable because the speaker indicated in the inscription is clearly not the same individual manifested by the statue. What would be the purpose for inscribing an "I Am" inscription on a divine statue then without a separate representation of the agent? I propose that this is an indication of the extreme intimacy between the agent and the deity indicated in the inscription and is perhaps a sophisticated development of votive practice attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East. For example, in Mesopotamia statues and inscriptions of individuals – including rulers – would be erected in temples in order to be near the divine image. The result was that the individual depicted by the statue could be manifested alongside the deity and thus remain in perpetual prayer.[265] As discussed above, the same function

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[264] Josef Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, Abhandlungen Zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 6 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1993), 54; Guy Bunnens, *Tell Ahmar II: A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsip-Masuwari*, Publications de La Mission Archéologique de l'Université de Liège En Syrie (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 128. In the case of KAI 202, some scholars identify the statue as a depiction of the agent – Zakkur. However, the monumentalization formula for the statue in line 1 ([*n*]ṣbʾ . zy . šm . zkr . mlk [. ḥ]mt . wlʿš . lʾlwr [. mrʾh] "The monument that Zakur, king of Hamath and Luʿash, placed for Elwer, his lord") is a close parallel to that of KAI 214 line 1 (*hqmt . nṣb zn . lhdd* "I raised this monument for Hadad"). KAI 214 is clearly inscribed on a statue of Hadad, so it is likely that the statue in KAI 202 was actually an image of Elwer. Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[265] Postgate, "Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch," 177; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 146.

was attested for stelae and other votive objects in the Levant.[266] This same function was accomplished by placing an "I Am" inscription on a divine image but with the implication of far greater intimacy. The divine statue functioned as usual to manifest the deity in the minds of the monument's users, but the "I Am" inscription simultaneously manifested the agent. As a result, the agent was always manifested in the presence of the deity. This function must be inferred in the Zakkur Inscription, the Azatiwada Inscription, and ÇINEKÖY, but it is actually made explicit in the Hadad Inscription. There, the agent – Panamuwa I – leaves specific ritual instructions that whenever sacrifice is offered before the statue – the god Hadad – Panamuwa is to be invoked with Hadad so that he too may partake of the offered food and drink.[267] In this way, "I Am" inscriptions on divine images permitted not only the manifestation of the agent but specifically the manifestation of the agent in the presence of the deity perpetually.

Wall Reliefs

Wall reliefs – mostly realized as orthostat reliefs – repeat many of the features of stelae and statuary, but with some key differences. Orthostats in particular were employed in the Levant without interruption from the Middle Bronze Age through the Iron Age. When they were first utilized, they were mostly uninscribed and lacked figurative art, but their limited deployment to temples, palaces, and city-gates demonstrates that even these mostly unworked

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[266] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 43; Gudme, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Dedicatory Inscriptions as Communication with the Divine," 79.

[267] The Panamuwa Inscription includes a ritual script to be performed before the monument. When sacrifices are offered before the statue and the name of Hadad is invoked, the ritual participant is to say: [tʾ]kl . nbš . pnmw . ʿmk . wtš[ty . n]bš . pnmw . ʿmk "May the 'soul' of Panamuwa eat with you, and may the 'soul' of Panamuwa drink with you." The inscription then goes on to explain this ritual script as follows: ʾd . yzkr . nbš . pnmw . ʿm . [hd]d "Henceforth, may he invoke the 'soul' of Panamuwa with Hadad." Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

stones were fundamentally monumental and used to mark liminal space.[268] Furthermore, the architectural character of orthostats and other wall reliefs provided them with unique opportunities for meaning affordance. Whereas stelae and statues tended to represent and conjure one to three characters, wall reliefs could represent entire narrative progressions at their most sophisticated.[269] They could thus manifest the agent in uniquely complex configurations with other figures worked in stone as well as the users of these art objects. It would go far beyond the scope of this study to discuss the iconography of these objects in detail, but some salient points can briefly be made.

Of the inscriptions listed above, 21 were inscribed on walls and orthostats: KARKAMIŠ A1b, KARKAMIŠ A13d, KARKAMIŠ A11a, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, KARKAMIŠ A23, KARKAMIŠ A6, ALEPPO 6, HINES, HAMA 1, HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 4, HAMA 6, HAMA 7, KARATEPE 1 (KAI 26 A and B), PORSUK, the Kulamuwa Orthostat (KAI 24), and KAI 216-218 (the Bar-rakib palace orthostats). Most of these consist only of the inscription and bear no attendant iconography.[270] Nevertheless, the mere use of a wall

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[268] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 72–76; Ömür Harmanşah, "Monuments and Memory: Architecture and Visual Culture in Ancient Anatolian History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia: (10,000-323 BCE)*, ed. Gregory McMahon and Sharon Steadman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 632.

[269] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 81–84.

[270] This is true of KARATEPE 1, KARKAMIŠ A11a, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, KARKAMIŠ A23, HINES, HAMA 1, HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 4, HAMA 6, HAMA 7, and PORSUK. However, it should be noted that there was a seated statue atop two lions erected at the King's Gate area beside KARKAMIŠ A11a and KARKAMIŠ A11b+c. KARKAMIŠ A11a §20 explicitly refers to *za-ha-wa/i* (DEUS)*á-tara/i-su-ha-na* "this god Atrisuhas," which is confirmed to be a reference to the statue by the inscription KARKAMIŠ A4d which runs on the statue and identifies it as Atrisuhas. KARATEPE 1 is similarly accompanied by rather complex iconography in the form of adjoining uninscribed orthostats, but in that case the text makes no reference to any of the figured art accompanying it. Most noticeably, the ruler Azatiwada is not depicted in any of the accompanying artwork, but is rather present only in the form of his inscription. Pucci, "THE KING'S GATE COMPLEX AT KARKAMIŠ:

or orthostat to carry these inscriptions is incredibly telling about their significance. The use of such epigraphic supports allowed the agent to be manifested in particular liminal spaces as an extension of the very construction the inscription adorned. The entire space – at times even the entire city-scape – was thus marked by the agent's presence.[271]

The simplest type of image that may accompany orthostat inscriptions is a portrait of the agent. In some cases, this portrait is even incorporated directly into the inscription as the first hieroglyph. For example, KARKAMIŠ A13d opens with the hieroglyph EGO_2 – the first-person pronoun but a rendering of it that has been extended into a full portrait of the agent. No further iconography is provided. Similarly, the Kulamuwa Orthostat is accompanied primarily by a relief image of the agent that is clearly modeled on the Karkamišean examples of EGO_2 but with no semantic value.[272] In these cases, the images of the agent serve a straightforward purpose: to manifest the agent in tandem with his conjuration in the inscription. EGO_2 even does double duty by accomplishing this purpose simultaneously as text and image.

KARKAMIŠ A1b and ALEPPO 6 depict the agent along with a deity. KARKAMIŠ A1b consists of both a seated portrait of the agent acting as the hieroglyph EGO_2 and a portrait of a goddess standing beside her. This pair of images likely served a similar function to the one proposed above for the pairing of "I Am" inscriptions with divine statues. KARKAMIŠ A1b

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ANALYSIS OF SPACE," 219; Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 127.

[271] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 82.

[272] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 82.

allowed the agent to be manifested in tandem with the depicted goddess. This motivation is

perhaps even clearer in ALEPPO 6. The adjoining orthostat – ALEPPO 5 – depicts the Storm-

god and was erected in the temple of the Storm-god in Aleppo during the 13th century when the

site was still incorporated into the Hittite Empire. ALEPPO 6 was added during the 11th century

right beside the earlier orthostat as part of a restoration of the temple.[273] The image of the agent –

King Taita of Palistin – manifests him in the presence of this earlier emanation of the Storm-god,

a function also accomplished by the inclusion of his "I Am" inscription.[274]

Beyond manifesting the agent and deities, orthostats with "I Am" inscriptions could also

conjure entire ritual processions. KARKAMIŠ A6, for example, contains the hieroglyph EGO$_2$ as

well as several portraits of ritual processors. More processors are presented in the orthostat

paired with this one – KARKAMIŠ A7. Similarly, the Bar-rakib orthostats from Zincirli (KAI

216-218) contain portraits of the agent – again probably modeled on the Karkamišean EGO$_2$ or

perhaps on the neighboring Kulamuwa orthostat – along with portraits of processors.[275] In these

cases, the agent is manifested simultaneously by the inscription and the portrait as would be

expected. The images of the processors, however, provide instead a model of the ideal user of the

monument. They appear to participate in the processions and rituals surrounding the monuments

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[273] Hawkins, "The Inscriptions of the Aleppo Temple," 38.

[274] The paired function of the inscription and image is further emphasized by the placement of the "I Am" formula. It has been dislocated from the beginning of the inscription to instead run right beside the figure, acting as a sort of caption for the image. Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 291–92.

[275] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 87–88.

and invite the monuments' users to join in.[276] In a sense, they embody the ritual and its ideal

participants within the monument itself.

One more unique feature of orthostats as epigraphic supports should be noted. These

orthostats often came in pairs. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, and KARKAMIŠ

A23[277] were each carved on a set of two portal orthostats that functioned together. KARKAMIŠ

A6 was similarly paired with KARKAMIŠ A7 – not an "I Am" inscription – but these stood side

by side rather than functioning as portal orthostats. KAI 216 and 217 functioned together as a

portal orthostat pair, while KAI 218 was paired with an uninscribed orthostat.[278] The effect of

these paired orthostats was two-fold. First, as paired orthostats flanking portals, they allowed the

agent to follow and address the processing user from either side of the portal. These pairs

highlighted the performativity of the monuments, reminding the users through their repetition of

the rhythm of rituals attached to the objects.[279] Secondly, they revealed the agent's ability to

distribute his presence and agency and to manifest them in multiple locations and forms. The

creation of such monuments in the first place reveals the ancient conception that one individual's

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[276] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş)," 134; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 132.

[277] The text of KARKAMIŠ A23 continues on the fragments KARKAMIŠ A26a1 + 2 and KARKAMIŠ A20a1. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:116–20.

[278] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 86–88.

[279] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 118, 132.

presence need not be singular; it could be multiplied, distributed, and divided.[280] An agent's

presence was reembodied in his monument and reproduced through ritual. Orthostat pairs

accentuated this multiplicity of presence even more than other monumental forms. While this

repetition could theoretically be accomplished by other forms, orthostats uniquely afforded this

aesthetic feature with great ease due to their architectonic aspects. That is, because orthostats

were fully incorporated into walls, they invited more complex accompanying art and inscriptions

simply because of their size and deployment on an architectural level.

Portal Beasts

Portal beasts combine artistic techniques from statuary and orthostat reliefs, and the

meaning they could afford fell somewhere in between these objects as well. In fact, the primary

affordance of portal beasts with "I Am" inscriptions may be that they were something in between

in an ontological sense. Of the inscriptions in my corpus, only 4 were inscribed on portal beasts:

KARKAMIŠ A14a, KARKAMIŠ A14b, MARAŞ 1, and the Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur Inscription.

These are all relatively early – dating to the 10th and 9th centuries – and it should be noted that

KARKAMIŠ A14a and KARKAMIŠ A14b were erected together and form a pair. Inscriptions

on portal figures accomplished a function similar to both those of portal orthostats as well as

those on divine images. They allow the repetitive manifestation of the agent along a processional

track in a liminal threshold, but they also imply the manifestation of the agent in a somewhat

otherworldly plane as might be assumed for the inscriptions on statues of gods. Thus, more than

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[280] Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," 181; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 118–19.

any other "I Am" inscriptions, those on portal figures emphasize the liminality of the monument in more way than one. Bahrani has described similar portal beasts from Assyria as follows:

> They allow you to traverse worlds, effect the transition of space; they are real and not real, they are architecture and sculpture, they stand and they walk, they are animal and human…they are both living and stone. They dwell on the threshold in many ways.[281]

These same conclusions may be applied to Levantine portal beasts, though they are not as formally uncanny as the Assyrian *lamassu* Bahrani is describing.

All of the examples of "I Am" inscriptions on portal beasts are carved on lions. These were clearly adapted from Hittite Imperial art, though MARAŞ 1 shows some Assyrian influence as well. Portal lions usually flanked entrances in pairs, as was undoubtedly the case for KARKAMIŠ A14a and A14b. The paired lion to MARAŞ 1 has not been found, however. The fronts of the lions was sculpted in the round and depicted the lion in a standing position, while the rest of the body was carved in relief on the stone block and depicted the lion striding.[282] As such, the users' experience of the lions changed as they approached and passed them. The uncanny shift from motionless to moving as well as the fact that the lions guarding portals appeared to be striding in the opposite direction from the processors may have served to invite the viewers to linger in the threshold, providing more time to experience the accompanying inscriptions and the transformation they afforded.

Portal beasts were also uncanny in that, though they depicted lions, the voice speaking out of them was that of a human king. The pairing of the voice of the king with the image of a

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[281] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 47.

[282] Aro, "Art and Architecture," 307.

lion may imply the king's prowess as a hunter and his ability to subjugate and kill such beasts. Some Assyrian portal beasts were explicitly described as replicas of animals the king had killed on campaign. Though these explanations primarily survive in Assyrian sources, Harmanşah argues on the basis of shared features of representation that this practice was adapted from North Syria.[283] The fact that the accompanying texts do not mention the hunts is not problematic. While the Assyrian examples are meticulously explained, Levantine monuments tended to allow text and image to complement each other without replicating one another.[284] At least at Carchemish, lion hunt reliefs are attested in addition to the use of portal lions, so the potential connection of portal lions to hunting is supported by iconography if not textual evidence.[285]

The presence of the king was conjured through ritual interaction with the portal beast. Other portal lions found at Carchemish were accompanied by offering tables, cups, and depressions for offering food and libations – presumably to the king through the medium of the lion. The fact that these lions manifested the king and his power is further attested to by iconoclastic practices in evidence at Carchemish. When the site was eventually captured by the Assyrians, they intentionally defaced portal lions as well as a colossal ruler statue. The ruler

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[283] Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 88.

[284] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 134.

[285] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 118.

statue and portal lions were apparently understood to afford a similar meaning, and both were destroyed in order to symbolically obliterate the kings of Carchemish.[286]

Much as the agent manifested through the lion occupied an imaginative space between human and animal, the users found themselves in a space in between when they stood in the threshold. The transformation required by the motion through this liminal space was also affected by the manifestation of the agent and his address in the inscriptions on the lions. This is most apparent in the examples from Carchemish. KARKAMIŠ A14a related the accession of the agent – Astuwalamanzas – and called down curses upon any would efface his portal inscriptions, while KARKAMIŠ A14b legitimated Astuwalamanzas by relating his construction of the gateway that the lions guarded and ended with similar curses. The lions thus manifested the threatening presence of Astuwalamanzas – projecting his authority in terms of both the natural power of the depicted animals and their imperial association – and the inscriptions revealed the behavior expected of the ideal users of the monument. Those passing through the entrance were thus provoked to accept these demands and be transformed.

Somewhat surprisingly, the inscriptions on the portal lions at Carchemish are not copies of each other. The practice of setting up doubles of inscriptions is attested elsewhere in the Levant, so it would not have been impossible to produce two of the same inscriptions to adorn the portal lions in this case. This formal difference between the two lions served an important purpose, however. The adornment of each lion with a different inscription highlighted their multiplicity without suggesting that they were exact duplicates of one another. As a result,

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[286] Gilibert, 24.

Astuwalamanzas' presence was also multiplied and distributed.[287] He was present through each of the lions in similar but slightly different ways, further emphasizing the uncanny quality of the imagined encounter with him.

The inscription on MARAŞ 1 reveals a somewhat different persuasive tactic than that of the portal lions from Carchemish. In that inscription, the agent – Halparuntiyas – relates his many acts to benefit his people, thus persuading his monuments' users to accept his point of view through a somewhat less threatening means. Though the lions themselves still suggest a dangerous presence in the monument, the agent is both within and without them in this case. This is especially revealed by the realization of the first-person pronoun on MARAŞ 1. Like many other examples from the site, the first hieroglyph in MARAŞ is EGO_2 – a full-length representation of the agent. Where the other examples appear to represent the statues of the agent they are inscribed on, this example appears on a statue of a lion with no accompanying representation of the agent apart from the hieroglyph itself. Uniquely among the occurrences of EGO_2, however, this instance of the hieroglyph shows the agent standing on top of a lion.[288] This may suggest that the users were intended to imagine him as a presence alongside or atop the lions but ultimately separated from them.

Rock Reliefs

Rock reliefs repeat many of the formal characteristics of wall reliefs, but their execution, materiality, and spatiality are significantly different. Of the inscriptions in my corpus, only 3 are

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[287] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 123–24.

[288] Aro, "Art and Architecture," 308–9.

rock reliefs: BULGARMADEN, HİSARCIK 1, and HİSARCIK 2. These occur only in Anatolia and undoubtedly continue the Hittite tradition of carving inscriptions into living rock.[289] Somewhat surprisingly, rock reliefs only began to carry "I Am" inscriptions in the 8th century, though the tradition of carving inscriptions into rock face itself stretches back to the Late Bronze Age. Carved directly into natural stone, these inscriptions implied the power of the ruler over nature and his ability to extend his reach to difficult-to-reach locales.[290] According to Ömür Harmanşah, rock reliefs allude to "colonial take-over of untouched landscapes…and thus such gestures are acts of appropriation by political agents who attempt to draw powerful places into larger networks of domination."[291] Aesthetically, their function is perhaps best explained in light of Costly Signaling Theory. Costly Signaling Theory focuses on the relationship between communication and the cost of producing it. Cost can project qualities like honesty and legitimacy that might be lacking in forms of communication considered to be less costly to produce or valuable to the producer. As communicative media, monuments derive some of their legitimacy from the difficulty and expense involved in producing them. Rock reliefs highlight these qualities even more through their inaccessibility and incorporation into a natural landscape.[292] The "I Am" inscription writ large in stone manifests in the agent in special prestige. Their inaccessibility points to the difficulty and cost involved in producing them; their material

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[289] Aro, 333; Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*, 2.

[290] Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*, 116–17.

[291] Harmanşah, 4.

[292] Glatz and Plourde, "Landscape Monuments and Political Competition in Late Bronze Age Anatolia: An Investigation of Costly Signaling Theory," 35–36.

points to the agent's ability to reshape even the natural world according to his will expressed in the inscription.[293] In this last sense, rock inscriptions reveal a relationship to nature perhaps somewhat akin to that expressed by portal beasts. In this case, however, the agent is conquering the landscape rather than a beast.

Because of their implicit connection to dominating territories, rock reliefs could especially be employed in frontier zones. They typically appeared in areas already connected to ritual practice or else along important routes of communication and trade.[294] For example, in the inscriptions HİSARCIK 1 and HİSARCIK 2, the agents describe the ritual practice at Mount Harhara[295] and their participation in it.[296] By placing "I Am" monuments at such a site, the agent was perpetually manifested as a participant in rituals at that location. Implicitly, the ritual locus and its practices now attested to the power of the agent. BULGARMADEN attests to the appropriation of a similar ritual zone in the form of "the divine mountain Muti" on which the inscription is carved.[297] In this case, however, this frontier zone is also explicitly a kind of

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[293] Glatz and Plourde, 57–58.

[294] Glatz and Plourde, 58–59; Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 84; Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments*, 33.

[295] This is presumably the ancient name for the mountain on which these inscriptions were inscribed – Erciyes Dağ.

[296] Most of this must be assumed based on HİSARCIK 1. HİSARCIK 2 is almost unreadably apart from signs appearing to make up the "I Am" formula, some logograms, and the name of the mountain. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:483–85, 496–97.

[297] This designation for the place appears in §3 of the inscription. It is presumably the ancient name for the Toros Dağ, where the inscription was found. Hawkins, Volume I:522–25.

borderland, because the agent relates that the mountain was given to him by a more powerful ruler.

Orthography

Of course, the inscriptions included on "I Am" monuments must also be considered part of the aesthetic dimension.[298] The writing was ultimately visually apprehended, and some users could not even interpret the semantic meaning of the signs they were viewing. Writing on its own was symbolic of exclusive knowledge and social power, and, apart from being read, writing could function "an image of itself."[299] For example, in the above discussed case of the haphazard deployment of the Hieroglyphic Luwian version of KARATEPE 1, it is unlikely that the text was meant to be read. Rather, it was deployed in order to authenticate and legitimate the monument and imbue it with symbolic power.[300] It is very probably that inscriptions fulfilled this aesthetic purpose in general on "I Am" monuments, even when they were also read and performed.[301]

The orthographies employed on "I Am" inscriptions are therefore interesting from more than a simply epigraphic perspective. For example, all of the Northwest Semitic inscriptions from Zincirli are carved in raised relief in clear imitation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian scribal practice of neighboring Carchemish. The use of this style points to the prestige of aligning the

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[298] Thomas, "The Monumentality of Text," 60–61.

[299] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 120.

[300] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 135–36.

[301] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 186.

monument with the traditions of Carchemish, while the use of Northwest Semitic dialects point

to the conscious attempt to differentiate Zincirli from the neighboring kingdoms and perhaps to

break away from their influence.[302] The choice of an orthography – perhaps even more than the

choice of a language – visually branded a community.[303] The raised relief of Bar-Rakib's

Aramaic inscriptions, for instance, prompted a very different social formation than the incised

Aramaic of Hazael. Similarly, the presence of a shared orthography in the kingdoms of Israel and

Judah – despite potential dialectal differences realized in writing – promoted certain kinds of

relationships between communities in the two kingdoms.[304] Similar analyses might be applied to

the styles of characters, their size, and their distribution on various epigraphic surfaces, but these

example should serve to demonstrate the importance of writing as a visual element. The

monument needed writing to function, and the inclusion of writing functioned on both a semantic

and an aesthetic level.[305] Even for users who could not read these inscriptions, their presence was

still meaningful.

Surprisingly consistent across the corpus is the use of non-semantic orthographic features

like word dividers and line dividers. These texts are clearly rooted in typical scribal practice, but

– as will be shown below – they also straddled the divide between the written and oral as they

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[302] Hamilton, "The Past as Destiny: Historical Visions in Sam'al and Judah under Assyrian Hegemony," 222; Struble and Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," 20; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 82.

[303] Mark Sebba, "Iconisation, Attribution and Branding in Orthography," *Written Language & Literacy* 18, no. 2 (January 1, 2015): 208–27, https://doi.org/10.1075/wll.18.2.02seb.

[304] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 125–30.

[305] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 75.

imitate features of speech and performance. Perhaps the best genre underlying such a development is epistolary, which reports the speech of the sender in written form. Indeed, the "I Am" monuments were first adapted at large in the Levant to replace the epistolary-derived practice of opening monumental inscriptions with *UMMA* "thus (says)" to mark them as direct speech. Such monumental inscriptions were clearly just communal scale letters writ large to affect social change. The "I Am" formula provided a means of accomplishing the same thing while simultaneously carving out a niche apart from letters. Nevertheless, other elements of epistolary practice continued to influence the writing of these inscriptions.

It is also important to note however that though these inscriptions were clearly outgrowths of a scribal culture, they were not overly self-conscious about their textualization. Most of the monumental forms associated with these inscriptions are known to have existed without writing both before and during the ascendancy of "I Am" inscriptions. Though there was a tendency towards increasingly inscribed monuments, uninscribed and aniconic monuments did not totally fade from use. It was only during the 8th century with a new wave of influence from Neo-Assyrian culture that Levantine monuments became self-conscious about being written. Only two Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions – neither of them "I Am" inscriptions – even employ specialized self-referential terms for the inscription.[306] At least three Northwest Semitic inscriptions – only one of them an "I Am" inscription – employs a term for "inscription," but it is similarly rare.[307] In addition, one Luwian "I Am" inscription and one Semitic "I Am" inscription

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[306] GÜRÜN §6 contains a self-referential designation of *366-*za+ra/i-sà* "inscription," and KARATEPE 4 §2 refers to itself and its neighboring inscriptions as SCRIBA-*la-li-ia* "writings."

[307] The Kulamuwa Orthostat and the Sefire treaties both contain curses to protect the inscription. KAI 1 – the Ahiram Inscription – on the other hand contains a curse upon the inscription (*spr*) of the potential violators of the

make verbal reference to the act of inscription.[308] Though it is not true for all of these references, most of them appear in 8th century inscriptions.[309] Self-consciousness of textualization may thus have been increasing during this time.

Nevertheless, the possibility that inscriptions reflected an increasing concern for textualization must be balanced with the fact that earlier inscriptions were undoubtedly conscious of their textuality if not entirely of the process of writing. Writing imbued these monuments with unique qualities, without which they could not fully function. However, ancient users of monuments did not need this spelled out for them. The aesthetic dimension – including the text itself – must simply be understood to be functioning alongside the other aspects of the monument. Furthermore, though the inscriptions may not always reflect internally on the act of writing, they almost always reference the fact that they are inscribed artifacts. References to the inscribed name in particular are ubiquitous in Levantine "I Am" inscriptions, and these references may even be construed at times as metonyms for the whole inscription.[310] We see this reflected especially in the curse sections of the inscriptions. In addition to often containing protective curses guarding the monument as a whole, there are often specific curses against

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monument (KAI 1:2). Kulamuwa uses the term *spr* in KAI 24:14. The term used in Sefire is *sprʾ*; it appears first clearly in KAI 222 A2:8 but is used throughout all three copies of the text.

[308] CEKKE §3 reads: |*za-ha-wa/i* STELE-*zi*[?!] *á-pa-sa pu-pa-li-ta* "and that one composed this stele." KAI 202:13-15 read: [*w*]*šmt . qdm* [. *ʾlwr .*] *nṣbʾ . znh . wk*[*tbt . b*]*h . ʾyt* [.] *ʾšr . ydy* "I set up before Elwer this stele, and I wrote thereon that of my hands (e.g. my deeds)."

[309] Only the Ahirom Inscription (KAI 1) dates to the 10th.

[310] Ilya Yakubovich, "Nugae Luvicae," in *Anatolian Languages*, ed. V. Shevoroshkin and P. Sidwell, AHL Studies in the Science and History of Languages 6 (Canberra: Association for the History of Language, 2002), 196.

defacement or erasure of the inscribed name. Even if the writing was only experienced visually at times, it was still essential to the function of the monument. Thus, in her discussion of similar monuments in Mesopotamia, Bahrani observes that "more importantly it had to be inscribed with the name of the person represented. It was the inscription which made it the image of one person and not another."[311] Similarly, apart from the inscription, the epigraphic support for a Levantine "I Am" could not properly manifest the agent. We thus turn next to the content of these inscriptions.

The Semantic Dimension: Ventriloquizing the Agent

Of course, the dimension of "I Am" monuments that has received the most previous attention is the semantic dimension. The actual semantic content of these inscriptions is of tantamount importance to their meaning affordance. I addressed the spatial and aesthetic dimensions first in order to emphasize, however, that the semantic content was not the only source of meaning for these monuments. Furthermore, certain aspects of the semantic content can only be understood in light of the inscription's material form and its spatial deployment. Regardless of the specifics of these dimensions, though, once the agent is encountered in a particular form and at a particular location, it is the inscription that gives him a voice. The agent can proceed to communicate directly to the users of the monument through the medium of the monumental text. The semantic content of Levantine "I Am" monuments comprises the agent's speech. Though the wording across these inscriptions is not strictly standardized, several tropes and motifs are commonly encountered. These semantic elements are typically organized into

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[311] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 75.

three parts: an introduction, a narrative, and stipulations.[312] In the narrative portion of the text, the agent relates in his own voice his proposition of social order. His stipulations then propose collective practice and resultant social formation to the monument's users. What gives all of these sections authority, however, is that they are delivered in the imaginatively conjured voice of the ruler.[313] A discussion of the semantic dimension of "I Am" monuments must therefore be foregrounded by a reflection on the effect of presenting them as direct speech.

<u>"I Am" Inscriptions as Direct Speech</u>

The inscriptions surveyed here are invariably presented as the direct speech of the agent. This is made evident by the use of the first-person pronoun to introduce the agents and first-person verbs to narrate their actions. This use of the first-person transforms the inscription into the voice of the individual identified in the text's opening.[314] The monument provokes the users to imagine the agent addressing them or engaging them in a one-sided conversation.[315] This is how the monument initially materializes the agent's message. The monumental text is literally a

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[312] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 40.

[313] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 134.

[314] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 74; Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," 21; Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 293.

[315] Similarly, David Stuart and Stephen Houston have proposed that the use of first and second-person forms in Mayan royal monuments provoked the imagining of a conversation. The audience was invited to interact with the monument as if with a person speaking through it. Stephen Houston and David Stuart, "The Ancient Maya Self: Personhood and Portraiture in the Classic Period," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 33 (1998): 88; Stephen Houston, "Impersonation, Dance, and the Problem of Spectacle Among the Classic Maya," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, Archaeology in Society (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2006), 142.

material form of his speech.

Hieroglyphic Luwian monumental inscriptions make the understanding of "I Am" inscriptions as direct speech explicit with the inclusion of the quotative particle *-wa-*. This particle is appended to the opening words of each clause to suggest that the whole inscription is to be understood as a quote. It is notably appended to the first-person pronominal opening in most cases (e.g. *amu-wa-mi* "I-[quotative particle]-[first-person reflexive particle]"), but because the entirety of the inscription is meant to be understood as direct speech this particle appears in every subsequent clause as well.[316] The earliest appearance of this practice can be reconstructed in the NİŞTANAŞ inscription of Šuppiluliuma II.[317] It may originate with the opening of Hittite monumental inscriptions with the Akkadian term *umma* "thus (speaks)," implying that everything to follow was the direct address of the Hittite king.[318] This also implies that the Hittites initially monumentalized text by raising the epistolary practice of opening letters with *umma* to collective significance. Much as a letter provokes the reader to imagine the presence of the writer, so too did Hittite monuments addressed to a community provoke them to imagine the king speaking.[319] Later Hittite as well as Levantine monumental practice acknowledges that the use of the first-person alone is enough to accomplish this.

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[316] Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts (2nd Revised Edition)*, 40.

[317] For this opening formula, see Schachner et al., "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 2015," 31–32.

[318] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 74.

[319] Vimala Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (October 1, 1999): 540.

It is worth noting that the practice of presenting text as direct speech in order to imbue it with authority shares much in common with the royal and prophetic messenger formulas in the Levant. The Hittite usage of *UMMA* "thus (says)" was also used to relate royal edicts and other significant texts from the king, using the model of Akkadian epistolary practice. The Luwian equivalent *á-sa₅-za* "speak (thus)" is used to introduce both letters and prophetic speech on behalf of a god.[320] Almost the exact same type of formula is encountered in the Hebrew Bible in form of *kh ʾmr yhwh* "thus says Yahweh," which is typically used to introduce prophetic ventrilloquizations of Yahweh and probably derives from a royal messenger formula.[321] The "I Am" formula was simply a means of accomplishing this without acknowledging a spokesperson. The speaker in an "I Am" inscription imaginatively speaks directly to the agent's users without need of an intermediary.[322]

To borrow language from Seth Sanders, Levantine monuments use elements of direct speech to "ventriloquize" the agent "as if he were standing right in front of us."[323] These inscriptions "produce the presence" of their agents, giving voice to their self-described actions

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[320] See the Assur letters in comparison with TELL AHMAR 5 §11 and TELL AHMAR 6 §22. Paul E. Dion, "The Horned Prophet (1 Kings XXII 11)," *Vetus Testamentum* 49, no. 2 (1999): 259; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:232–33, 538; Bunnens, *Tell Ahmar II: A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsip-Masuwari*; Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 91–94.

[321] William M. Schniedewind, "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah," in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2015), 314–15.

[322] Of course, this merely part of the rhetoric of aggrandizement typical to monumental discourse. In all likelihood, an unacknowledged spokesperson would be responsible for relating the text to most of the monument's users.

[323] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114.

and demands.[324] Similarly, Zilmer argues that this sort of presentation "creates the image of an immediate encounter between the commissioners of the memorial and the audience."[325] As the audience experiences the textual monument as speech, "there unfolds interaction similar to face-to-face communication that we would otherwise experience in oral contexts."[326] Conjuration thus derives from the oral quality of the monument. The use of direct speech provokes an imagined encounter between the agent and the monument's users.

The presentation of a monumental inscription as direct speech creates the potential for an inscription to act as a monument to the speaker on its own independent of the inscribed object. Speaking of "I Am" inscriptions, Sanders notes that "the inscription now designates itself by the speaker, not the object."[327] Levantine monuments of this type were intended to conjure the agents speaking through them, and their speech was the primary message materialized by the monument. Other elements of the monument were intended to supplement or enhance this

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[324] Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 12. Interestingly, the funerary monuments Sanders refers to in making this claim are perhaps the best examples of monumental conjuration. The Katumuwa Stele was discovered relatively undisturbed in its original context, yet further excavations have uncovered no human remains. It is thus not a grave monument creating a connection to the dead agent's remains. Rather, the funerary monument permits communication with the deceased as the text and inscribed object themselves embody the agent. Herrmann, "The KTMW Stele from Zincirli: Syro-Hittite Mortuary Cult and Urban Social Networks," 163. Cf. Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 189; Bonatz, *Das Syro-Hethitische Grabdenkmal: Untersuchugen Zur Entstehung Einer Neuen Bildgattung in Der Eisenzeit Im Nordsyrisch-Südostanatolischen Raum*, 157.

[325] Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia," 152.

[326] Zilmer, 147.

[327] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114.

oratory function of the monument.[328] The monument was produced first and foremost as the materialized voice of the agent. This thus allowed for some freedom in the form of the monument, which could manifest entities other than the agent who was already present in the text.

The monumentalization of text was in part made possible because text and image were not strictly separate categories in the ancient Near East.[329] The equation of text and image is perhaps best illustrated by the Luwian hieroglyph EGO$_2$ that was briefly discussed above. The first-person pronoun opening a sixth of Luwian "I Am" inscriptions was actually a full image of the agent, in which the typical hieroglyph for the first-person pronoun was extended into a full portrait.[330] In this case, the deictic statement "I (am)" (Luwian EGO *amu-*) was literally the image of the agent. This practice suggests that the pronoun could iconically reference the agent, even when the sign was not a full portrait. This iconic function was an additional layer of the writing's meaning.[331] When this practice was adapted into alphabetic inscriptions, two possibilities were employed to make up for the lack of a pictographic script. Inscriptions such as that on the Kulamuwa Orthostat (KAI 24) include a full portrait modeled on the Hieroglyphic

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[328] The same is argued for Viking runestones by Kristel Zilmer. Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 127.

[329] May, "Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East," 4; Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 311–16.

[330] Payne, "The Hieroglyphic Sign EGO(2)," 289–90.

[331] Payne, 293.

Luwian sign EGO₂, but these treat it as an element separate from the textual pronoun.[332] Other inscriptions, such as the Mesha Inscription (KAI 181), included no iconography at all. The text was instead allowed to stand alone as the image of the agent.

The ultimate result of the presentation of inscriptions as direct speech was that the monumental text was not only the voice of the agent but his image as well. An 'image,' after all, in ancient parlance was an object meant to materialize its referent's agency, and this was precisely what monumental texts accomplished.[333] As a physical object, a Levantine "I Am" inscription could act as a fully functioning communicative monument provoking its users to imagine along both aural and visual lines. This type of inscription united these cognitive categories, resulting in the materialization of "visualized speech," to borrow a term from Kristel Zilmer.[334] The presentation of the text as speech thus results in a potential to afford meaning separate from any affordance the inscription might have gained by analogy to the inscribed object. While other material and iconographic elements were almost always employed to enhance these inscriptions, the text was theoretically capable of functioning as a monument on its own. This function was entirely dependent on the identity of the agent. Monumental discourse is determined by who is using it. Therefore, before relating his message, the agent must first introduce himself to make that message relevant and authoritative.

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[332] Elements of Kulamuwa's portrait are admittedly influenced by Assyrian traditions as well, but the placement and posture of the figure are definitely derived from the EGO(2) hieroglyph. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 82.

[333] Postgate, "Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch," 177–78.

[334] Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 138.

The defining feature of "I Am" monuments was their use of the "I Am" formula. This peculiar feature of monumental discourse was only employed a small handful of times outside of the corpus delineated above. It had a very specific function and grew out of a particular stream of tradition. The "I Am" formula identified the agent as the conceptual and ideological center of the monument's discourse. Green argues that a monumental inscription's conceptual center "has personal, temporal and spatial dimensions," which he specifically defines as the agent himself, the times when he is active, and the domain he controls.[335] Time, space, and person are "highly interpreted elements in ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions."[336] All of these are deictic categories and act metaphorically as indexes for ideological nearness to the agent.[337] Personal, spatial, and temporal deixis can all be encoded in the pronoun "I," which opens every inscription in the present corpus. By analogy, the agent is also the center of the inscription's ideological deixis. By identifying himself as the deictic center at the opening of the inscription, the agent implies an ideological evaluation with himself as the standard. In Liverani's terms, he is the "gravitational centre" of the inscription and by extension the ideology.[338] This is arguably the

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[335] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 286.

[336] Green, 22.

[337] For more on the use of deixis in ideological indexing, see Bruce W. Hawkins, "Linguistic Relativity as a Function of Ideological Deixis," in *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity*, ed. Martin Pütz and Marjolijn H. Verspoor, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 19 (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2000), 295–318; Willem J. Botha, "The Deictic Foundation of Ideology, with Reference to the African Renaissance," in *Language and Ideology: Volume II: Descriptive Cognitive Approaches*, ed. Rene Dirven, Roslyn Frank, and Cornelia Ilie (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001), 51–75.

[338] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 183; Mario Liverani, "Model and Actualization: The Kings of Akkad in the Historical Tradition," in *Akkad The First World Empire: Structure,*

most operative clause in the inscription. Without a defined deictic center, the rest of the

monumental discourse is almost meaningless. Apart from the "I Am" formula, there is no

identified agent for the users to imagine.

The practice of designating the monument by the speaker – opening with the first-person

pronoun – originated in Northern Syria. The Iron Age Levantine cultures inherited this tradition

from the Hittite Empire, which had adapted the practice from Syrian traditions.[339] Because the

practice emerged from a context of imperial power, it was the monumental style of choice for

imitation by Levantine monarchs in the Iron Age.[340] Non-royal elites from the same region used

it in their monuments to tap into the royal authority it exuded.[341] From Syro-Anatolia it spread

Ideology, Traditions, ed. Mario Liverani, History of the Ancient Near East / Studies, V (Padova: Sargon srl, 1993), 47; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 305.

[339] For Hittite examples of the first-person origo statement in both cuneiform Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luwian, see Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 73–81; Schachner et al., "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 2015," 31–32.

[340] While the first-person origo rose to prominence due to its adoption by the Hittite court at the end of the empire period, it did not originate there. The earliest attestation of the first-person origo is actually in the 15th century inscription of Idrimi from Alalaḫ. First-person origo statements also appear in monumental inscriptions from Kassite Babylon and Elam during the Bronze Age, but it is unclear whether this is a related tradition. The courts of Alalaḫ and Babylon were in contact during this time, but it is impossible to determine whether one borrowed the practice from the other due to the scarcity of evidence. Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 243–44; Leonard Woolley, "Introduction: The Statue," in *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, n.d.; Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Arachaeology in Ankara 1 (London: The British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1949); Gary Howard Oller, "The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1977), ProQuest (AAI7806628); Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*, 60; Lauinger, "Statue of Idrimi"; Abraham and Gabbay, "Kaštiliašu and the Sumundar Canal: A New Middle Babylonian Royal Inscription," 186; Bartelmus, "Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions from the Kassite Period," 149–50; J. A. Brinkman, "Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600 to 625 B. C.: The Documentary Evidence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, no. 3 (July 1972): 374; Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 321; Friedrich W. König, *Die Elamischen Königsinschriften*, Archiv Für Orientforschung 16 (Graz: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1965), 76; Marc Van De Mieroop, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 186.

[341] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128.

south into the Cis- and Transjordan as well as east to Mesopotamia.[342] The "I Am" formula was a standardized claim to power and legitimacy. It reembodied an individual as a source of social formation.

Across the various cultures that adopted it, the "I Am" formula was perhaps the most standardized part of the inscription. It almost always consists of the first-person pronoun followed immediately by the agent's name. This was often followed by an appositional genealogy, description of societal position, or a nominalized clause containing an identifying action of the agent.[343] These short statements legitimated in brief the agent's claim to centrality.

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[342] Though there was overlap with the Assyrian tradition and it did influence aspects of monumental discourse in the Levant and Syro-Anatolia, the first-person origo statement was actually adapted by the Assyrians from the earlier Syro-Anatolian tradition. Its first appearance on an Assyrian monument is a trilingual text commissioned by a provincial governor in about 780 BCE written in Akkadian, Aramaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian. This was at a time of relative instability for the Assyrian state, however, as partially attested to by the grandiose rhetoric of this monument. Nadav Na'aman reached a similar conclusion regarding the inscriptions of the governors of Suḫu, three of which – Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur 1, 2, and 9 – begin with a first-person origo in Syro-Anatolian fashion. The first-person origo statement was apparently not adopted by the Assyrian kings until the 7th century BCE. It is preserved eight times in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and five times in those of Esarhaddon. It then became a standard part of monumental discourse under Ashurbanipal and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun. It appears in only one inscription of Aššur-etel-ilāni, but this is likely due to the shortness of his reign and scarcity of evidence. For the Assyrian examples of the first-person origo, see in *RINAP* Tiglath-pileser III No. 2001; Sennacherib Nos. 133-134, 177, 180-182, 184-185; Esarhaddon Nos. 64, 74-75, 94-95; Ashurbanipal Nos. 2-5, 7, 9, 10-11, 13, 19, 33, 36, 41, 44-45, 49, 52-56, 71, 73, 105, 112; Aššur-etel-ilāni No. 1; Sîn-Šarra-Iškun Nos. 1, 6, 10-13, 19. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 122; Younger Jr., *A Political History of the Arameans*, 362–65; Grant Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia. From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Torronto Press, 1995); Tadmor and Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, sec. 2001; Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*, secs. 64, 74, 94, 95; Novotny and Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*; James Novotny, Joshua Jeffers, and Grant Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 2*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 5/2 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

Indeed, the "I Am" formula reveals one of the most significant differences between the Levantine monumental traditions on the one hand and Assyrian traditions on the other. Some Assyrian monuments, especially during the ninth-century, required the physical presence of the Assyrian king in order to function. This is apparently never the case for Levantine monuments. The agent was materialized through the monument and needed no further manifestation. Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 151.

[343] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

The agent either identified himself relative to a known divine or political power, by a titular claim to power, or by a defining action worthy of acknowledgement. The "I Am" formula thus claims ideological centrality for the agent, and the appositional information buttresses that claim. The secondary material also initiated the transition into the narrative portion of the monument's discourse.

Memory and Ideology: Legitimating the Agent

Once the agent has introduced himself to the users, he typically proceeds to give his account of social relations in narrative form. This begins with an account of the agent's fictionalized past.[344] It is fictionalized in the sense that it is selectively recorded and given narrative structure so as to mean something to the monument's users. That meaning is an expression of the agent's ideology.[345] "I Am" monuments always ideologize time. The narrative elements of the presented memory – whether characters, events, or places – are always evaluated and classified by the agent. This is the message that the agent initially communicates to the users. He proposes a version of the past that he evaluates in order to propose an ideology or a particular way of relating to it.[346] No aspect of this constructed past is ever neutral. In this regard, we argue

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[344] In speaking of the past, I use the term relative to the encounter materialized by the monument. The monumental present occurs when users activate the monument. As that is the moment that the agent imaginarily addresses the users, the entirety of his narrative is in the past. Within that narrative, however, there are sharp distinctions made between the times before and during the agent's activities. For more on this "narrative time," see Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 297–305.

[345] Green, 17–22.

[346] I have derived my understanding of monumental texts as propositional from Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 118.

that a monument's version of history is never built on accurate recollection of the past. Rather, as Richard Bradley emphasizes, it is "a process of recreating a past that was really beyond recall and making it play an unrehearsed role in the present."[347] In the case Levantine "I Am" monuments, that "unrehearsed role" is in service to the agent.

Positively evaluated narrative elements consist of events that legitimate the agent in some way. Accounts of the agent's rise to prominence,[348] building or rebuilding activities,[349] and production of societal peace[350] and prosperity[351] illustrate an ideal that the agent was able to reify. That is, positive narrative elements of Levantine "I Am" monuments present the agent creating "heightened order," in Green's terms.[352] The agent produced an ideal domain and then an ideal lifestyle to be lived within it. According to Green, agents "establish the matrix in which

[347] Bradley, *Altering the Earth: The Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe*, 129.

[348] For examples, see Yehawmilk (KAI 10:2); Kulamuwa (KAI 24:4-5); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AI.2-3); Mesha (KAI 181:2b-4); Zakkur (KAI 202:A.2-3, 11-14); Hadad (KAI 214:2-3, 8-9); Bar-Rakib (KAI 216:5-7); Neirab (KAI 226:2-3); the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310:4). Note that KAI 10, 181, 202, 214, 226, and 310 narrate the agent coming to power by divine election, whereas KAI 26 and 216 show a client gaining power through his overlord. Kulamuwa autonomously claims power in KAI 24, but he notably has a divine sponsor in KAI 25, a third-person dedicatory inscription.

[349] For examples, see Azatiwada (KAI 26:AI.13-14, 17, II.9-12, 17-18); Mesha (KAI 181:3, 9-10, 21-27, 29-30); Çineköy 10-13

[350] For examples, see Kulamuwa (KAI 24:10-11, 13); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AI.3-5, 9-13, 18, AII.1-6, 18-AIII.1); Mesha (KAI 181:13-14a, 28-29); Hadad (KAI 214:3-4, 10-13); Çineköy 3-4, 7-10, 16-18; Katumuwa Inscription lines 2-5. Note that the Katumuwa Inscription presents heightened order in miniature terms: Katumuwa establishes a feast within his funerary chamber. That is the extent of the agent's claimed domain.

[351] For examples, see Yehawmilk (KAI 10:9-11); Kulamuwa (KAI 24:8, 11-12); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AI.5-8, AII.13, 16); Mesha (KAI 181:31); Hadad (KAI 214:3-7, 9, 11); Çineköy 3-7.

[352] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 304–18.

the ideal, blessed life of humans is to be lived."[353] The ideal nature of the agent's activities is

further suggested by appeals to the gods or other authorities above the agent. The agent suggests

that his actions were ideal by requesting blessing from the gods in response or by noting that he

was rewarded for his "righteousness."[354] This is even implied by texts that restrict the narrative

actions of the agent to erecting the monumental text or other associated monuments.[355] The mere

existence of the monument demonstrates the agent's social power insofar as he was able to

harness the necessary labor and resources to materialize that power.[356] Positively evaluated

elements of the narrative further materialized the agent's power.

The agent's relationship to the divine sphere is a significant aspect of legitimation in "I

Am" inscriptions. Throughout their history, "I Am" inscriptions appealed to divine election to

legitimate the agent.[357] The agent responded to this patronage by dedicating monuments and

temples to the gods and by establishing rituals for them.[358] Beginning in the 10th century,

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[353] Green, 317.

[354] The agent's righteousness is mentioned by Azatiwada (KAI 26:AI.12-13), Zakkur (KAI 202:2), Bar-Rakib (KAI 216:4-5; 217:3-5), and one of the Neirab Stelae (KAI 226:2). Additionally, depending on how Kulamuwa (KAI 24:4) is translated, we might understand Kulamuwa to declare himself "perfect" *br tm*.

[355] For examples, see Yehawmilk (KAI 10); Zakkur (KAI 202:A1, B14); Hadad (KAI 214:14); Katumuwa Stele.

[356] DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 15–17; Harmanşah, "Upright Stones and Building Narratives: Formation of a Shared Architectural Practice in the Ancient Near East," 88.

[357] More generally, divine election is a common trope of royal inscriptions in the ancient Near East. Andrew Knapp, *Royal Apologetic in the Ancient Near East*, Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series 4 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 46–48.

[358] The most all inclusive example of this is ALEPPO 6, which relates the dedication of an image of the Storm-god in his temple in Aleppo (§2-3) and then gives prescriptions for offerings to be made to the image for the remainder of the inscription (§4-12).

however, agents began to appropriate some divine prerogatives for themselves, including explicitly establishing monuments for their own primary benefit, instituting rituals to honor themselves, and utilizing curses to defend their own monuments and rituals rather than those of the gods. This is mirrored in the iconography, where images of the worshipping king disappear are replaced by images of the king receiving worship. Essentially, from this point forward, the agent claimed a sort of parity with the gods by emulating them.[359]

The intimate relationship between the gods and the agent is most clearly developed by the addition of divine speech to the semantic dimension. Divine speech is only recorded a handful of times in the extant corpus of "I Am" inscriptions, but it is always carried out immediately by the agent in his narrative, thereby legitimating him even more in the eyes of his users. In most instances of this practice, divine speech is related to the agent by means of a prophet.[360] Still, this practice is a striking demonstration of the intimacy between agent and deity. TELL AHMAR 6 and the Zakkur Inscription both depict the deity in iconography as well, mirroring the intimacy expressed in the text. In one instance, however, a god speaks directly to the agent. In line 32 of

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[359] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 190; Alessandra Gilibert, "Religion and Propaganda under the Great Kings of Karkemiš," in *Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians: Proceedings of the International Conference in Honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi (Florence, February 6th-8th 2014)*, ed. Anacleto D'Agostino, Valentina Orsi, and Giulia Torri, Studia Asiana 9 (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2015), 146–48.

[360] Both TELL AHMAR 5 and TELL AHMAR 6 relate commands from the deity to the agent to set up a monument. The individual actually ventriloquizing the deity in both these cases, however, is DEUS-*na-mi-i-sa* "the one belonging to the god" (TELL AHMAR 6 §22) or the CORNU-CAPUT-*mi-i-sa* "(deity's) spokesman" (TELL AHMAR 5 §11) Both titles bear striking similarities to the biblical tradition, which sometimes refers to a prophet as *ʾyš ʾlhym* "the man of God" and which records at least one prophet using horns to mark his office – like the CORNU-CAPUT-*mi-i-sa* presumably wearing horns on his head. Dion, "The Horned Prophet (1 Kings XXII 11)," 259; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:232–33; Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 91–94.

Similarly, KAI 202:B11-16 relates that Baalshamayin spoke to Zakkur by means of *ḥzyn* "seers" and *ʿddn* "testifiers."

the Mesha Inscription (KAI 181), the agent claims [*wy*]*ʾmr . ly . kmš . rd . hltḥm . bḥwrnn* "and Kemosh said to me, 'Go down and make war in Hawronen.'" This even more intense intimacy between agent and deity may be further reflected in the stele's placement in the high place of Kemosh, or perhaps even by the use of a stele itself if one understands it as a manifestation of Kemosh in addition to Mesha.

The agent's ideology is also legitimated by contrast to negatively evaluated narrative elements. Narrative elements used to create contrast include battle accounts, the defeat of rivals, and defamation of inept predecessors. All of these serve to construct the image of an "enemy" who embodies the opposite of the agent's ideology within the narrative.[361] The agent sometimes speaks of this enemy in individual terms, making him a direct rival to the agent's claim of ideological centrality. Therefore, rivals to the agent are most often vaguely described as holders of the same social position as the agent (usually "king" in royal monuments), but other terms are sometimes employed.[362] Narratives concerning the agent's rivals and battle with them develop

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[361] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 290.

[362] Green, 287. Note 8. Some inscriptions do provide specific individuals to fill this adversarial role, but even those still make use of the vague category. For example, Kulamuwa (KAI 24) first describes potential rivals as *mlkm ʿdrm* "powerful kings" in line 5 and just *mlkm* "kings" in line 6, though a more specific enemy is subsequently identified. Similarly, KAI 26 sees Azatiwada defending his land from unspecified marauders (lines 15-19), and he also claims superiority over *kl mlk* "every king" (see lines AI:12 and AIII:4-6). While Mesha's primary rival in KAI 181 is the king of Israel, he claims more simply in line 4 to have been saved from *kl hmlkn* "all the kings." In KAI 202, Zakkur's enemies are described as an alliance of *mlkn* "kings" in line 5 and subsequently as *kl mlkn ʾl* "all these kings" in lines 9, 14, and 16. Only one of these kings is ever named. Most violently, in KAI 310 Hazael claims to have slain *mlkn šbʿn* "seventy kings." The use of the number seventy is used to suggest totality and may additionally have an association with enthronement rites. The motif encountered in KAI 310 and possibly in KAI 202 if "seventy kings" is reconstructed in line 5 is that of removing all rival claimants to power. Matthew Suriano, "The Apology of Hazael: A Literary and Historical Analysis of the Tel Dan Inscription," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66 (July 2007): 168–69.

the trope of the agent as victor.[363] This motif was "the basic indicator of greatness" in ancient

Near Eastern inscriptions.[364] The agent's narrative of defeating his rivals and overcoming his

predecessors further materializes and buttresses his ideology in terms of contrast.

Surprisingly, battle narratives and the notion of the enemy was not always part of the

monumental discourse of "I Am" inscriptions. Rather, this sort of rhetoric had to be developed at

the same time that monuments were becoming more individualized. At the end of the 10th

century and through the 9th, many Levantine rulers faced particular challenges to their authority

and began to reconfigure their elite identity in response. As a result, "I Am" monuments became

less and less concerned with connecting the agent to previous generations of kings and acts of

building and religious devotion to perpetuate the ancestor cult. Instead, monuments were

increasingly individualized and drew attention to specific kings and their achievements in

comparison to other kings.[365] Battle narratives – as legitimating narratives of a king in

comparison to others – do not appear in Levantine "I Am" inscriptions until the second half of

the 10th century.

The negative narrative elements of Levantine monumental texts underwent the most

significant change, while other elements remained relatively stable. The inscriptions of the 10th

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[363] This trope even appears in the inscriptions of vassal kings. Bar-Rakib claims that his father, Panamuwa, was placed by the Assyrian king *ʾl mlky kbd* "over honorable kings" in KAI 215:12. Then in KAI 216:13 he claims that *ʾḥy mlky* "my brother kings" were envious of his greatness.

[364] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 290.

[365] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 119–22; Alessandra Gilibert, "Archäologie der Menschenmenge. Platzanlage, Bildwerke und Fest im Syro-Hethitischen Stadtgefüge," in *Bild - Raum - Handlung. Perspektiven der Archäologie*, ed. O. Dalley, S. Moraw, and H. Ziemmsen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 107–36; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 53–54.

through the first half of the 8th century BCE testify to a region in which petty states were constantly jockeying for power. This meant that monumental discourse of this period put a premium on delegitimating rivals. The resurgence of the Neo-Assyrian empire under Tiglath-pileser III resulted in significant change to the language of kingship. During his reign (745-727 BCE), many of the states of the Levant became tributaries and vassals of Assyria. Among Tiglath-pileser III's political reforms, he sought to consolidate his power by restricting that of his governors and vassals, including their monumental discourse.[366] According to Shigeo Yamada, Assyrian monuments of this period changed by "ascribing the prerogative in the military and administrative enterprises ideologically solely to the king," as opposed to his governors or vassals.[367] As a result, the monumental texts of this period had to grapple both with the presence of a power greater than the agent as well as the near impossibility of legitimating the agent through open warfare. The rivals in monumental discourse therefore transformed from "enemies" into "brothers." They might be depicted as envious or obsequious towards the agent, but they were no longer openly denounced.[368] Beginning in the Age of Court Ceremony (790 – 690 BCE), battle narratives essentially disappear from Levantine "I Am" inscriptions, and any

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[366] Shafer, "The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery," 32–33; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 44.

[367] Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 47. Prior to the rise of Tiglath-pileser III in the latter 8th century, governor's inscriptions were increasingly encroaching on royal monumental rhetoric. Most interesting for the current study are the examples of Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur from Ḫadattu and Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur from Suḫu, both of whom erected "I Am" monuments. Na'aman, "The Suhu Governors' Inscriptions in the Context of Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions," 222–23; Younger Jr., *A Political History of the Arameans*, 362–65.

[368] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 211–19, 229–31, 296–97.

mentions of martial prowess are relatively brief.

The shifts in Levantine ideology construction discussed above may be best illustrated by the royal monuments in the citadel of Zincirli. Outside the gate to the citadel stands a colossal ruler statue without an inscription. It is a generic monument to the dynasty with no specific identity presented or necessary. Within the gate stands the Kulamuwa Orthostat – a 9th century "I Am" monument of Kulamuwa in which the identified king not only proclaims his defeat or successful manipulation of foreign kings but also disavows his predecessors at Zincirli.[369] Deeper within the citadel complex stand the "I Am" monuments of Bar-rakib, who ruled Zincirli as a vassal of Tiglath-Pileser III in the late 8th century. While Bar-rakib does draw on the monumental discourse of his 9th century predecessor, he noticeably avoids defaming any foreign kings, who are now either his fellow vassals or his overlord the Assyrian king.[370] His inscriptions contain no battle accounts and rely upon construction accounts and religious devotion alone to legitimate him.

Identity: Defining the Users

The ideologized elements of Levantine "I Am" monuments afforded social formation to the monuments' users. The agent proposed social relations, evaluated them, and extended his evaluation to the users. In so doing, he laid the foundation for social formation. As the agent relates his version of history through the monument, he proposes a perspective with which the users may identify. As the agent relates his ideology, implicitly or explicitly, the users are given

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[369] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 83–84.

[370] Gilibert, 86–88; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 293–97.

a means of evaluating that memory and their present circumstances. For example, in the case of

royal monuments, the inscription begins by proposing social order in the "I Am" formula. Kings

usually append the title "king of GN" to their names, proposing a region they control that might

come to refer to the people who reside there. Royal agents thus implicitly proposed a political

identity to their monuments' users. According to the agent, the users are the people of his

polity.[371] These monuments thus provided their users with an interpretation of their environment

that could be collectively claimed.[372]

The agent did not typically stop at implying a new social order, however. Having

proposed one, he could then proceed to adjure the users through the monument in light of that

order. While the first-person narration of memory and ideology implies an audience for the

monument, it never directly acknowledges the presence of the users.[373] The users are directly

acknowledged, however, by the use of injunctions. These injunctions consisted of instructions

for ritually activating the monument,[374] demands that the monument and its operative elements

be preserved,[375] and occasionally ethical directives to be practiced within the agent's ideological

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[371] Additionally, narratives of divine election and even the choice of a particular language and script for the monument proposed elements of a political identity. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 118.

[372] DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 16.

[373] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114.

[374] For examples, see Hadad (KAI 214:15-18, 20-22); Katumuwa Inscription lines 6-13. Outside of the present project's corpus see KAI 215:17-20, which may summarize both a funerary rite and coronation ceremony associated with the monument. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109.

[375] A number of elements of the monument may be described as operative based on the agent's preoccupation with protecting them. These include the inscribed object (KAI 13:3-7; 202:B.19-21; 225:5-6, 11-2; 226:8-9), the inscription (KAI 10:14-15; 24:13-15; 202:B.16), associated iconography (KAI 202:B.17-18), dedicated objects (KAI 10:11-12; 26:AIII.15-17), and the agent's name (KAI 10:12-14; 26:AIII.12-14; 202:C.2). In a sense, all of these could be seen as short-hand terms for the monument at large as the inscribed object, associated iconography, name,

domain.[376] Injunctions in first-person textual monuments are almost always stated as volitives. They propose practice and resultant identity to the users in the form of the expressed wishes of the agent. These most often consist of third-person jussives, implicitly giving instructions to the users. Occasionally, however, the agent addresses the users explicitly in second-person imperatives and prohibitives.[377] While these clauses imply and build upon the agent's ideology, their primary intent is to define responsive collective practice. Therefore, while they may express an ideology, they primarily propose an identity. Injunctions within "I Am" monuments serve to form the users' identity through obligation.

The propositions outlined in the injunctions revolve around maintaining the encounter with the agent and the means of reifying it. They are meant to propose and protect the materialized message of the monument.[378] The majority of these injunctions are therefore concerned with preserving and maintaining the monument.[379] These injunctions forbid the

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and any dedicated objects all alike embodied and materialized the agent and his relationship to the users. Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 316. In particular, the 'name' referred to in the inscription likely referred to the inscription as a whole in some texts (e.g. KAI 10, 24, 26, and 202; see also KAI 61, 62, 201, 215, 222, 228, 258, and 309). This was also been the case in some Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. Sandra L. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 318 (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 199–204; Yakubovich, "Nugae Luvicae," 196.

[376] See Hadad (KAI 214:25-34). Outside of the first-person monumental corpus, this is essentially the primary purpose of the Sefire Stelae (KAI 222).

[377] See Tabnit (KAI 13) and the Neirab Stelae (KAI 225 and 226).

[378] Stanley Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *Vetus Testamentum* 11, no. 2 (1961): 158.

[379] Gevirtz, 140.

effacement, destruction, or usurpation of the monument.[380] Any of these actions would

jeopardize the functionality of the monument, especially the provocation of an encounter with

the agent. Any violence done to the monument was seen as a violation of the relationship it

created and the identities it materialized, both that of the collective and the agent.[381] As a result

of such violations, the agent would be rendered incapable of proposing his ideology and

associated identity to anyone. The injunctions that dictate ritual observance associated with the

monument may also be understood as maintaining its message. The combination of ritual and

monument increases the monument's communicative capacity.[382] The injunctions describing

associated rituals were intended to prevent the meaning and pathos of the monument from fading

with time.[383] No encounter could be imagined and no ideal reified unless the monument was

wholly preserved. The maintenance of the monument was tantamount to the preservation of the

agent himself.[384] Destroying the monument meant destroying the person it materialized.[385] In

short, these injunctions generally reflect the major dimensions of meaning affordance of the

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[380] Tawil, "The End of the Hadad Inscription in the Light of Akkadian," 477–78; Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law"; May, "Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East," 4–5.

[381] Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 311.

[382] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 114.

[383] Gilibert, 133.

[384] Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 316.

[385] Robert K. Ritner, "Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures in Ancient Egyptian Thought, Ritual, and 'Ritualized History,'" in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 395.

monument. That is, the monument is not to be moved, it is not to be destroyed or effaced, its inscription is not to be changed or erased, and it is not to be improperly ritually activated.

The few preserved moral prohibitions also had a role to play in maintaining the monument and its message. These served to define the relationship between the agent and his users in terms of social obligations. These injunctions prescribed moral practices to be observed within the agent's ideological domain. As collective practice, these prescriptions represented and reified the agent's ideology. In other words, they reified the same ideal order the agent claimed to have created in the narrative portion of the text. By leaving directions for the monument's users to maintain or recreate that order, the agent extended the influence of his ideology indefinitely. He extended his presence into the daily lives of the users. The obligations placed on the users ultimately derived from the example of the agent himself. By keeping to his outlined practices, the users were meant to emulate the agent, who was the primary example of moral uprightness.[386]

The agent's injunctions are buttressed with identity-based blessings and curses. On the positive side, agents would sometimes invoke the gods to provide the monument's users with an extension of the order created during the narrative.[387] By implication, the agent thus asked for the users to be granted the same benefits he had won for himself.[388] The blessing most often

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[386] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 184.

[387] For examples, see Yehawmilk (KAI 10:10-11); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AIII.7-11; BII.11-12); Hadad (KAI 214:18-19); Neirab (KAI 225:12-13). Note that KAI 26 B contains a different blessing than either A or C. B focuses more on material prosperity.

[388] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 318.

requested by monuments is that of long life.[389] A long life would theoretically allow the agent to continue reifying his ideal domain and lifestyle.[390] Similarly, Levantine "I Am" monuments also tend to record a blessing of posterity.[391] The extension of these blessings to the users would promise them the ability to continue collectively identifying with the agent and to receive any benefits he provides.

On the negative side, the agent would also invoke curses on any potential violators of the monument, especially any who would make themselves rivals of the agent. The intent of these curses again was to extend and preserve the monument and the ideal it had the potential to reify.[392] The curses typically threaten to remove from the violator any of the benefits the monument may have granted.[393] They promise the destruction of the violator's name, posterity,

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[389] See Yehawmilk (KAI 10:8-9); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AIII.2-7); Neirab (KAI 226:3). The request for long life is also regularly encountered in dedicatory inscriptions outside of the corpus of first-person inscriptions. See Yehimilk (KAI 4:3-7); Elibaal (KAI 6:2-3); Shiptibaal (KAI 7:1-4); Kulamuwa 2 (25:1-5); the Ekron Inscription (KAI 286:3-4); the Tell Siran Bottle Inscription (KAI 308:6-8); Tell Fekheriyeh (KAI 309:7-10). Green, 270–77.

[390] Green, 304–5.

[391] See Hadad (KAI 214:15, 20) and Neirab (KAI 226:5). There is also a reference to Bar-Rakib's son in KAI 217:6, but the surrounding context is too damaged to determine what is entailed there. Functionally speaking, agent's posterity could extend his ideology far beyond his own life-time. In some cases, descendants are even explicitly identified as the users of the monument. See Kulamuwa (KAI 24:13); Hadad (214:15, 20); Katumuwa Inscription line 6. Note that in these the blessing of posterity is mostly left implicit. Green, 151.

[392] Green, 304–5.

[393] For examples, see Yehawmilk (KAI 10:11-16); Tabnit (KAI 13:6-8); Kulamuwa (KAI 24:13-16); Azatiwada (KAI 26:AIII.12-AIV.1); Zakkur (KAI 202:B.23-27); Hadad (KAI 214:23-24, 34); Neirab (KAI 225:5-11; 226:8-10). For a broader collation of the curses in the Northwest Semitic corpus and in the ancient Near East in general, see Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law"; Stanley Gevirtz, *Curse Motifs in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1959).

and any other opportunity for remembrance.[394] The agent thus effectively threatens not only that

the violator will be cast out of the collective but that they will even have their individual identity

destroyed.[395]

The semantic content of "I Am" monuments was not the only aspect of the text that had

the potential to conjure the agent and transform the users. The arrangement of these texts was

also supremely important in this regard. Though the rhetorical structure or poetics of such texts

has often been considered a subcategory to the semantic dimension, the meaning afforded by

these aspects is somewhat separate from the content of these texts. The deployment of such

aspects is sophisticated enough and their function different enough from other aspects of the

text's content that they are worth considering a separate dimension. I would even argue that to

rearrange the texts of these monuments could potentially obliterate some of their meaning even if

all of the content was preserved. We thus turn next to the poetic dimension of Levantine "I Am"

monuments.

The Poetic Dimension: Embodying Perception

Whereas the monument's integration, presentation, and semantic content produce the

presence and message of the agent, its rhetorical structure draws the users into that imaginary

presence. The structure of the monument enhanced its presentation and materialized message,

and it also helped to guarantee the monument's reception.[396] In other words, the spatial

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[394] Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 316.

[395] Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 18–20.

[396] Younger Jr., "Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib: Two Structural Analyses," 103.

dimension distributed the agent's presence, the aesthetic dimension reembodied that presence, the semantic value gave voice and value to that presence, but the poetic dimension verbally conjured the presence. The monument's rhetorical structure and deictic elements drew the users into the encounter with the agent. It guided the collective imagination of the users as they were projected into that encounter.

A variety of methodologies exist to analyze the rhetoric and poetics of texts, but this study will primarily draw upon cognitive poetics. Because I have chosen to highlight that monuments were a technology of the imagination and that monumentality is the potential to provoke collective imagination, I am most interest in structural aspects of Levantine "I Am" inscriptions that produce structured imagining in the minds of the inscriptions' users. Cognitive poetics provides a number of tools for highlighting precisely these aspects of the text. Its focus is on the cognitive affect of poetic elements and how the poetics of a text may be linked to modeled cognitive activity in human minds. Of course, cognitive poetics is built on the assumption that particular cognitive processes underly both the production and reception of textual discourse, so that textual discourse will be our window into the minds of ancient users, which are otherwise inaccessible to us.

The "I Am" Formula as Deictic Reembodiment

I discussed above the centrality of the "I Am" formula to the semantic dimension of these texts as well as its occasional aesthetic components. Chief among its functions was rendering the entire inscription as the direct speech of the agent. This was made obvious in the Hieroglyphic Luwian examples through the use of the quotative particle *wa* in every clause of the inscription, while it was largely implied in the Northwest Semitic inscriptions. In fact, another feature of this formula forces us to accept the inscription as speech: the fact that it is fundamentally deictic. In

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particular, first-person grammatical forms are proximal deictic elements, and Kristel Zilmer argues that in monumental inscriptions "proximal deictic features create an image of orality in the mode of expression."[397] The use of the first-person and other deictic features "fulfill a gestural function and connect the written with the oral."[398] In other words, Levantine "I Am" monumental inscriptions begin with the agent linguistically gesturing to himself, suggesting that he is present and speaking to the users of the monument.[399]

In the sense just discussed, the poetic effect of the "I Am" formula is not so different from its semantic function, but there is one quality of it unique to its poetic dimension. As Peter Stockwell has previously argued, "deixis, of course, is central to the idea of the embodiment of perception."[400] The "I Am" formula does not simply imply that the inscription should be understood as direct speech or even merely imply an imaginary encounter between user and agent. It actually conjures the agent in the minds of the users. It textually reembodies him. Beyond mere gesturing or indication, the process of evoking an imagined encounter through deixis is essentially what has been described in the fields of cognitive poetics and cognitive science as deictic projection. In this process, "deictic triggers project mental space scenarios in

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[397] Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 138.

[398] Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia," 138.

[399] Seth Sanders has noted that this use of the first-person pronoun implies an audience, which I have labeled the users. Even though Levantine monuments do not typically refer to a "you," it is implied that this is the monument's user. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114.

[400] Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 41.

which different forms of intimacy are created as shared deictically."[401] In other words, the use of

the personal deictic element "I" actually produces the presence of the implied speaker by

conjuring them within the imagination of the audience, as Sanders previously suggested was the

function of these inscriptions.[402] This is one of the processes that actually imbues the monument

with a vital energy. Harrison and Stuart have argued that the similar use of personal deixis in

Mayan monumental inscriptions "accentuates the intimate oration directed to a living actor by a

sculpted image."[403] As a result, the monument's users project themselves into an imagined

scenario in which both they and the implied speaker are really present in a face-to-face

encounter.[404] The "I (am)" formula thus actually conjured the agent before the monument's users

by means of deictic projection.

Embodying the Agent's and the Users' Perspectives

The "I Am" formula is not the only aspect of the inscription that serves an embodying

function. To reiterate Stockwell, deixis is "central to the idea of embodiment of the

perception."[405] Levantine "I Am" inscriptions were peppered with deictic elements designed to

embody the perspective of the agent, but, more than these, these elements allowed the users to

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[401] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 539; Mark Turner, *The Literary Mind: The Origins of Thought and Language* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 100–101.

[402] Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 35.

[403] Houston and Stuart, "The Ancient Maya Self," 88; Houston, "Impersonation, Dance, and the Problem of Spectacle Among the Classic Maya," 142.

[404] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 524–30; Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 43–49.

[405] Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 41.

'get inside' the text and take "a cognitive stance within the mentally constructed world of the text."[406] The users could thus "see things virtually from the perspective of the character or narrator inside the text-world."[407] In other words, the perspective of the user was thereby potentially transformed into that of the agent. The strategic use of deictic elements allowed not only the conjuration of the agent's perspective but also the reembodiment of that perspective within the users themselves. Most importantly, Levantine "I Am" monuments utilized relational deixis to suggest social hierarchies, even when they were not semantically labeled.[408] The goal of the poetic dimension of the inscription is to guide the user into a positive relationship to the agent as well as to warn the user of the consequences should they fail to accommodate the agent's perspective.[409]

The deictic layout of the inscriptions in my corpus is most obvious in the Hieroglyphic Luwian examples. This is because it was a grammatical feature of the Luwian language – at least as realized in text – to begin every clause with a clitic complex. That is, the first word in every clause – often the conjunction *a* – was followed by a chain of clitics denoting various grammatical information about the clause. These clitics include conjunctions, particles such as the quotative mentioned above, reflexive particles, locative particles, and, most significantly,

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[406] Stockwell, 46.

[407] Stockwell, 47.

[408] Stockwell defines relational deixis as "expressions that encode the social viewpoint and relative situations of authors, narrators, characters, and readers, including modality and expressions of point of view and focalization; naming and address conventions; evaluate word choices." Stockwell, 46.

[409] Stockwell, 44–46.

dative, accusative, and nominative pronominal clitics.[410] In other words, every clause in

Hieroglyphic Luwian potentially begins with the deictic information governing the clause,

whether in terms of spatial or personal deixis. Thus, almost at a glance, the sophisticated user of

the monument can determine the agent's perspective on the information he is providing merely

by looking at the clitic chains opening each clause. The agent's perspective is clearly

foregrounded in every clause.

Northwest Semitic "I Am" inscriptions, of course, could not use clitic complexes to

deictically orient the users, so they turned to more sophisticated rhetorical techniques. Northwest

Semitic scribes employed a number of techniques for organizing monumental discourse. Perhaps

most simply, sections may be differentiated by the type of clause preferred and the clauses'

average lengths. The "I Am" formula always heads a nominal clause. It is typically followed by

some narrative consisting mostly of indicative verbal sentences using suffixed verbal

conjugations. This may occasionally be supplemented by narrative verbal tenses.[411]

Occasionally, separate narrative units are marked by contrasting average clause lengths. The

injunctions in particular may be longer, especially when they are justified by curses.[412] The

injunctions are also always stated in terms of volitives, necessarily marked by prefixing

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[410] Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts (2nd Revised Edition)*, 40; Ilya Yakubovich, "The Luwian Language," *Oxford Handbooks Online*, November 12, 2015, 19, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935345.013.18.

[411] See for example the use of *wāw*-consecutives in the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310) and the use of an infinitive absolute to close the first narrative unit in Kulamuwa (KAI 24).

[412] M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 226 (April 1977): 26.

conjugations.[413] The units of the texts may thus be marked at a glance, as it were, by clause type and length. It should be noted that though the verbs are not always clause initial, this type of organization still reveals that the governing principle of organization is temporal and personal deixis as encoded in verbal conjugations.

The structural features discussed above are probably best explained as adaptations from epistolary writing. Like monumental discourse, letter writing centers on developing relational deixis to coax the addressee into a desired result. This is accomplished in part by the structure of the letter. Letters typically open with an address revealing the implied speaker(s) in the text as well as their relationship to the addressee(s).[414] This parallels the "I Am" formula and its appositional statements of the social position of the agent. The address is followed by the body of the letter, which generally consists of two sections: one detailing the circumstances for writing and one giving instructions for the addressee(s).[415] Letters may also iterate on this basic bipartite structure with alternating descriptions of situations and their results, including the speaker's reaction, the reactions of third parties, or the demand for a reaction on the part of the

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[413] O'Connor, 24.

[414] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93, no. 2 (1974): 211–13; Dennis Pardee, "An Overview of Ancient Hebrew Epistolography," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 97, no. 3 (1978): 332–37; P. S. Alexander, "Remarks on Aramaic Epistolography in the Persian Period," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23, no. 2 (1978): 161–62; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:538; Robert Hawley, "Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 2003), 49–62; Frederick Mario Fales, "Aramaic Letters and Neo-Assyrian Letters: Philological and Metholodolgical Notes," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, no. 3 (1987): 452–54.

[415] Alexander, "Remarks on Aramaic Epistolography in the Persian Period," 164.

addressee(s).[416] This parallels the separation between narrative and injunctive units in "I Am" inscriptions. The ways in which these sections are differentiated is also of interest for the present topic.

The division between sections in a letter is often, though not always, marked by the use of a special word, such as *wʿt* "and now" or *kʿn* "now" in Hebrew and Aramaic letters.[417] This exact feature is encountered in the Katumuwa Inscription, which divides its two major rhetorical units by means of the phrase *wʿt* "and now," revealing a significant debt to epistolary tradition.[418] Some more sophisticated organizational techniques are observed as well. Rhetorical units and subunits may be marked and bracketed by use of parallelism, chiasm, repetition, or inclusios.[419] These typically revolve around certain keywords in a text. For example, the Kulamuwa Orthostat – KAI 24 – initiates its major rhetorical units with a repetition of the "I Am" formula.[420] In this case, the repetition of the "I Am" formula reveals the bipartite structure of the inscription, which is likely an adaptation of epistolary practice.

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[416] Fales, "Aramaic Letters and Neo-Assyrian Letters: Philological and Metholodolgical Notes," 464–68; Hawley, "Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography," 670–91.

[417] Fitzmyer, "Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography," 216; Alexander, "Remarks on Aramaic Epistolography in the Persian Period," 164; Pardee, "An Overview of Ancient Hebrew Epistolography," 339.

[418] Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," 63.

[419] Younger Jr., "Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib: Two Structural Analyses," 99–103; O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," April 1977, 16–18; Aaron Schade, "The Syntax and Literary Structure of the Phoenician Inscription of Yeḥimilk," *MAARAV* 13, no. 1 (2006): 119–22.

[420] In addition to the repetition of the origo statement, the two sections are also separated iconographically by decorative triple line. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 80.

Within broadly marked rhetorical units, more sophisticated marking of subunits took place. For instance, lines 6-7 on the Kulamuwa Orthostat make use of a chiasm framed by the words *yd* ("hand") and *km'š 'klt* ("as if I were eating" or "like a fire I devoured") to describe Kulamuwa's triumph over foreign kings.[421] Kulamuwa uses this chiastic structure to describe the reversal of his initially negative situation by reversing the order of the framing terms and even their meanings.[422] This phrase is parallel with lines 7-8, which construct a similar chiasm through a word play on *'ly*.[423] Line 8 closes the whole unit with a parallel statement of unideal prices during the time of upheaval in Kulamuwa's early reign.[424] KAI 216 – the first Bar-rakib Palace Inscription – also provides some striking examples of such structural features. It brackets its introduction with a chiasm formed by the words *mr'y* "my lord" and *'by* "my father."[425] The first

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[421] These lines read in full: *wkt . byd . mlkm km'š . 'klt . zqn . w[km]'š . 'klt . yd*

[422] Fales argued that this is accomplished through the use of *km'š* to mean first "as if" and then "like a fire," producing the following translation of lines 6-7: "And I (myself) was in the hand [*yd*] of the kings, as if [*km'š*] I were eating (my) beard; but, like fire [*km'š*], I devoured the hand (itself)." Frederick Mario Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power," *Die Welt Des Orients* 10 (1979): 10–16.

[423] These lines read: *w'dr . 'ly . mlk . d[n]nm . wškr . 'nk . 'ly . mlk . 'šr* "The king of the Danunians lorded it over me [*'ly*], but I hired against him [*'ly*] the king of Assyria." The reversal of the oppressive situation is described by changing the meaning of one word in two parallel phrases. Fales, 17–18.

[424] This line reads: *ytn . 'lmt . bš . wgbr . bswt* "One had to give a maid for a sheep, and a man for a garment." Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 80–81. This clause is an interesting reversal of the commonly attested trope of a king declaring ideal prices. In this case, Kulamuwa demonstrates the previous disorder by recording unideal prices of a maid and a man. For more on ideal prices in ancient Near Eastern royal rhetoric, see J. David Hawkins, "Royal Statements of Ideal Prices: Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hittite," in *Anient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development - Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, ed. Jeanny Vorys Canby et al., Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 93–102.

[425] Lines 4-5 read: *bṣdq . 'by . wbṣdqy . hwšbny . mr'y . rkb'l . wmr'y . tgltplysr . 'l . krs' . 'by* "Because of the righteous of *my father* [*'by*] and my own righteousness, *my lord* [*mr'y*], Rakib-El, and *my lord* [*mr'y*], Tiglath-pileser, made me reign on the throne of my father [*'by*]." Younger therefore proposed the bracketing pattern A : B :: B : A. Younger Jr., "Panammuwa and Bar-Rakib: Two Structural Analyses," 102.

full rhetorical unit is bracketed by an inclusio statement concerning Bar-Rakib's *ʾb* "father" and

byt "dynasty" amongst *mlkn rbrbn* "powerful kings."[426] The next unit is marked by a repetitive

use of the word *byt*, which was previously used to mean "dynasty" but at the end is used to mean

"palace."[427] In short, section bracketing was regularly accomplished by means of parallelism,

chiasm, and inclusio. We should also note that while more complicated scribal techniques

underly these examples, they are still governed by relational deixis by revealing specific

information about persons and objects in the agent's environment and his perspective on them.

Overall, the designated sections of "I Am" monuments reveal an organization on the

basis of deixis.[428] That is, their rhetorical units either focus on elements close to the speaker

(proximal deixis), elements close to the audience (medial deixis), or elements far from both

(distal deixis).[429] This is at first apparent in terms of personal deixis. First-person textual

monuments begin with an "I" statement specifying the deictic center of the inscription. The

narrative portion of the text then describes the agent's interactions with various positive and

negative characters identified in the third-person, revealing that these characters are distant from

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[426] Younger renders lines 7-8 as follows: *wbyt . ʾby . [ˁ]ml . mn . kl . wrṣt . bglgl . mrʾy . mlk . ʾšr . bmṣˁt . mlkn . rbrbn* "And the house [*byt*] of my father [*ʾby*] profited more than all others, and I ran at the wheel of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst of powerful kings [*mlkn rbrbn*]." The three terms emphasized here are repeated to close the section in lines 11-14, which read: *wˀḥzt . byt . ʾby . whyṭbt . mn . byt . ḥd . mlkn . rbrbn* "And I took control of the house [*byt*] of my father [*ʾby*], and I made it better than the house of any powerful king [*mlkn rbrbn*]." Younger Jr., 100–101. Note that this inclusio is actually closed by the expansion in lines 14-15: *whtn ʾbw . ʾḥy . mlkyˀ . lkl . mh . ṭbt . byty* "And my brother kings were desirous for all that is the good of my house." Here the dynasty is truly Bar-Rakib's rather than his father's.

[427] The meaning of palace is clearly intended through the rest of the inscription in lines 16-20. Younger Jr., 102.

[428] This same organizational principle has been observed in Viking monuments designed to create imagined encounters. Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 139.

[429] Zilmer, 125.

both the agent and the users. The inscriptions close with third-person or sometimes even second-person volitives. In either case, the focus is now on an implied "you" representative of the monument's users.[430] The texts are also organized according to temporal deixis with sections corresponding to the time before the agent, the agent's time, and the monument's future. A distant past and immediate past in the narrative correspond to a negatively perceived time before the agent and positive perceived time during the agent respectively. The injunctions then suggest both positive and negative potential futures.[431] Both explicit time references and shifts in verbal tenses functioned to deictically orient the discourse in time.[432] Furthermore, Levantine "I Am" monuments are structured according to spatial deixis. At its most basic, this entails the separation of units detailing the agent's interactions on the periphery of his domain as opposed to the center of his domain. That is, narrative units differentiate between an agent's distal achievements and his proximal achievements.[433] Only after narrating external interactions can the agent proceed to

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[430] I disagree partially with Sanders' assessment of these texts here. By implying an audience, the inscription implicitly acknowledges a "you" with its discourse. The audience is not an unacknowledged participant in the inscription. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 113.

[431] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 186–88; Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power," 8–9; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 297–305.

[432] Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 136.

[433] This is often spoken of in terms of foreign and domestic achievements. For example, inscriptions such as Kulamuwa, Mesha, and Zakkur first relate battle narratives and only then narratives of domestic accomplishments. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," April 1977; Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power"; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 124–35, 137, 288–93. This is limited by a focus on royal monuments with battle narratives, however. Hadad begins with a still distal interaction between Panamuwa and the gods before moving into his domestic accomplishments, much as the Katumuwa Inscription begins with Katumuwa's relationship with Panamuwa before detailing his establishment of a personal funerary cult. The move from foreign to domestic is merely a particular reflection of a general move from distal to proximal in these narratives.

internal ones.[434]

Personal, temporal, and spatial deictic categories act as indexes and metaphors for relational and ideological deixis,[435] further augmenting the agent's ideological message.[436] Personal and spatio-temporal elements of the text are evaluated based on their nearness to the agent, who is at the origo – the inscriptions ideological center.[437] The narrative units of Levantine "I Am" monuments tend to describe distal and proximal interactions. To create contrast, the agent often first speaks of figures far from him, whether temporally or spatially. In the archaic transitional period, the agent usually accomplishes this by speaking of the time before his reign or else of the gods. Beginning in the age of civic ritual, however, distal sections most often concern the agent's interactions with "enemies," whether inept predecessors in the distant past or external threats in the immediate past. The placement of enemy figures in the past and in external space reveals that they do not align with the agent's ideology. The agent's proximal interactions are first represented by his interactions with the gods or other figures above him that support him. His implied nearness to these figures demonstrates that the monuments ideological origo is near to other figures of authority. The other proximal interactions the agent may engage in are those which benefit his primary users. These interactions appear in narratives of the

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[434] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 187–88.

[435] Elsewhere, I have defined ideological deixis as "the use of linguistic referents to suggest relative distance from a core ideology." Timothy Hogue, "Return From Exile: Diglossia and Literary Code-Switching in Ezra 1-7," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 130, no. 1 (2018): 4.

[436] Botha, "The Deictic Foundation of Ideology, with Reference to the African Renaissance," 54. See also Hawkins, "Linguistic Relativity as a Function of Ideological Deixis."

[437] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 186–91.

agent's internal achievements. The agent reifies his ideology within a domain near to himself.

Broadly speaking, the most popular structure encountered for Levantine "I Am" monuments is the bipartite inscription. As mentioned above, this bipartite form is probably derivative from epistolary practice. In this form, the inscription is divided into two clear rhetorical units, though they are not necessarily of equal length. The first unit is usually concerned with legitimating the agent. It may focus solely on distal material presenting the agent's ideology in terms of contrast, or else focus on presenting the agent's positive interactions with those near to him. When the first unit is limited to distal material, the next unit will be marked by a shift to proximal material. These distal and proximal units prepare the monument's users for a concluding medial unit directed at the users. Medial units always follow distal and proximal units.[438] The last units of these inscriptions, where preserved, consist of the injunctions.

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[438] Such a structure was previously proposed by Michael O'Connor and Mario Fales for the Kulamuwa Inscription and Pardee for the Katumuwa Inscription, though not in deictic terms. Green has also observed it in the Mesha Inscription (KAI 181), the Zakkur Inscription (KAI 202), and the first Bar-rakib Palace Inscription (KAI 216). Even a cursory look through all the Luwian and Semitic exemplars of "I Am" inscriptions, however, will reveal that the bipartite format and derivatives of it are ubiquitous. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," April 1977, 23–26; Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power," 7–9; Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," 63; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 124–27, 166–69, 223–25. ADDIN ZOTERO_ITEM CSL_CITATION {"citationID":"9eHkUDvj","properties":{"formattedCitation":"{\\rtf Green, {\\i{}I Undertook Great Works}, 124\\uc0\\u8211{}27, 166\\uc0\\u8211{}69, 223\\uc0\\u8211{}25.}","plainCitation":"Green, I Undertook Great Works, 124–27, 166–69, 223–25.","dontUpdate":true},"citationItems":[{"id":385,"uris":["http://zotero.org/users/local/SmOtglVc/items/85CENPTT"],"uri":["http://zotero.org/users/local/SmOtglVc/items/85CENPTT"],"itemData":{"id":385,"type":"book","title":"\"I Undertook Great Works\": The Ideology of Domestic Achievements in West Semitic Royal Inscriptions","publisher":"Mohr Siebeck","number-of-pages":"384","source":"Google Books","abstract":"Traditionally, scholars study ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions to reconstruct the events they narrate. In recent decades, however, a new approach has analyzed these inscriptions as products of royal ideology and has delineated the way that ideology has shaped their narration of historical events. This ideologically-sensitive approach has focused on kingsâ__ accounts of their military campaigns. This study applies this approach to the narration of royal domestic achievements, first in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptional tradition, but especially in nine West Semitic inscriptions from the 10th to 7th centuries B.C.E. and describes how these accounts also function as the products of royal ideology.","ISBN":"978-3-16-150168-5","note":"Google-Books-ID: dtzXQLxk5hkC","shortTitle":"I Undertook Great Works","language":"en","author":[{"family":"Green","given":"Douglas J."}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["2010"]]}},"locator":"124-127, 166-169, 223-225"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

Injunctions are medial in two senses. First, these are focused on an implied or explicit "you," indicating medial deixis. That is, the personal, temporal, and spatial coordinates of this section are focused on the users themselves in their present time and place. Second, the injunctions are medial in that they place the users in a category between distal and proximal. They suggest an option for the users to either move into the proximal category by obeying the injunctions or into the distal category by violating them. As it is, the users do not currently accept or reject the agent's ideology. In other words, the injunctions place the users into a liminal state pending their response to the monument.

The deictic organization of these monuments implicitly argues for a particular response to their discourse. The use of ideological deixis assists in the monument's reception by provoking the users to engage in deictic projection. Deictic references trigger the users to project into an imagined space around the agent in order to make proper sense of his use of deixis.[439] Deictic projection entails the displacement of the users' origo to the agent's origo; the users' spatiotemporal coordinates are thus displaced to an imagined shared time and place with the agent.[440] That is, the users do not merely imagine the agent as he speaks to them; the use of deixis prompts them to imagine themselves with him as they are being addressed.[441] The encounter materialized in the monument is in an imagined present shared between the agent and

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[439] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 534–35. For a lengthier discussion of deictic projection in literature, see the chapter on "Cognitive Deixis" in Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 41–57.

[440] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 523.

[441] Herman, 525.

the users.[442] Because the agent and the users share each other's presence, the face to face

encounter imagined by the monument is not a monologue but a dialogue. Their interaction is

predicated on the assumption of response.[443] To put it another way, the deictic elements and units

act as signposts in the text that guide the users through it. With the opening "I Am" statement,

the users project themselves into the agent's origo and imagine the world as he sees it. As they

then experience the narrative from the agent's perspective, they observe from afar in distal units

what he evaluates negatively and from close up in proximal units what he evaluates positively.

Finally, the agent demands a response from the users by addressing them directly in the medial

unit. As they have just observed the world from the perspective of the agent's origo, they are

intended to respond to these demands in light of the agent's perspective as well. The text engages

the users deictically in order to coax them into accepting the agent's ideology. The users are thus

drawn into the agent's presence and eventually led into a situation that demands a response from

them, a response which is tempered by the new imagined perspective granted by the

monument.[444]

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[442] Contra Green's use of Liverani to characterize the time of Northwest Semitic monumental texts, the inscriptions do not merely operate on an assumed contrast between a negative past before the agent and a positive present during the agent. That contrast between immediate and less immediate pasts exists within the narrative, but the monumental time of a Levantine "I Am" inscription is an imagined present in which the agent speaks with the users. Whether this present is positive or negative depends upon the response of the users and whether they will maintain the ideology of the agent. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 186–88; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 297–305.

[443] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 528–29; Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia," 147; Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 138.

[444] For a more detailed cognitive scientific approach to how objects such as monuments can engage the imagination in this way, see Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner's chapter "Things" in *The Way We Think*. Their understanding of gravestones as projecting users into an imagined encounter with the deceased was especially influential on my approach to monumentality. Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, "Things," in *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 195–216.

The Performative Dimension: Activating the Agent, Transforming the Users

Up to this point, we have seen several aspects of Levantine "I Am" monuments designed

to provoke a response in the users or direct their engagement with the monument. This final

section will turn to the nature of that response. In other words, while the previous four sections

of this chapter focused especially on the monument's production, this section will now turn to

the monument's reception.[445] A monument only possesses monumentality if it is functional, and

it can only function if it is actually used.[446] Meaning is made as users interact with the

monument. This begins with the ritual inauguration of the monument and continues with

subsequent re-activations of it.[447]

The users' response could take various forms depending on the particulars of the

monument. Apart from the collective moral practices demanded by some monuments, most

responses to the monument were ritual in character. This was true of both positive and negative

receptions of the monument. The purpose of this engagement was to either activate or deactivate

the monument. That is, the function of Levantine "I Am" monuments was to create an encounter

with the agent, but that encounter could only emerge as the users engaged the monument in a

ritual fashion.[448] Users could thus either engage the monument properly and activate that

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[445] The distinction between a monument's production and reception is developed in Osborne, "Monuments of the Hittite and Neo-Assyrian Empires During the Late Bronze and Iron Ages," 88–90.

[446] Wu, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 11.

[447] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 148.

[448] Gerdien Jonker argued the same for Mesopotamian monuments. She calls this interaction "activation," which I adapt here as well. Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 189–90, 236–37.

encounter, or else ritually violate the monument and prevent the encounter from being further produced.

I follow James Watts in labeling the practical engagement of monuments the "performative dimension."[449] As was the case in previous sections, I approach this dimension utilizing a combination of performance theory and ritual theory. These approaches have rightly been criticized for universal application, but I would suggest they are appropriate for describing the practices attached to "I Am" monuments.[450] First, while not every act attached to these monuments was formally labeled a ritual in the texts, they were all ritualized in the sense of being otherwise mundane activities that were formalized and imbued with meaning-making potential.[451] Second, those actions that were dramatically performed were in fact "meant to have an impact on an audience and entreat their interpretive appropriation."[452] More specifically, the rituals and performances attached to "I Am" monuments functioned by producing communal integration and transformation.[453]

This section will first briefly catalogue the various practices that accomplished the activation of "I Am" monuments and then discuss their function more broadly. Most of these

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[449] Watts, "The Three Dimensions of Scriptures," 7.

[450] For a summary of major work on performance theory in connection to ritual theory, including commentary on its various strengths and weaknesses, see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 37–46.

[451] Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 109.

[452] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 42.

[453] Bell, 16, 26; Catherine Bell, *Ritual, Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 129.

practices fall into the category of spectacle, but more intimate performances are attested as well with a similar function on a smaller scale. Spectacle has been defined as "public performance and public theatrical events." Spectacle functions as "a means to constitute political subjects through the formal and codified enactments of relationships."[454] To put it another way, spectacle has the power to build communities.[455] However, we should note that some of the practices attached to "I Am" monuments were emulated on smaller scales, such as is the case for the Katumuwa Stele.[456] Despite the lack of a city- or state-scale public or body politic active in these practices, they are nevertheless still transforming communities – albeit small ones – by the same means as civic spectacles. It is thus worth pairing the above definitions of spectacle with Ian Hodder's emphasis that "spectacle as such is not confined to the public realm, even if the mechanisms involved will change depending on the size of the audience and the scale over which performances are to be seen and heard."[457] Spectacle ultimately functions by transforming the individual participants in tandem with their fellows, and so it may be said to be operative at any scale of community.[458] A similar purpose thus underlies the practices described below no matter the scale on which they were performed.

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[454] Inomata and Coben, *Archaeology of Performance*, 4–5.

[455] Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 54.

[456] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128.

[457] Hodder, "The Spectacle of Daily Performance at Çatalhöyük," 82.

[458] Hodder, 96–99.

Monumentalization

Though most of the actions described in this section will fall into the reception of the monument, a monument's production and inauguration is actually the first ritualized performance attached to it. This is because the production process of a monument themselves "creates spectacle with planning and managing organizations."[459] Monumentalization often required that many individuals work in tandem to create the object, compose and inscribe its text, deploy it in a theatre – which may have been constructed for that purpose – and then properly inaugurate it. On such occasions, participants witnessed the ability of elites to mobilize labor and resources to create such monumental installations.[460] They also witnessed members of the target community acting as just the sort of collective the monument aimed to constitute.[461] Monumentalization thus resulted in the elite configuration of space and collective engagement, both of which contributed to the configuration of a particular community.[462]

As should be expected, monumentalization itself was a highly ritualized act among the Levantine cultures, and "I Am" inscriptions attest to this. Many of these inscriptions include accounts of monumentalization or even monumentalization sequences of separate activities that were completed to produce the monument. "I Am" inscriptions drew attention to the creation of

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[459] Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, "Overture: An Invitiation to the Archaeology of Performance," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics* (Oxford: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 17.

[460] DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 17.

[461] Takeshi Inomata, "Politics and Theatricality in Mayan Society," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Lawrence S. Coben and Takeshi Inomata (Oxford: Rowman Altamira, 2006), 206.

[462] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 179.

the epigraphic support, the inscribing of the text, the spatial deployment of the object, and its

ritual inauguration.[463] A number of inscriptions include separate instructions for the ritual

inauguration and later reactivation of the monument, drawing attention to the special status of the

performative dimension of monumentalization. For example, in the Katumuwa Stele, the agent

inaugurates the monument by means of animal sacrifices to a specific set of gods, but he

prescribes that those same sacrifices should be repeated in tandem with a produce offering and

an offering to the agent in order to reactivate the monument in the future.[464] Similarly, in

SULTANHAN after relating his inauguration of the monument, the agent prescribes a specific

sacrifice to be performed in the future to reactivate it.[465] The monumentalization is arguable of

tantamount importance to the functionality of the monument, reactivation nevertheless appears to

be the greater concern of Levantine "I Am" monuments.

The division and even segregation of labor and ritual participation was fundamental to

acts of monumentalization. Royal "I Am" monuments could target individuals regardless of their

class, but they were often deployed to configure social relations between elites. Non-royal elites

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[463] Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels," 59–62.

[464] Lines 2-4 of the Katumuwa inscription read: *wḥggt . syd . zn . šwr . lhdd . qrpdl . wybl . lngr . ṣwdn* "I ritually instituted this guest chamber (thus): a bull for Hadad the Host, a ram for the Chief of Provisions…" The agent goes on to list a number of other figures that received a ram sacrifice in this inauguration ritual. Lines 8-13 read in contrast: *wlw yqḥ . mn ḥyl . krm . znn . šʾ . ywmn . lywmn . wyhrg . bnbšy . wyšwy ly . šq* "He must take from the best of this vineyard an annual offering, and make a slaughter where my being is, and apportion a thigh-cut for me." This second ritual is specifically for the annual reactivation of the monument rather than for the initial monumentalization. The translations here follow Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 50.

[465] §2-3 read: *a-wa/i |za-a-na |*(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-zá-na |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-si-i-na |ta-nu-wa/i-ha|| a-wa/i-sa |á-pi-i |*CRUS-*nú-wa/i-mi-i-na |*BOS(ANIMAL)-*ri+i-i* 9 OVIS *a+ra/i-ma-sa-ri+i-i* "I set up this Tarhunzas of the Vineyard. He is to be set up again with an ox and nine monthling sheep." Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 98–101.

posed the greatest potential threat to Levantine kings within their own polities and were one of the most important groups to bring to order.[466] The power of non-royal elites apparently only increased over time, and monumentalization became an increasingly segregated practice accordingly. While early "I Am" monuments might target elites in particular, they were deployed in such a way that other groups were engaged as well. By the 8th century, however, monumentalization was increasingly targeting the elite class in explicit ways, and new monuments were erected in more restricted spaces.[467]

Reading

The most obvious way to activate the monumental text as an "object of reading" was through reading or listening to it. "I Am" monuments assume an audience – a set of readers or addressees in a performance of the monumental text – through their casting of the text in the first-person.[468] The "I" of the origo statement can only conjure the agent if the text of the monument is experienced through reading.[469] The text was thus at least implicitly meant to be read in order to create the imagined encounter with the agent. Payne has even argued that the inclusion of the quotative particle *-wa-* in every clause of Hieroglyphic Luwian "I Am" inscriptions was an indication that the inscription was to be read aloud in addition to being

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[466] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 180, 187–94.

[467] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–33.

[468] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114–17.

[469] Houston and Stuart similarly argue that personal deixis is a means of prompting interaction with Mayan monumental inscriptions. Houston and Stuart, "The Ancient Maya Self," 88.

treated as direct speech.[470] In this regard, it is also worth recalling that silent reading was a quite

remarkable and uncommon practice in antiquity, and it is highly unlikely that any ancient

monumental texts were meant to be read silently.[471] This may be more broadly assumed for "I

Am" monuments in both Luwian and Semitic dialects based on their use of epistolary features

discussed in the previous sections. This kind of engagement with textual monuments is made

even more explicit in comparative evidence. The Sefire Treaties (KAI 222), for example,

includes a demand that the inscription be read and proclaimed aloud (lines A2:8-9).[472] Similarly,

Assyrian textual monuments typically specify that they must be activated by reading aloud.[473]

Incantations and Scripted Performances

In addition to reading the inscriptions aloud, "I Am" monuments could also be ritually

activated through verbal responses in the form of incantations and other scripted

pronouncements. Such a connection is implied by the use of formulaic language and deictic

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[470] Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts (2nd Revised Edition)*, 40.

[471] Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 40–53. Alberto Manguel's examples of remarkable silent reading focus especially on the classical world, but there is some evidence that this may have been the case in the ancient Levant as well. For example, the Semitic root *qrʾ* has a basic meaning of "to call" and only secondarily of "to read," implying reading aloud. Note also even silent prayer was seen as an obscure practice (c.f. 1 Sam. 1:12-14), so we might reasonably expect that if anyone were capable of reading silently such practices would have been described.

[472] *wʾl tštq ḥdh mn mly sprʾ zn*[*h wytšmʿwn*] "And do not let even one of the words of this inscription be silent, but let them be heard…"

[473] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 147. This Assyrian practice was likely inherited from 2nd millennium ritual readings of *narû*. Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 95.

For an example, see lines iii 6′-7′ of Tiglath-pileser III 35: NUN EGIR-*u* NA₄.NA.RÚ.A *šu*-[*a-tú*] *líl-ta-si* "May a future ruler read aloud t[his] inscription." Tadmor and Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, 87.

elements often indicative of oral performance.[474] Iconographic depictions accompanying "I Am" inscriptions – those of singers, musicians, and dancers in particular – also imply that scripted performances were attached to these monuments.[475] It is highly likely that the ritual reading of the text was thus meant to be responded to verbally, possibly by means of wider participation in the reading itself or by means of directed response. This practice is made explicit in those "I Am" inscriptions that preserve specific incantations to be spoken before the monument.

The recently discovered incantation plaque at Zincirli – which surprisingly opens with an "I Am" formula – reveals that there may have been significant continuity between incantations and "I Am" monuments.[476] That is, in addition to adapting elements of epistolary and monumentalizing them, "I Am" monuments also monumentalized incantations by raising their significance to the level of the collective. This connection is already suggested by known "I Am" inscriptions. For example, KARKAMIŠ A6 relates the following instructions:

§21 |a-wa/i (LOQUI)ha+ra/i-nu-wa/i (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-´
§22 u-zuʾ-sa-wa/i-ma-ta-´ (MANUS)i-sà-tara/i-i |MAGNUS+ra/i-nu-wa/i-ta-ni-i
§21 I shall cause (him) to say: "O Kubaba,
§22 you yourself shall make them great in my hand".[477]

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[474] This is particularly true of the imprecations in such inscriptions, which seem to reflect a background in oral performance. Melissa Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 128, no. 2 (2016): 219.

[475] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 185.

[476] This plaque is as yet unpublished.

[477] Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:125.

Hawkins suggests that this passage describes the agent requiring the ritual participant to take an oath before the monument;[478] this ritual description comes right after the agent has related causing the participant to walk and linger before the monumental installation in §19.[479] Curiously, the oath is introduced by the causative verb *hadinu-* "to make say," which is otherwise primarily known in its non-causative form *hadi-* "to say" from epistolary formulae. Luwian letters typically utilize the form *hadi* "he says" to introduce the direct speech of the sender, paralleling the Akkadian practice of introducing letters with *umma* "thus (says)."[480] This again points to overlap in form and function between "I Am" monuments, epistolary, and incantations. All function by ventriloquizing the speech of a specific individual.

Verbal responses may also function in tandem with the giving of offerings. For example, in SULTANHAN after describing having erected the monument, the agent states that he inaugurated it with the following statement:

> §3 |a-wa/i-sa |á-pi-i |CRUS-nú-wa/i-mi-i-na |BOS(ANIMAL)-ri+i-i 9 OVIS a+ra/i-ma-sa-ri+i-i
> §3 "He is to be set up again with an ox and nine monthling sheep."[481]

If this is in fact a record of direct speech at the inauguration of the monument, it provides a neat example of the reading of the inscription aloud as well as of an incantation spoken to ritualize the

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[478] Hawkins, Volume I:127.

[479] |wa/i-ná ara/i-la-ˊ ("3")tara/i-su-u "4"-su-u |("MANUS")pa+ra/i-si ("CRUS")ta-nu-wa/i-wa/i-i "I shall cause him to stand three times, four times on (his) path." Transcription and translation following Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 83–84.

[480] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:538.

[481] Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 98–101.

monument. Furthermore, this example reveals that incantations or verbal responses would function together with other ritual acts.

The connection between incantations and offerings is further attested in a type of memorial ritual. In the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), the users are to invoke the names of Panamuwa I (the agent) and his chief deity Hadad when they present offerings before the monument. After prescribing a sacrifice before the deity, the invocation is prescribed as follows:

> 17. *yʾmr . [tʾ]kl . nbš . pnmw . ʿmk . wtš[ty . n]bš . pnmw . ʿmk . ʿd . yzkr . nbš . pnmw*
> 17. Let him say: "May the 'soul' of Panamuwa eat with you, and may the 'soul' of Panamuwa drink with you." Thus may he continually invoke the 'soul' of Panamuwa.

The verb used to describe the ritual is *zkr* "to remember" or "to invoke;" it has been suggested that in some contexts this verb specifically refers to the invocation of a name while offering a sacrifice. Such practices are also in evidence in the Hebrew Bible and particularly as part of the *Zukru* festival at Bronze Age Emar in northern Syria.[482] Such practices are clearly not passive remembrances or invocations, but rather activate the agency of the agent, allowing his *nbš* "soul" to manifest in order to *ʾkl* "eat" and *šty* "drink."[483] In the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215) – a non-"I Am" inscription from Zincirli – the monument itself is described as a *zkr*

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[482] Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*, 122.

[483] This sort of remembrance could be described as an extension of Levantine votive practice as described by Anne Kathrine de Hemmer Gudme. She argues that remembrance through an object entailed activating "a dialogue between person and artefact" that resulted in a mutually reciprocal interaction between the object's user and the person the object indexes. Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, *Before the God in This Place for Good Remembrance* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 168–69; Gudme, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Dedicatory Inscriptions as Communication with the Divine," 6–9. This practice seems to have been common and collectivized in the Levant. It was furthermore co-opted by elites, so they could be invoked in the same manner as the gods. In addition to the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), it is also prescribed in the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215) and the Katumuwa Stele. Gilibert argues that it may have been part of a coronation ceremony in the cases of KAI 214 and 215. The succeeding king would thereby activate the agency of his predecessor and receive his blessing before an audience. Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 190; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109.

"memorial" and was attended by the same such rituals.[484] Outside of a funerary context, both Levantine (particularly Karkamišean) monuments and Assyrian monuments were the recipients of such 'memorial' ceremonies, so this was not necessarily restricted to funerary practice.[485] The *zkr* ritual thus seems uniquely tied to incantation, the manifestation of the agent, and the monumentalization of the object.[486] Most significantly, the verbal responses in the Hadad Inscription are primarily targeted at the agent and only secondarily at the deity. This may be evidence of a more general tendency of treating agents as if they were divine that is also indicated by the giving of offerings.[487]

Offerings

Monuments could also be ritually engaged through the giving of offerings. These could consist of libations, bread offerings, animal sacrifices, or some combination of the three. One of the primary indicators that such practices were connected to "I Am" inscriptions is their explicit or implicit prescription within the text itself. For example, the Katumuwa Stele specifies a set of offerings – specifically of sheep and oxen – to be made before the monument annually in order to reactivate the presence of the agent and facilitate subsequent communication with him.[488]

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[484] See Panamuwa (KAI 215:22).

[485] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109–12; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 143–47.

[486] On this basis, "memorial" would seem a poor translation for *zkr*. Perhaps "fetish" in its original meaning of an object with magical powers is more appropriate.

[487] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 190.

[488] Herrmann, "The KTMW Stele from Zincirli: Syro-Hittite Mortuary Cult and Urban Social Networks," 159.

Similarly, in KARKAMIŠ A11a §12, Katuwas establishes PANIS(-)*ara/i-si-na* "seasonal bread (offerings)."[489] In the neighboring KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18, Katuwas demands a blood-sacrifice, oxen and sheep, and bread offerings.[490] In the incantation in SULTANHAN §3 discussed above, the agent prescribes offerings of oxen and sheep to reactivate the monument.[491] In the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26), the agent prescribes *zbḥ ymm ʾlp wb*[*ʿt ḥ*]*rš š wbʿt qṣr š* "for the yearly sacrifice an ox, for the time of plowing a sheep, and for the time of harvest a sheep."[492] Surprisingly, many of these offerings are targeted at the agent himself and his monument, revealing a strategy within Levantine monumental discourse more generally from this period of co-opting elements of ancestor cult and the worship of deities in order to introduce the agent into the realm of the gods.[493]

Despite the explicit offering prescriptions, it is quite likely that there was some flexibility allowed in this aspect of ritual. In KARKAMIŠ A1a – possibly an "I Am" inscription of

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[489] Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 67–68.

[490] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:103.

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[492] KAI 26 AIII:1-2.

[493] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 190.

Katuwa's father Suhi, but without a preserved opening – the agent declares:

§30 *a-wa/i* REL-*i-sa* /OVIS(ANIMAL)-*si*
§31 *a-wa/i za-a-ti-i* /STATUA-*ru-ti-i* /OVIS(ANIMAL)-*na* |(LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-li-i-tú*
§32 REL-*i-sa-pa-wa/i* |(PANIS)*tu+ra/i-pa-si-i*
§33 *wa-tú-ˊ* |(PANIS)*tu+ra/i-pi-na* |(LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la-ta-za-ha* PES₂(-)*pa*(-)PES₂-*ia-tú*
§30 (He) who is (a man) of sheep,
§31 let him offer a sheep to this statue.
§32 But (he) who is (a man) of bread,
§33 let him send to him bread and libation.[494]

Perhaps to facilitate wider participation, the prescribed offering here differs depending on the socioeconomic role of the ritual participant.[495] Such flexibility may also be implied by offerings apparently attached to "I Am" monuments that were not explicitly prescribed within them.

Offerings may also be inferred for "I Am" inscriptions that reference them without prescribing them. For example, in the above discussed incantation in the Panamuwa Inscription, Panamuwa's 'soul' is said to eat and drink with Hadad. The only prescription, however, is the generic *yzbḥ hdd zn* "he should sacrifice to this Hadad."[496] The incantation implies that this sacrifice consisted of either an animal sacrifice or bread offering as well as a libation, but none of this is explicitly spelled out in the inscription. Sacrifices of this type might also be implied by the iconography attending an inscription. The Katumuwa Stele, for example, only prescribes animal sacrifice, but the image on the stele depicts bread offerings and a cup perhaps indicating

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[494] Transcription follows Hawkins but the translation is adapted from Yakubovich. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:89; Ilya Yakubovich, "Some Transitive Motion Verbs and Related Lexemes in Late Luwian," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121, no. 1 (2016): 72.

[495] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 187–90.

[496] KAI 214:15-16.

libation.[497] Such libation offerings are also depicted at the neighboring sites of Malatya and Carchemish, as well as in other contexts at Zincirli itself.[498] The failure of texts to mention such offerings in detail is unproblematic, however. The iconography, rituals, and inscriptions of "I Am" monuments were capable of complementing one another without repeating each other, so some elements are sometimes relegated to only one dimension of meaning affordance.[499] Cases where different dimensions do not match may also imply flexibility in allowable ritual engagement.

Offerings can also be inferred from the ritual implements attested along with "I Am" monuments and similar installations. For example, the Katumuwa Stele was found alongside a small pedestal that was likely used for the offerings depicted and prescribed in the inscription.[500] At Carchemish, the Lower Palace Area – the same ceremonial plaza in which the "I Am" inscriptions of Katuwas were installed – was equipped with multiple altars and indentations carved at the base of orthostats to act as receptacles for libations and other offerings.[501] Similarly, the gateway piazza at Tel Dan – where the Tel Dan Stele may have originally been

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[497] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 46–47.

[498] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 184; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 108.

[499] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 134.

[500] Herrmann, "The KTMW Stele from Zincirli: Syro-Hittite Mortuary Cult and Urban Social Networks," 162–63.

[501] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 189. Similar libation receptacles are also attested at Zincirli. David Ussishkin, "Hollows, 'Cup-Marks', and Hittite Stone Monuments," *Anatolian Studies* 25 (1975): 95, https://doi.org/10.2307/3642576.

deployed – included an installation of three aniconic stelae accompanied by a basalt bowl, which evidence suggests was used for burnt offerings.[502] Such ritual implements demonstrate that offerings were provided for "I Am" monuments and related monumental installations, whether or not the text explicitly prescribed them.

Of the various types of offerings provided for "I Am" monuments, only one appears unique in the Levantine context and deserves some special attention. This is the blood offering attested multiple times at Carchemish. It might be inferred that offering animal sacrifices would involve blood, but some texts explicitly prescribe that the blood be offered before the monument. KARKAMIŠ A11b+c §18 prescribes an *asharimi-* "blood-sacrifice" to the gods.[503] The same type of sacrifice is prescribed in one of the fragments of KARKAMIŠ A29 with the Storm-god as the recipient.[504] KÖRKÜN §7 prescribes an *ashana(n)tisa-* "blood-offering," again for the Storm-god.[505] Curiously, though the agent is not a deity in any of these instances, it is specifically divine figures who receive this type of offering. Outside of the evidence for blood ritual in the Hebrew Bible to be discussed in the next chapter, the only comparative to this ritual comes from Bronze Age Emar.[506] As part of the seasonal *Zukru* festival, a blood ritual was

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[502] Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 1.

[503] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:103–6.

[504] Hawkins, Volume I:219.

[505] Hawkins, Volume I:173–74.

[506] This is nevertheless an attractive comparative because, like Carchemish, Emar was located in Northern Syria and became a Hittite viceroyal city.

performed with monumental stones. After a feast – which may imply earlier animal sacrifice – two aniconic stelae were anointed with blood and the image of the god Dagan was made to pass between them. Daniel Fleming suggests that this was practice was meant to allow Dagan to be reembodied in the aniconc stelae as well as in his image.[507] Though this practice is somewhat removed from those of Iron Age "I Am" monuments in terms of time, the geographical proximity as well as the use of blood and monuments to conjure divine presence make this an attractive parallel nonetheless. The name of this festival at Emar – *Zukru* – also invites comparisons with the *zkr* incantation described above. Even if there is no direct dependence between the traditions, apparently the blood-rites at Carchemish, this portion of the *Zukru* festival, and the *zkr* incantation all functioned towards the end of conjuration.

Processions and Feasts

Though the practice of holding ritual processions and feasts has a long history in the ancient Near East, these became especially important for the inauguration and activation of Levantine "I Am" monuments during the Age of Civic Ritual in the late 10th and early 9th centuries.[508] During this period, Levantine kings co-opted aspects of ancestor cult and deity worship for application to living kings in public settings.[509] We have already spoken of this in connection to offerings and incantations. These practices were expanded on through the

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[507] Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*, 86–87.

[508] Gilibert, "Archäologie der Menschenmenge. Platzanlage, Bildwerke und Fest im Syro-Hethitischen Stadtgefüge," 119–28.

[509] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 187–91; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 53.

implementation of massive processions into and through ritual theatres concluding with large

ceremonial feasts. Both as depicted in the iconography and described in the texts, these

processions aimed to project the agent's ideology onto as large an audience as possible. Both

elites and non-elites were conceived of as participants, even if they might participate in different

ways.[510] Sites like Carchemish and Zincirli and their use of ceremonial plazas also allowed large

audiences to witness the performance of these rituals even if they were not actively taking

part.[511]

Ritual processions in particular took on new meaning in the Age of Civic Ritual as well

as in the following Age of Territorialization. At Carchemish, for instance, the deployment of

monuments and rituals relying on connections to Hittite artistic traditions gave way to ritual

installations more focused on the individual power of the king. In particular, processional scenes

highlighted the military might and hunting prowess of the king. This striking development likely

reflects the growing instability of the region as territorial control became more difficult to

maintain.[512] As a result, military parades and triumphal processions became standard types of

ritual processions as well as key elements of the accompanying monumental artworks.[513] These

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[510] Pucci, *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture*, 121.

[511] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 98–114; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 53–54.

[512] Gilibert, "Religion and Propaganda under the Great Kings of Karkemiš," 147.

[513] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 192; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 119–20.

processions allowed the king to project his martial role and power directly onto the ritual

participants and audience, thereby reshaping their identities as his subjects.

Processions also molded the users more generally by disciplining the body – training it to

move through space in a particular way and thus introducing it to social rules and roles.[514] The

participant was not only bringing offerings to the agent or arriving at a dedicated space to feast

with the agent. They were also walking as the agent directed and lingering where the agent

wanted. In the words of Tim Ingold, walking in general is "an intrinsically social activity," in

which the walker's movements "are continually responsive to the movements of others in the

immediate environment."[515] In the case of ritual processions attached to monuments, the users

are responding to both the movements of their fellow processors as well as to the depicted

movements of processors in the accompanying monumental art. Even in cases where processors

are not depicted, the users must always respond to what Mark Smith calls "the imagined

materiality" of the agent present and processing with them.[516] These aspects of the monuments

direct the users to walk in particular ways, which had strong implications for the social roles the

users filled. Significantly, this movement was often convoluted, requiring 90-180° turns to

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[514] Hodder, "The Spectacle of Daily Performance at Çatalhöyük," 96.

[515] Tim Ingold, "Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet," *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 328.

[516] Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, 27.

access different tiers of the theatre.[517] In other words, by directing the movement of the users, the agent socialized with them and molded them into a collective subordinate to his direction.

Feasting served a largely similar purpose to that of processions. Feasting involves imbuing communal acts of eating and drinking with special significance. In particular, feasting creates coherence among groups of people, while the manipulation of feasting practices allows elites to create and consolidate their power. Feasts also served as a means for multiple users to participate in offerings and to imaginatively socialize with the agent and other figures conjured by the monuments and rituals attached to them.[518] As the offerings and incantations discussed above reveal, the agent and the deities were also understood to participate in these feasts by means of offerings and sacrifices.[519] The feasting that followed these acts allowed the audience to become participants in the sacrifice and to relate directly to the agent. As a result, it was not only the elites presently manipulating the feast who consolidated their power, but the elites imagined in the preceding rituals – the gods and the agent in his distributed, reembodied form – also claimed a place in the hierarchy above the users.

During the Age of Court Ceremony (790-690 BCE), processions and feats became even more restricted in terms of their participants. Whereas many such rituals may have included aspects restricted to elites in the past, this restriction was more openly emphasized beginning in

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[517] Pucci, *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture*, 171; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 40.

[518] Jonathan S. Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 66 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 3–5.

[519] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 48–49.

the 8th century. New monuments were primarily erected in more restricted spaces allowing only smaller audiences to participate in their monumentalization and reactivation. Depictions of processions in these areas are increasingly focused on only showing elite participants. It is highly likely that only elites were able to engage these monuments. Though larger civic spectacles may have continued to be performed around older monuments, newer ones were the domain of only society's higher echelons. We see this sort of segregation of processions and feasts in particular at the sites of Carchemish, Zincirli, and Dan, and these are likely indicative of a regional shift.[520]

The Levant was not the only region reconfiguring its spectacles by means of court ceremony. The Assyrian ceremonies at Nimrud operated along a similar logic as the civic rituals in the Levant. Assurnasirpal II constructed this new monumental capital to project his newfound imperial power onto native and foreign dignitaries. Massive spectacles were held in the city on a yearly basis, during which foreign dignitaries were required to deliver tribute to the Assyrian court and participate in ceremonial feasts.[521] Some elements of these spectacles – including the monumental art employed within them – was undoubtedly adapted from Karkamišean tradition.[522] Though these processions and feasts included large numbers of participants, they

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[520] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–31; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 135–36.

[521] Gojko Barjamovic, "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879-612 BCE," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. J. Duindam, T. Artan, and M. Kunt, vol. 1, Rulers and Elites: Comparitive Studies in Governance (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 31–35, 40–48; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 116.

[522] Winter, "Art as Evidence for Interaction: Relations Between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria"; Winter, "Carchemish Ša Kišad Puratti"; Bunnens, "From Carchemish to Nimrud Between Visual Writing and Textual Illustration"; Aro, "The Origins of the Artistic Interactions between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria Revisited."

were generally restricted to local and foreign elites. The restriction of access to these festivals served to broadcast the supreme power of the Assyrian king as well as to integrate elites into his hierarchy.[523]

Somewhat surprisingly, the court ceremonies at Nimrud continued even during the 8th century, when Assyria was less politically stable – at least until the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III. Prior to the imperial resurgence, though, emissaries from Zincirli, Carchemish, Malatya, Cilicia, and Israel are attested on wine-lists from Nimrud as participants in the court ceremonies held there.[524] Even though Assyria was not currently exercising direct rule over the region, the kingdoms of the Levant were apparently still acting as tributaries in some sense to Assyria. It is possible that exposure to these ceremonies inspired Levantine elites to iterate the Assyrian practice of targeting elites in particular in spectacles back home. Certainly, some practices from Nimrud were imported back to the Levant that had inspired them,[525] and the segregation of spectacle was potentially one of those. The resurgence of Assyrian imperial pressure in the Levant during the second half of the 8th century may have further prompted this segregation, as the increasingly less powerful Levantine kings now had both an Assyrian overlord to appease and a growing body of powerful elites to keep in check.[526] While monuments erected earlier

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[523] Barjamovic, "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879-612 BCE," 60.

[524] Shawn Zelig Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century," *Biblica* 97, no. 2 (2016): 181–87.

[525] Bunnens, "From Carchemish to Nimrud Between Visual Writing and Textual Illustration."

[526] Denel, "Ceremony and Kingship at Carchemish," 187; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 294–97; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 44.

continued to be used as implements of civic rituals, new royal monuments were primarily erected in exclusive portions of city acropoleis and specifically targeted elite members of society. As non-royal elites had grown in power significantly during the 8th century – even to the point of successfully appropriating monumental discourse "that had previously been the exclusive prerogative of the royalty"[527] – Levantine rulers had a greater need to legitimate themselves in the eyes of elites in particular.[528] Accordingly, at sites like Zincirli there was an upsurge in new monument production in order "to create and represent consent" among non-royal elites.[529] Rituals connected to these new monuments was limited to elite participation therefore.

Counter-monumental Practices

   We should briefly comment on negative interaction with textual monuments before moving on. In addition to being ritually activated, Levantine "I Am" monuments were also sometimes ritually deactivated as well. As noted above, the instructions left for monument's users were often negative in character. In addition to leaving prescriptions for rituals, these inscriptions also described how not to ritually engage the monument. The violation of the monument, however, was not necessarily a freeform act of rebellion. Destruction of monumental

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[527] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128.

[528] For examples of elite emulation of royal monuments, see the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26/KARATEPE 1), the Neirab stelae, and the Katumuwa Stele. Gilibert, 126–28.

[529] Bar-Rakib's inscriptions (KAI 215-218) seem to have been erected for this purpose. These notably parallel Tigalth-Pileser III's own monument-making practice, which focused almost exclusively on his palace, perhaps to legitimate himself before the Assyrian elites whose power he was curtailing. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 130–31; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 31–33.

inscriptions was ritualized as well.[530] The Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310) is an important example of ritualized violation. Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh argued that the stele was smashed in antiquity by the Israelites when they recaptured Dan from the Aramaeans.[531] Yosef Garfinkel argued that this destruction was strategic and ideological. The change in Tel Dan's affiliation was ritualistically affected by destroying the monument of its previous holder.[532]

The act of destroying a monument could be followed by a ritualized act of reconstruction meant to further obfuscate the meaning of the destroyed monument. At Dan, the destroyed stele was reincorporated into a later version of Dan's gate system along a royal processional road.[533] This suggests that the destroyed stele may have been meant to be publicly displayed, making its lack of integration into subsequent public spectacle at the gate even more obvious. Even if the stele were not visible in its new setting, however, it was still conspicuously used as a ritual implement in the spectacle of reconstructing the gate. It would be finally deactivated therefore by being relegated to use as a simple building block in the construction project of another king. This serves as an important example of counter-monumentality – performative acts meant to

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[530] Garfinkel, "The Destruction of Cultic Objects and Inscriptions during the First Temple Period"; Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East."

[531] Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 98; Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," 9.

[532] Garfinkel, "The Destruction of Cultic Objects and Inscriptions during the First Temple Period," 102–3. JoAnn Scurlock made a similar argument for the ritualized destruction of Assyrian textual monuments. JoAnn Scurlock, "Getting Smashed at the Victory Celebration, or What Happened to Esarhaddon's So-Called Vassal Treaties and Why," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 175–86.

[533] Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 81.

obfuscate a monument's prior dimensions of meaning affordance.[534]

Counter-monumental engagement could also take less obviously violent forms. For example, the orthostat pair KARKAMIŠ A11b+c was removed from its place in the Lower Palace Area of Carchemish and reused face-down as paving stones in the processional way. This probably happened under the direction of Yariris, a regent who took the throne of Carchemish at the beginning of the 8th century.[535] Yariris reinvented Carchemish's ceremonial plaza in the Lower Palace area when he took power. Whereas the art and inscriptions monumentalized by Katuwas had emphasized grand civic spectacles and inclusivity in the attendant performances, the monuments erected by Yariris suggest rituals made up only of the courtly elite. This was probably a reflection of Yariris' particular need to legitimate his rule in the eyes of the elites of Carchemish, because he was eunuch with no claim to the throne. In order to accomplish this, he inserted new reliefs into those already erected a century earlier by Katuwas. In so doing, he drew upon the authority of Katuwas' installation, but also obfuscated it in fundamental ways by shifting the constituents of the depicted procession and removing key inscriptions of Katuwas.[536]

Counter-monumentality could even be expressed without removing the older monument being subtly attacked. The first Bar-rakib Palace Inscription (KAI 216) explicitly gestures at the palace of Kulamuwa – and by association the orthostat inscription standing in front of it. Lines 16-20 read as follows:

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[534] Osborne, "Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory," 5.

[535] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 46–47.

[536] Gilibert, 49–50, 129–30.

by . ṭb . lyšh . lʾbhy . mlky . šmʾl . hʾ . byt . klmw . lhm . phʾ . byt . štwʾ . lhm . whʾ . byt . kyṣʾ . wʾnh . bnyt . bytʾ . znh

There was no good palace for my fathers, the kings of Sam'al. That – the palace of Kulamuwa – was theirs. Moreover, that was a winter palace for them and a summer palace. But I have built this palace.

Kulamuwa's palace and orthostat inscription were still standing and clearly visible during the reign of Bar-rakib and afterwards.[537] Bar-rakib takes advantage of this fact in his inscription by explicitly gesturing to the palace and the older inscription. Three times he uses the distal deictic marker *hʾ* to gesture at Kulamuwa's palace, which would have been fully in view from Bar-rakib's inscription.[538] By utilizing a distal deictic marker to indicate Kulamuwa's palace and inscription, Bar-rakib implies his negative evaluation of the earlier monument – a posture that is made explicit by the opening commentary of these lines ("there was no good palace"). At the end of the inscription, however, Bar-rakib uses the proximal deictic marker *znh* to gesture to his own inscription and palace, implying that they are superior to that of Kulamuwa. Bar-rakib thus changed the meaning of the earlier monument without even touching it. He utilized monumental discourse in his own inscription to disavow Kulamuwa's inferior accomplishments.[539]

The Purpose of Ritual Engagement

Whereas the material form and production of the monument materializes the imagined

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[537] Gilibert, 87–88.

[538] As above, my use of gesturing here is primarily informed by Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones."

[539] This kind of counter-monument is described by Osborne as "dialogic artwork" meant to "engage directly with existing conventional monuments through a creative artistic intervention." Bar-rakib thus challenges Kulamuwa not by destroying his monument but by erecting a new one in conversation with it to question its assertions. Osborne, "Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory," 5.

encounter, interaction with the monument activates it. In the case of Levantine "I Am" monuments, this was especially accomplished through a combination of practices in civic specatcles: the "habitual, recurrent performances that reinforce group identity and ideology and transmit collective memory."[540] Large public ceremonies meant to engage with monuments were likely a common cultural feature of the Levant.[541] This is evidenced by the placement of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments within large open spaces at sites such as Zincirli, Hama, Tell Tayinat, Carchemish, Tell Halaf, and Tel Dan.[542] Gilibert argued that the incorporation of monuments at these sites into such built environments as gates, plazas, temples, and palaces suggests that those locations were meant to act as stages for public performance.[543] These stages meant that ritual engagement could be experienced on a large scale so that the monument's materialized message could be widely disseminated.[544] In other words, ritual engagement collectivized the experience of the monument. The use of ritual and monument in concert served to "neutralize dissent and conjure consensus."[545] Civic ritual was the key to

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[540] Matthew L. Murray, "Landscapes of Ancestors: The Structuring of Space around Iron Age Funerary Monuments in Central Europe," in *The Archaeology of Ancestors: Death, Memory, and Veneration*, ed. Erica Hill and Jon B. Hageman (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2016), 150–51.

[541] Note that Gilibert argued for large-scale public engagement with monuments only from the 10th to the early 8th centuries BCE. With the coming of Assyrian influence under Tiglath-pileser III, Levantine monumentality shifted to ritual engagement with monuments more limited to the elite echelons of society. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 106, 131.

[542] Gilibert, 104; Ilan, "Iron Age II *et-Tell*/Bethsaida and Dan: A Tale of Two Gates."

[543] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 24–25, 61–74.

[544] Gilibert, 98.

[545] Gilibert, 121.

provoking communal as opposed to individual imagination through a monument. To summarize, all of the ritual practices catalogued above functioned by conjuring the agent. These activated the agent's reembodiment in such a way that he could interact with the monument's users as a collective. By participating in these rituals, the users could be molded into the ideal community proposed by the monument's discourse.

Ritual engagement was also essential to maintaining the monument's monumentality. Without regular reactivation, the object's function and meaning was vulnerable.[546] Interaction with monuments involved ritually reliving the imagined address of the agent and renewing its meaning.[547] According to Gilibert, ritual performances connected to monuments "enliven the monumental art and somehow make it 'real' again and again."[548] Nevertheless, we must also emphasize that without the physical presence of the monument, the ritual would also lose its efficacy. The monument "anchors the ceremonies in space and time" and makes them in a sense permanent and perpetual.[549] Even when the monument is not being actively engaged in ritual, it can be viewed as a materialization of ritual and reminder of both ceremonies past and those yet to come. Ritual and monument were thus utilized in concert in order to communicate the agent's ideology to the populace. Together, they decreased the ephemerality of the materialized meaning

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[546] Osborne, "Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory," 5.

[547] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 147.

[548] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 114.

[549] Gilibert, 114.

and increased the monument's effectiveness as a communicative medium.[550] Ritual became

embodied as it was connected to monuments, and the performance was thus eternalized.[551] On

the other hand, monuments were recharged by the regular performance of ritual, which imbued

them anew with meaning and ensured their continued relevance to subsequent sets of users.[552]

Most significantly, ritual engagement perpetuated the agent and the users' encounter with

him.[553] The use of the monument in concert with regular ritual performance meant that the

monument anchored "an event that can be experienced over and over again."[554] That is, the

encounter materialized by the monument was not only activated by ritual but also perpetuated by

its regularity. Ritual provided a means for the imagined encounter to be activated as often as was

appropriate. Apart from ritual, the monument risked losing significance, "becoming dull and

matter-of-fact."[555] Were the monument to be thus socially forgotten, the agent would die with its

meaning. He or she could only hope for perpetuation as the monument's users regularly

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[550] DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 17–19; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 112–14.

[551] Gudme, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Dedicatory Inscriptions as Communication with the Divine," 6.

[552] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 133.

[553] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 49–51.

[554] Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia," 145.

[555] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 133.

interacted with him by means of ritual.[556]

Conclusion: A Brief History of Levantine "I Am" Monuments

The monumentality of Levantine "I Am" monuments is found in the nexus of the five

aspects discussed above. It is produced through the interactions of the monument, agent, and

users. "I Am" inscriptions were monumental first and foremost because they materialized an

imagined encounter with the agent. The spatial deployment of the monument perpetuated the

agent's presence and agency in a given interactive zone. It also targeted the users as the denizens

of that zone, within which the monument's materialized social formation mattered. The material

form and shape of the monument reembodied the agent as well as other significant figures at

times. The presentation of the monument as direct speech produced the agent's presence. It

provoked the users to imagine the agent actually speaking to them. The content of the monument

was then experienced as if the agent were directly addressing the users. The rhetorical structure

of the monument organized that content in such a way as to guide the users into the agent's

presence. Especially by using deictic sign-posts, the monument provoked the users to imagine

themselves being addressed in the presence of the agent. When effective, these monuments thus

prompted their users to imagine themselves as a community, and they responded to it in ways

that reified that community. Ritual engagement with the monument activated the agent's agency

to shape the users, and provided a means for the users to interact with the agent. The regularity of

associated rituals also ensured the perpetuation of the monument and the maintenance of its

monumentality. Within these rituals, the monument was primarily experienced as a physical

object that provided a solid manifestation of the agent in various forms.

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[556] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 189–90.

The monumentality of Levantine "I Am" inscriptions was the potential to provoke an imagined dialogue between agent and users. The users did not only imagine the agent through these monumental texts, they also imagined alternative versions of themselves. The agent proposed a new identity to them and then left them in a liminal state. The users' interaction with the monument determined whether or not they would reify that imagined version of themselves or reject it. Monuments were therefore not merely propositions of new social categories but a means of reifying them as well.[557] As such, the successful execution of monumental discourse – that is, the production of a monument so as to provoke positive collective reception – was essential to community formation in Levantine contexts. Even though some of these monuments were targeted at relatively small audiences, they functioned in essentially the same way on a familial or communal scale to materialize the same kinds of encounters produced by royal monuments. From Mesha's proposition of a territorial state in the Mesha Stele (KAI 181) to Katumuwa's constitution of a familial religious group in his funerary stele, manipulation of group identity hinged on the effective use of monuments.

Of course, as emphasized throughout this study, Levantine "I Am" monuments had different monumentalities at different times. The function they were intended to accomplish was targeted at different kinds of users, deployed in variable contexts, accomplished through changing ritual means, and imbedded in various monumental forms and textual content. The following sections will sketch out a broad historical schema for analyzing Levantine "I Am" monuments from different periods. In constructing this schema, I am mostly indebted to Alessandra Gilibert's diachronic analysis of monumental discourse in Zincirli and Carchemish,

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[557] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 118.

in which she proposed four periods of monumentality.[558] I have expanded on these categories

and relabeled some of them below to better fit the situation of Levantine "I Am" monuments

more broadly. It should also be stressed that while these historical periods might point the way

forward in developing schema for other types of monuments in the region, these periods

specifically refer to moments in the history of Levantine "I Am" monuments.

The Origins of the Form in the Late Bronze Age

Though not a good context for the emergence of the Decalogue, it was nonetheless

helpful to review the original "I Am" monuments from the Late Bronze Age. This form is

represented by only four exemplars, one of which may be unrelated.[559] The earliest example of

an "I Am" monument is the 15th century statue of Idrimi from Alalaḫ, which includes a

biographical inscription narrating Idrimi's rise to power.[560] Though separated in time by some

200 years, the same monumental discourse utilized by Idrimi was apparently adapted by

Šuppiluliuma II in his NIŞANTAŞ rock inscription and its Hittite copy in lines 21 and following

of KBo 12.32.[561] These Hittite exemplars drew on prior Syrian traditions and earlier Hittite forms

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[558] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 115–32.

[559] This is the Kassite Babylonian brick inscription ZA 31. It is significantly removed from the other examples in terms of geography and the format was quickly abandoned by the Kassites in favor of more traditional monumental discourse from southern Mesopotamia. Bartelmus, "Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions from the Kassite Period," 149–50; Abraham and Gabbay, "Kaštiliašu and the Sumundar Canal: A New Middle Babylonian Royal Inscription."

[560] Woolley, "Introduction: The Statue"; Smith, *The Statue of Idri-Mi*; Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*, 60 ff. Lauinger, "Statue of Idrimi."

[561] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 76–78; Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 244.

of monumental inscriptions to create an entirely new form of authoritative text.[562] These examples undoubtedly prompted the emulations of such "I Am" inscriptions among the Neo-Hittite kingdoms during the Iron Age that lead to the broader acceptance of the discourse across the Levant. The few examples from the Bronze Age are difficult to analyze collectively with much certainty due to the paucity of evidence, but they are nevertheless part of an important moment in the history of Levantine "I Am" monuments.

The Archaic Transitional Period (12th to Mid-10th Century BCE)

The next period bridges the usage of an "I Am" inscription by the Hittite emperor Šuppiluliuma II and the appearance of the form among the Hittite's successor states. As its name implied, this was period of transition during which the form was first being iterated on in new ways. Unfortunately, few inscriptions survive from this period and only some conclusions may be applied to them more broadly. In my corpus, this period is represented by nine inscriptions: İSPEKÇÜR, DARENDE, IZGIN 1, ALEPPO 6, MARAŞ 8, KARKAMIŠ A1b, KARKAMIŠ A14a, KARKAMIŠ A14b, and KELEKLİ. The inscriptions found in situ or reasonably assignable to a specific context all point to deployment at significant communicative zones within cities, such as gateways and temples. Seven of these inscriptions were set on stelae, two on matching portal lions, and one on a wall orthostat. Those that are readable are mostly concerned with commemorating building activities, narratives of royal succession, leaving ritual instructions, and occasionally the protection of the monument through the inclusion of curses. Already, these sections are divided along deictic categories such as time and person, but the inscriptions are not consistently structured. The ritual interactions prescribed in these inscriptions

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[562] Aro, "Carchemish Before and After 1200 BC," 242–43.

include animal sacrifice, bread offerings, and libation offerings.[563] In general, these monuments rely on their connection to Hittite tradition in order to derive their authority. This is perhaps best exemplified by ALEPPO 6, in which the monument commissioner inserted his "I Am" inscription directly into a pre-existing Hittite installation from two centuries earlier.

The Age of Civic Ritual (Late 10th to Early 9th Century BCE)

The next stage in the history of Levantine "I Am" monuments saw them embedded in large-scale public ceremonies that Gilibert has labeled civic rituals. These monuments and their associated rituals appear especially devoted to the materialization of state ideologies in competition. It is during this period that standard tropes of Iron Age Levantine memorial inscriptions were first attached to "I Am" monuments. The inscriptions of this age regularly included curse sections and building commemorations, and battle narratives were just beginning to appear to substantiate kings by means of warrior prowess. Some of these were quite long and almost annalistic in nature. It is also during this period that instructions were expanded beyond ritual prescription to include moral imperatives. The speech of gods was also first recorded in monuments of this period, typically in the form of second person commands. Almost all of the inscriptions from this period were inscribed on stelae, but this period also attests a new statue inscription as well as a growing use of orthostats for "I Am" monuments.[564] Orthostats in particular allowed the aesthetic dimension of "I Am" monuments to become more developed than ever before, by facilitating the manifestation of multiple iterations of the agent in tandem

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[563] These are all prescribed in ALEPPO 6 §4-12. IZGIN 1 §9 prescribes the performance of a ritual but its specific contents are not specified.

[564] MARAŞ 13 is inscribed on a statue, while almost all of the Karkamišean examples from this period were carved on orthostats.

with deities and processors. Unfortunately, not all of the inscriptions from this period are well provenanced, but the texts themselves imply settings in urban contexts,[565] temples,[566] and perhaps even early peripheral deployments in conquered cities.[567] The inscriptions in my corpus from this period are KARKAMIŠ A11a, KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, KARKAMIŠ A13d, KARKAMIŠ A2+3, KARKAMIŠ A12, KARKAMIŠ A23, TELL AHMAR 1, TELL AHMAR 2, TELL AHMAR 5, TELL AHMAR 6, ALEPPO 2, BABYLON 1, BOROWSKI 3, ARSUZ 1, ARSUZ 2, and MARAŞ 13.

The Age of Territorialization (870-790 BCE)

The Age of Territorialization includes KÖRKÜN, BEIRUT, MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 2, MARAŞ 4, SHEIZAR, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, HINES, TALL ŠṬĪB, HAMA 1, HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 4, HAMA 6, HAMA 7, HAMA 8, the Mesha Stele, the Kerak Stele, the Kulamuwa Orthostat, the Hadad Inscription, the Zakkur Stele, and the Tel Dan Stele. This period saw the appearance of the first "I Am" inscriptions in Northwest Semitic. The content of these inscriptions continued to focus on building and battle inscriptions. The deictic organization of the inscriptions was becoming increasing complex, ranging from bipartite examples like the Kulamuwa Orthostat to the five-tier hierarchy of the Mesha Stele. The aesthetics of these inscriptions continued practices from earlier periods, but the practice of inscribing "I Am" inscriptions on statues of deities emerged for the first time in this period. This

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[565] This is especially true of the examples from Carchemish and Tell Ahmar.

[566] BABYLON 1 attests to an original deployment within the temple of the Storm-god of Aleppo.

[567] ARSUZ 1 and ARSUZ 2 make reference to a nearby conquered city.

may have served to further legitimate the agent by placing him in such close proximity to a deity. Many of these inscriptions simply assume ritual practice without directing it, but the instructions that are preserved are very sophisticated, such as the incantation on the Hadad Inscription. Most significantly, this period saw the territorial deployment of "I Am" inscriptions for the first time, as in the examples from Hama, Dan, and Moab. This period thus continued the projection of the agent's authority in terms of his martial might, but it saw this ideology increasingly connected to territory as well.

The Age of Court Ceremony (790-690 BCE)

As its name suggests, the Age of Court Ceremony saw a major restriction in monumental rhetoric that was realized in several areas. This was brought on in part by the resurgence of the Assyrian empire, the resultant dwindling of Levantine territorial states, and the limits that the Assyrian king placed on his vassals. It was also a reflection of the growing power of elites during this period, and both the emulation of "I Am" monuments by non-royal elites and the need for royals to specifically target their own monumental discourse at elites who could challenge their control. The spatial deployment of monuments was mostly limited to restricted, urban contexts during this period. Rituals as well were specifically targeted at small audiences usually consisting of elite participants. Battle narratives disappeared almost entirely during this period, and the content and poetics of "I Am" inscriptions had to adjust as a result of no longer developing an ideology based on outright competition. Aesthetically, "I Am" monuments remained mostly unchanged in this period, apart from the depicted processors on orthostats being limited to only elite participants. It was also during this period that "I Am" inscriptions were first encountered on rock reliefs. This period is represented by KARKAMIŠ A15b, KARKAMIŠ A6, KARKAMIŠ A5b, KARKAMIŠ A17a, KARKAMIŠ A18a, CEKKE, ADANA 1, KIRÇOĞLU,

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PALANGA, KÜRTÜL, MARAŞ 14, ÇİNEKÖY, KARATEPE 1/KAI 26, KULULU 1, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, KULULU 4, ANDAVAL, BOHÇA, BOR, BULGARMADEN, ÇİFTLİK, EĞREK, HİSARCIK 1, HİSARCIK 2, KAYSERİ, SULTANHAN, PORSUK, the Katumuwa Stele, and the Bar-rakib Palace Inscriptions (KAI 216-218).

The Age of Increased Internationalism and Decline (690 BCE and Following)

After 690 BCE, "I Am" monuments ceased to appear in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and that epigraphic tradition shortly disappeared as a whole. Northwest Semitic inscriptions of this type are also in short supply. They are represented by only three inscriptions from the Persian Period: the Yehawmilk Inscription (KAI 10), the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (KAI 13), and the Saraïdin Inscription (KAI 261). The general lack of evidence shows that this monumental discourse was declining in the Levant, and those examples that have been preserved show wild deviations from the earlier format. The Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription and the Saraïdin Inscription are both funerary inscriptions, suggesting that the form of inscription was becoming more limited in the Levant. Of these, the Tabnit Inscription was inscribed on an Egyptian sarcophagus and presumably buried, presenting both an entirely new aesthetic and spatial dimension. Furthermore, only a generation later Tabnit's son Eshmunazor inscribed his own sarcophagus with an Egyptianizing inscription that lacked any "I Am" formula. The Yehawmilk Inscription is a building inscription carved on a stele set up in a temple, and appears to be the last true example of the earlier discourse. Apart from these examples, the "I Am" formula at least appears to have been adapted by several Assyrian kings during the seventh century as well as by Nabonidus and his mother during the Neo-Babylonian period.[568] A few examples of the formula

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[568] For the Neo-Assyrian examples, see Sennacherib Nos. 133-134, 177, 180-182, 184-185; Esarhaddon Nos. 64, 74-75, 94-95; Ashurbanipal Nos. 2-5, 7, 9, 10-11, 13, 19, 33, 36, 41, 44-45, 49, 52-56, 71, 73, 105, 112; Aššur-etel-ilāni No. 1; Sîn-Šarra-Iškun Nos. 1, 6, 10-13, 19. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*; Novotny and Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627*

may appear in Persian contexts, but it is unclear whether this was truly related to the Levantine discourse or part of a native Iranian development.[569] Though this is not a good period for the emergence of the Decalogue, we will see that broader changes in monumentality during this period undoubtedly effected editorial strata in the Decalogue's contexts in the Hebrew Bible.

The Afterlife of "I Am" Inscriptions

Though not addressed in this study, it is worth noting that the "I Am" formula did survive in monumental rhetoric into the Hellenistic period. It appears in Phoenician on two monumental inscriptions from Cyprus, in three Phoenician-Greek bilinguals from Athens, and in one Aramaic-Greek bilingual from Georgia.[570] Most importantly in these examples, the formula occurs only in Aramaic or Phoenician. It was never transferred to Greek. Apart from the "I Am" formula, however, these inscriptions attest no features of Iron Age Levantine "I Am" inscriptions. They may be distantly related to the earlier monumental discourse, but ultimately

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BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1; Novotny, Jeffers, and Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 2*.

For the Neo-Babylonian examples, see Nabonidus 23, 49, 56, and 2003 in Weiershäuser and Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Amēl-Marduk (562-560 BC), Neriglissar (560-556 BC), and Nabonidus (555-539 BC), Kings of Babylon*.

[569] The most famous of these is the Bisitun inscription of Darius I, but that seems to adapt some elements and possible the "I Am" formula from earlier Elamite practice, particularly the 11th century inscription of the Elamite king Šutruk-Naḫḫunte. The iconography of Bisitun Inscription borrows some elements from the Stele of Naram-Sin, on which was inscribed the Elamite text, so that may be the inspiration for the Persian adaptation of the formula. Marian H. Feldman, "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad: Affect and Agency in the Bisitun Relief," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, ed. Marian H. Feldman and Jack Cheng (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 275–78.

[570] KAI 35, 53-54, 59, and an additional fragment from Kition. For the inscription from Kition not in KAI, see inscription B 38 in Amadasi Guzzo and Karageorghis, *Inscriptions Phéniciennes*, 86–87. For the bilingual from Georgia, see Metzger, "A Greek and Aramaic Inscription Discovered at Armazi in Georgia."

these inscriptions represent a substantially different monumentality and should be addressed separately. These inscriptions do not suggest a good historical context within which to posit the emergence of the Decalogue.

Additionally, the monumental discourse of Levantine "I Am" inscriptions lived on in the Hebrew Bible and in the religious traditions of Jews and Christians.[571] The use of the "I Am" formula and its associated discourse in these contexts may derive from the biblical adaptation of monumental discourse from an earlier period in the history of Levantine "I Am" monuments, however. Monumental discourse was a powerful tool in Levantine cultures, and therefore an attractive means of social formation to be co-opted by the biblical writers. This was the ideal means of producing an authoritative text, so it was adapted to present the Pentateuch's first account of revelation to the community at large – the giving of the Decalogue. The remainder of this study will track the monumentality of the Decalogue as revealed by its various compositional and editorial strata in the Hebrew Bible with a view towards placing its various iterations into the historical schema laid out above.

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[571] Most famously, the "I Am" formula made a surprising comeback in the Gospel of John, where it plays a remarkable role in Jesus' development of his own authority. See, for example, John 18:5.

Part II

THE MONUMENTALITIES OF THE DECALOGUE

CHAPTER 3

THE PRODUCTION OF THE DECALOGUE'S MONUMENTALITY IN EXODUS

We will begin our history of the Decalogue's monumentality with an analysis of the final form of the text in Exodus. As will be developed throughout the next two chapters, the monumentality of the Exodus Decalogue strongly suggests that it predates the text in Deuteronomy. The literary setting for the Exodus Decalogue is of course the Late Bronze Age, and a desire to suggest antiquity in the text's monumentality may have influenced some of its production. However, because monuments are their own means of preserving memory of themselves, the depicted monumentality of the Decalogue ultimately reflects those of the Iron Age Levant in which it was most likely produced, especially monumentalities predating the Neo-Assyrian resurgence in the eastern Mediterranean. In contrast to this, while the Deuteronomic Decalogue draws upon older monumentalities in its revision, these were nevertheless monumentalities that were standardized by the Assyrians, suggesting that the Deuteronomic Decalogue should be sequenced after the one in Exodus. This argument will be expanded on below but should serve to explain the layout of the book at this point.

This chapter will especially focus on the Decalogue's depiction in Exodus, and its utilization of the five dimensions of monumental discourse discussed in the previous chapter. Semantically, the Decalogue draws upon many of the typical phrases and tropes of Levantine "I Am" inscriptions in order to communicate a similar message. Poetically, the Decalogue utilizes the same strategies for inviting the user to project into its agent's perspective. Spatially, the Decalogue is depicted in the book of Exodus as if it were a boundary monument of the type deployed in the Levant during the Age of Territorialization. Aesthetically, the Decalogue is closely connected to an account of stelae erection and inscription in Exodus 24. Performatively,

the Decalogue is closely associated with depictions of rituals reminiscent of those performed

before monuments in the ancient Levant during both the Age of Civic Ritual and the Age of

Court Ceremony. The cumulative effect of these features is to suggest that the Decalogue was

actually produced within the book of Exodus as a depiction of a Levantine "I Am" monument. It

was composed and contextualized based on typical Levantine monumentalities. This means that

its function was probably the same as well. The Decalogue primarily functioned in Exodus as a

reembodiment of Yahweh meant to constitute the Israelites as a community.

Introduction

As was argued briefly in the introduction to this book, the Decalogue in Exodus was a

monument regardless of how it became one. As a text, it was a material object to which

communities related, whether within the narrative or as a piece of literature after the fact.

Historically, communities have related to the Decalogue in Exodus to derive special meaning

from the text in order to inform some part of their social formation. Furthermore, this is exactly

how the text appears to function within the narrative of Exodus, where it is delivered by Yahweh

to the people of Israel in order to constitute them as a people after they were brought out of

Egypt.[572] The Decalogue's connection to the Exodus event and Sinai as well as its commands

afford various social relations, and its reception produces social formation relative to those

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[572] The giving of the Decalogue has often been understood as a covenant-making scene. Such an assumption in effect acknowledges the same thing I am arguing in this chapter – the Decalogue was set up as a monument to propose and bring about a new collective Israelite identity within the narrative of the book of Exodus. The most recent approach to this issue is that of Jan Joosten, who is correct to note that no ancient parallel exists for the giving of laws to make a covenant between a god and a people. Jan Joosten, "Covenant," in *Biblical Law*, ed. Pamela Barmash, Forthcoming, 1–2. However, the giving of a monumental text in order to afford social formation is one of their key attested functions, as discussed in previous chapters.

proposed relationships.[573] Even if the direct connections to other monuments I propose are not accepted, these facts alone demonstrate that the Decalogue is a monument according to the theory advanced in this book. Therefore, analysis of its monumentality according to the method I have outlined is a gainful way of reading the text. Nevertheless, it is possible to say something more about the Decalogue's monumentality by analyzing it in light of the monuments produced in the surrounding cultures. This chapter will argue that the Decalogue was consciously produced and edited to mirror the monument-making practices of the peoples neighboring Israel and Judah in the eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age.

The Exodus Decalogue may have drawn material from other kinds of texts and traditions, but the final form of the text was produced as a textual monument adhering to the monumentalities attested in the eastern Mediterranean during the early Iron Age. First, the text reproduces several of the formulae and themes common to such monuments. Second, it is structured so as to produce the deictic projection upon which such monuments' materialized imagined encounters depended. Third, the text's setting at Sinai specifically reflects the integration and functionality of textual monuments in liminal, peripheral zones. Fourth, within the narrative surrounding the Decalogue, it is ekphrastically connected to stelae, which were typical carriers for such monumental texts. And finally, the people's depicted ritual interactions with the Decalogue and objects similar to it match attested practices of monument activation and manipulation. The convergence of these factors leads to the conclusion that the Decalogue was produced as a textual monument according to common cultural practices of producing

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[573] Ernest Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 59–60.

monuments, even if elements of the text were innovative or drawn from non-monumental contexts.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the specific aspects of the Decalogue's monumentality in Exodus, I offer an original translation of the text in light of its monumentality. This translation will be followed immediately by a commentary on the semantic and rhetorical dimensions of the text to demonstrate and develop initial correspondences. Afterwards, I will address the dimensions of literary-spatial integration, aesthetic amplification, and ritual activation. Finally, I will consider these aspects in concert in order to determine the Decalogue's particular monumentality in this context.

<u>Text and Translation</u>

אָנֹכִי֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ אֲשֶׁ֧ר הוֹצֵאתִ֛יךָ מֵאֶ֥רֶץ מִצְרַ֖יִם מִבֵּ֥ית עֲבָדִֽים

לֹֽא יִהְיֶֽה־לְךָ֛ אֱלֹהִ֥ים אֲחֵרִ֖ים עַל־פָּנָֽיַ

לֹֽא תַֽעֲשֶׂ֨ה־לְךָ֥ פֶ֣סֶל ׀ וְכָל־תְּמוּנָ֡ה אֲשֶׁ֣ר בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם ׀ מִמַּ֡עַל וַֽאֲשֶׁ֣ר בָּאָ֩רֶץ֙ מִתַּ֨חַת וַֽאֲשֶׁ֥ר בַּמַּ֖יִם ׀ מִתַּ֥חַת לָאָֽרֶץ

לֹֽא־תִשְׁתַּחְוֶ֥ה לָהֶ֖ם וְלֹ֣א תָֽעָבְדֵ֑ם כִּ֣י אָֽנֹכִ֞י יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֨יךָ֙ אֵ֣ל קַנָּ֔א פֹּ֠קֵד עֲוֺ֨ן אָבֹ֧ת עַל־בָּנִ֛ים עַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁ֥ים וְעַל־רִבֵּעִ֖ים לְשֹׂנְאָֽיַ

וְעֹ֤שֶׂה חֶ֨סֶד֙ לַֽאֲלָפִ֔ים לְאֹֽהֲבַ֖י וּלְשֹׁמְרֵ֥י מִצְוֺתָֽי

לֹ֥א תִשָּׂ֛א אֶת־שֵֽׁם־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ לַשָּׁ֑וְא כִּ֣י לֹ֤א יְנַקֶּה֙ יְהוָ֔ה אֵ֛ת אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂ֥א אֶת־שְׁמ֖וֹ לַשָּֽׁוְא

זָכ֛וֹר֩ אֶת־י֥וֹם הַשַּׁבָּ֖ת לְקַדְּשֽׁוֹ

שֵׁ֤שֶׁת יָמִים֙ תַּֽעֲבֹ֔ד וְעָשִׂ֖יתָ כָּל־מְלַאכְתֶּֽךָ

וְי֨וֹם֙ הַשְּׁבִיעִ֔י שַׁבָּ֖ת ׀ לַיהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ לֹֽא־תַֽעֲשֶׂ֣ה כָל־מְלָאכָ֡ה אַתָּ֣ה ׀ וּבִנְךָֽ־וּבִתֶּ֣ךָ עַבְדְּךָֽ וַֽאֲמָֽתְךָ֜ וּבְהֶמְתֶּ֗ךָ וְגֵֽרְךָ֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ

כִּ֣י שֵֽׁשֶׁת־יָמִים֩ עָשָׂ֨ה יְהוָ֜ה אֶת־הַשָּׁמַ֣יִם וְאֶת־הָאָ֗רֶץ אֶת־הַיָּם֙ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּ֔ם וַיָּ֖נַח בַּיּ֣וֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִ֑י עַל־כֵּ֗ן בֵּרַ֧ךְ יְהוָ֛ה אֶת־י֥וֹם הַשַּׁבָּ֖ת וַֽיְקַדְּשֵֽׁהוּ

כַּבֵּ֥ד אֶת־אָבִ֖יךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּ֑ךָ לְמַ֨עַן֙ יַֽאֲרִכ֣וּן יָמֶ֔יךָ עַ֚ל הָֽאֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לָֽךְ

לֹ֥א תִּֿרְצָֽח

לֹ֥א תִּֿנְאָֽף

לֹ֥א תִּֿגְנֹֽב

לֹֽא־תַֽעֲנֶ֥ה בְרֵֽעֲךָ֖ עֵ֥ד שָֽׁקֶר

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לֹא תַחְמֹד בֵּית רֵעֶךָ לֹא־תַחְמֹד אֵשֶׁת רֵעֶךָ וְעַבְדּוֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ וְשׁוֹרוֹ וַחֲמֹרוֹ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר לְרֵעֶךָ

20:2 I am Yahweh your God who brought you out from the land of Egypt, from a house of slaves.

3 For you there will be no other god above me.

4 You will not make a cult image for yourself, nor a ritual substitute of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth below, or that is in the water beneath the earth.

5 You will not supplicate by them nor serve them. For I am Yahweh your God, the creator-god[574] who avenges the iniquity of fathers on sons to the third and fourth generations of those that hate me, 6 but who performs kindness to thousands of those that love me and keep my commandments.

7 You will not maliciously erase the name of Yahweh your God, for Yahweh will not acquit the one who erases his name maliciously.

8 Remember the Sabbath-day to consecrate it. 9 Six days you will work and do all your labor, 10 but the seventh day is a Sabbath to Yahweh your God. Do not do any labor, you, your son or your daughter, your manservant or maidservant, or your livestock, or your sojourner who is within your gates. 11 For in six days Yahweh made heaven, earth, the sea, and everything in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore, Yahweh blessed the Sabbath-day and consecrated it.

12 Honor your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that Yahweh your God is giving to you.

13 You will not murder.

14 You will not commit adultery.

15 You will not steal.

16 You will not answer your neighbor with false testimony.

17 You will not usurp your neighbor's household. You will not usurp your neighbor's wife, his manservant, his maidservant, his donkey, or anything that is your neighbor's.

The Semantic Dimension

Nearly every theme encountered in the Decalogue is paralleled by examples from the corpus of Eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions. However, only some clauses match the expected wording of such inscriptions. This suggests that some of the material making up the

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[574] This is not a literal translation but may be a possible word-play on the Canaanite El the Creator. I will explain this translation choice in more detail below.

Decalogue may have originated in a separate context. The composer strategically selected and framed these materials in order to present the Decalogue as a monument. This has already been adduced to a degree by scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the so-called Ur-Dekalog – an earlier stage in the text's compositional history. These reconstructions tend to limit the Decalogue to its bare commandments without justifications or expansions. It has even been argued that the core of the Decalogue originated as a text composed of only the social commands from v. 13 onwards, and that the other material was added to expand upon it.[575] If this is in fact the case, the reframing of these materials with material related to monumental inscriptions in order to produce the Decalogue is all the more striking. This suggests a redactional program marked by the careful juxtaposition of materials to produce an overall effect – namely, the creation of a monumental text.[576]

Editorial Activity and Text Monumentalization

The apparent expansions and reframing of the legal material in the Decalogue are the sections most congruent with Eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions. While the present study is not concerned with a reconstruction of the Decalogue's composition history, this broad observation on the possible original forms of the Decalogue's constituent parts illustrates something fascinating about the text's composition. The composer of the Decalogue apparently took a collection of moral precepts – one which we might reasonably expect to find in a

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[575] Christoph Levin, "Der Dekalog Am Sinai," *Vetus Testamentum* 35, no. 2 (1985): 170–71; Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974), 391, 417–18.

[576] This same sort of literary redactional program has been observed by Stephen Geller more broadly to characterize P as a whole. Whether or not P in particular is responsible for the redaction of the Decalogue, a similar set of methods seems to be at work. Stephen A. Geller, *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible* (London: Routledge, 1996), 66–68.

monumental context – and reframed it with a monumental "I Am" statement, violation clauses

protecting the agent's image and name, ritual instructions for honoring the agent, and promised

rewards should the monument be heeded. Furthermore, the social commands preserved in the

Decalogue – though perhaps originating in a different kind of composition – appear to largely

mirror those known from monumental inscriptions. In short, while many of the elements of the

Decalogue may have been originally composed for another purpose, they appear to have been

edited to better reflect monumental discourse.

Such editorial activity is unsurprising given the use of monumental rhetoric elsewhere to

authorize texts in the Hebrew Bible. The co-option of such rhetoric was likely an outgrowth of

the 'God is king' metaphor and made it possible for the biblical writers to monumentalize their

texts.[577] This was a practice they shared with their neighboring cultures in the broader ancient

Near East, where literary texts could be strategically edited to appear monumental in order to

imbue them with authority. For example, the Legend of Naram-Sin includes the lines:

> Whosoever you are, whether governor or prince or anyone else,
> Whom the god shall call to rule over a kingdom,
> I have made for you a *tupšennu* ("tablet-box" or "casket") and inscribed a *narû* for you,
> And in Cuthah, in E-meslam,
> In the shrine of Nergal I have deposited it for you.
> Read this *narû* and
> Listen to its words.[578]

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[577] For a broad treatment of the 'God is king' metaphor, see especially the volume by Mark Brettler. For the co-option of literary formula in tandem with this, see especially Brettler, *God Is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, 102, 131–33; Flynn, *YHWH Is King: The Development of Divine Kingship in Ancient Israel*; Schniedewind, "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah," 314.

[578] Lines 147-153 of the Cuthaean Legend of Naram-Sin. Adapted from O. R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets: The Cuthaean Legend of Naram Sin," *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955): 107.

By including this sort of admonition, the composer of the legend – as well as its implied author,

Naram-Sin – suggested that the legend is actually the reproduced text of a *narû*, a monument.

This transformed the text into a *narû*; it was functionally indistinguishable from *narû* in the form

of stelae even if it was aesthetically quite different. The fact that the described *narû* in the legend

probably did not exist made no difference. Imagining that the text was that of a *narû* was all that

was necessary to make it so.[579]

The monumentalization of literary texts by co-opting elements of monumental discourse

is even more obvious in the different versions of the Epic of Gilgamesh. The Old Babylonian

version opens with the phrase *šūtur eli šarrī* "Surpassing kings…" that acts as a sort of title for

the literary composition.[580] In the Middle Babylonian version discovered at Ugarit, this opening

was moved further into the prologue and supplemented with accounts of monumental objects and

an inscription. Lines 11-28 of that version of the epic read as follows:

> Steles were set up for him with all his travail…Surpassing any illustrious king, lordly of
> figure, warrior born in Uruk, [butting?] wild bull. Bilgamesh, illustrious, lordly of figure,
> warrior born in Uruk, butting wild bull. Go up, Bilgamesh, on the wall of Uruk, walk
> about, check out the foundations, inspect the brickwork. Open the box (*tupninna*) of
> cedar, release the bronze lock. Pick up the tablet of lapis lazuli and proclaim, saying
> (*umma*): "Is its brickwork not baked? Did the Seven Counselors not lay its foundations?
> One *šār* is city, one *šār* is orchard, one *šār* is clay pit, ½ *šār* is the temple of Ishtar. Three
> *šār* and a half is Uruk."[581]

Here, the traditional opening of the epic is circumscribed with an account of setting up multiple

narû or stelae in this case as well as an admonition to Gilgamesh to discover a foundation

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[579] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 94–95.

[580] Jeffrey H Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 150.

[581] Translation adapted from Andrew George, "The Gilgameš Epic at Ugarit," *Aula Orientalis* 25 (2007): 241–42.

deposit tablet that he must read aloud.[582] The building inscription imagined on this tablet is even

introduced with the phrase *umma*, which was used at the beginning of every monumental

inscription of the Hittites to the north of Ugarit. As a result of this reframing, the epic is imbued

with authority by association with imagined monumental objects in the text – multiple stelae and

a foundation deposit complete with inscription. This reframing is remarkably similar to the

depiction of multiple stelae alongside the Decalogue in Exodus to be discussed below. Most

notably, the epic now derives some of its authority from the full reproduction of an imaginary

monumental inscription within the text.

The transformation of the Epic of Gilgamesh during the Neo-Assyrian period is even

more impressive. Lines 10-30 of the Late Version of the epic read as follows:

> He set down on a *narû* all (his) travail. He built the wall of Uruk-the-Sheepfold, of holy
> Eanna, the pure storehouse. See its wall with gleam like bronze, gaze at its parapet which
> nobody can replicate! Grasp the threshold, there of old, draw near to Eanna, the seat of
> Ištar, that no later king can replicate. Not one. Go up on to the wall of Uruk and walk
> about, inspect the substructure, scrutinize the brickwork – if the brickwork is not baked,
> (and if) the Seven Counselors not lay its foundations! [One *šār* is] city, [one *šār*] date-
> grove, one *šār* is clay-pit, half a *šār* the temple of Ištar: [three *šār*] and a half (is) Uruk,
> (its) measurement. [Open] the *tupšenna* ("tablet-box") of cedar; [Release] its clasps of
> bronze! [Open] the lid, with its secret; [pick up] the tablet of lapis lazuli and read out
> whatever Gilgamesh went through, all the misfortunes! Supreme over all kings,
> illustrious, lordly of figure, brave native of Uruk, butting wild bull![583]

There are several important changes to notice here. What was once understood as the fictitious

inscription on a foundation deposit tablet is recast as part of a lengthy ekphrasitic description of

Uruk. The admonition at the end of this ekphrasis is no longer targeted at Gilgamesh, but rather

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[582] Sara J. Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 129–33.

[583] Translation adapted from Andrew George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 540–43.

the reader. The multiple stelae have disappeared and the travails of Gilgamesh are now inscribed on a single *narû*, which is in fact indistinguishable from the tablet of lapis lazuli imaginatively discovered by the reader.[584] Finally, the command to read out is immediately followed by the traditional opening of the epic, implying that the entirety of the epic to follow is what was written on the tablet.[585] In short, much like the Legend of Naram-Sin, this prologue recasts the entire epic as the contents of a *narû*.[586] It is now a monumental text and therefore more authoritative than any version before it.

Editors of biblical texts occasionally used similar strategic framing to authorize – perhaps even monumentalize – their materials. For example, the Deuteronomists strategically employed elements of rhetoric drawn from monumental texts such as *adê*. Bernard Levinson argues that what he refers to as the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1 was drawn from the Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon. Even if his identification of a source may be too specific, his identification of the Canon Formula with the sort of monumental rhetoric used in the *adê* is highly likely. This language was used to transform the text of Deuteronomy into an authoritative object of interpretation that would not easily allow revision.[587] The Deuteronomists thus employed monumental rhetoric in order to authorize the text.

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[584] William L. Moran, "The Gilgamesh Epic: A Masterpiece from Ancient Mesopotamia," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 4 (1995): 2331.

[585] Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 144–46; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 133–34.

[586] Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 140–46; Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 92–98.

[587] Bernard M. Levinson, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as the Source for the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130, no. 3 (2010): 337–47.

Similarly, many prophetic texts are framed by what has previously been labeled the Royal Messenger formula – "Thus says…" As discussed in chapter 2, this was actually at times employed as a monumentalization formula. For example, it opened almost every royal inscription of the Hittite kings, monumentalizing their reported speech. Though he does not use the term 'monumentalization,' William Schniedewind has essentially argued that the formula accomplished a similar function in the Hebrew Bible. According to Schniedewind, the formula facilitated the 'nascent scripturalization' of the texts it framed.[588] In other words, it rendered them divinely authorized messages.[589] As a result, such texts would attract interpretation and be readily applied to the end of social formation. In this case, 'nascent scripturalization' and the monumentalization of the text are fundamentally the same process, though they may emphasize slightly different aspects of the text's transformation.[590] I propose that a similar process was involved in the production of the Decalogue in Exodus, which will better be adduced through a clause by clause analysis of the text as it relates to monumental discourse.

Commands Without Narrative

Before proceeding into a clause by clause analysis of the Decalogue's content, some general remarks can be made about its semantic content as a whole in relation to eastern

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[588] Schniedewind, "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah," 314–15.

[589] Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 100–102.

[590] According to Schniedewind, the co-option of the royal messenger formula highlights that a key aspect of nascent Scripturalization was "the endowment of divine authority to writing." Schniedewind, "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah," 315. I argue that the co-option of the same formula for the purpose of monumentalization was for the purpose of transforming the text into an object of communal interpretation. These are ultimately two parts of the same overall process.

Mediterranean monumental inscriptions. What is most conspicuous about the Decalogue in comparison to other monumental texts is its near total lack of narrative material. The text consists almost entirely of commands with only some narrative information interspersed to justify them. Furthermore, the Decalogue's commands are almost entirely rendered in the second-person. These features may represent elements of the Decalogue's prehistory in other forms, and they certainly represent a measure of innovation on the part of the composer. However, none of these features is unique if the Decalogue is set against the corpus of eastern Mediterranean monuments analyzed in the previous chapter.

As to the Decalogue's lack of narrative and especially battle narrative, it is thus aligned with both early examples of royal monumental texts as well as later non-royal emulations of the same. Most of the Northwest Semitic exemplars are examples of the latter. The Katumuwa Stele (late 8th century) and the Neirab stelae (7th century) are emulations by non-royal elites, so rather than justifying themselves as warriors as would kings, they give a basic account of their election by either their overlord or god and proceed directly into injunctions concerning the monument. The same is true of the late Yehawmilk Stele (5th century) and to a lesser extent the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (6th century), which give a brief building account before proceeding into injunctions. We should also consider the 8th century inscriptions from Zincirli. The Hadad Inscription (mid-8th century) has a long narrative section but spends more than half of its content relating injunctions. Also, the motif of king as warrior never appears. This motif is also lacking from the Bar-Rakib Palace Inscriptions (late 8th century). These examples demonstrate that these

monuments do not require narrative material and do not universally present an ideology of king as warrior.[591]

In addition to the relatively late Northwest Semitic examples of inscriptions with little narrative, we should also consider the earlier Hieroglyphic Luwian examples. Like the Northwest Semitic exemplars, non-royal emulations and post-Tiglath Pileser III royal monuments lack the motif of king as warrior and therefore have relatively short narrative components. But this is also true of many of the earliest Iron Age hieroglyphic monuments. The motif of king as warrior is lacking from ALEPPO 6 (11th century), İSPEKÇÜR (late 11th-10th century), DARENDE (late 11th-10th century), IZGIN (late 11th-10th century), MARAŞ 8 (early 10th century), KARKAMIŠ A1b (10th century), KELEKLİ (10th century), KARKAMIŠ A14a (10th century), KARKAMIŠ A14b (10th century), TELL AHMAR 5 (late 10th century), BABYLON 1 (late 10th-9th century), ALEPPO 2 (late 10th-9th century), BOROWSKI 3 (late 10th-9th century), TELL AHMAR 2 (late 10th-9th century), KARKAMIŠ A2+3 (late 10th-9th century), KARKAMIŠ A13d (late 10th-9th century), RESTAN (mid-9th century) and its duplicates,[592] HAMA 1 (mid-9th century) and its duplicates,[593] HAMA 4 (mid-9th century), MARAŞ 14 (8th century), PALANGA (8th century), SULTANHAN (mid-8th century), KULULU 1-2 (mid-8th century), and ADANA 1 (late 8th century). This motif appeared for the first time at the end of the 10th century in eastern

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[591] Contra Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 289. Green's assertion that "the same adversarial worldview" as that of the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions "profoundly shapes the narration of a king's achievements in the West Semitic inscriptions" is certainly true of some inscriptions, but this may be evidence of a phase of eastern Mediterranean monumentality that was responding to Neo-Assyrian ideology.

[592] QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, TALL ŠṬĪB, and HINES.

[593] HAMA 2, HAMA 3, HAMA 6, and HAMA 7.

Mediterranean monumental rhetoric, but it did not become standard until the late 9th century,

when these monuments began to be rendered in Northwest Semitic dialects.[594] This may be a

shift in monumentality that occurred after the incursion of Shalmaneser III into the region.[595] Of

the inscriptions listed above, ALEPPO 6, KARKAMIŠ A1b, KARKAMIŠ A14b, and

KARKAMIŠ A13d proceed from a short introduction of the agent directly into injunctions.[596]

These inscriptions demonstrate that battle narratives were not necessarily required by eastern

Mediterranean monuments throughout their history and formats with almost no narrative are

attested. However, as far as suggesting an earlier or later date for the Decalogue's

monumentality, this data must be combined with more specific considerations of the

Decalogue's content to be taken up below.

Apart from the Decalogue's lack of narrative, we must also deal with its formulation of

injunctions in the second person. This may represent the incorporation of material from earlier

traditions by the text's composer, but the fact that these appear in the second person in the final

form of the Decalogue must still be addressed. This form of injunction was previously labeled

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[594] For late 10th century examples, see ARSUZ 1, ARSUZ 2, and TELL AHMAR 1.

[595] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 120–22. Sanders argument is specifically in reference to West Semitic monumental inscriptions, but the same has been suggested for Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. Melchert, Craig, Personal correspondence.

[596] In addition to these, a number of inscriptions divide roughly in half with half or more of the inscription devoted to injunctions. This is true of ALEPPO 2 (§13-26 are injunctions), TELL AHMAR 5 (§12-24), KARKAMIŠ A11a (§11-27), KARKAMIŠ A2+3 (§10-24), MARAŞ 14 (§5-14), PALANGA (§5-13), KULULU 1 (§7-16), SHEIZAR (§5-7), KULULU 2 (§5-7), SULTANHAN (§16-51), and ADANA 1 (§5-7). Even some inscriptions that include brief uses of the motif of king as warrior still spend most of their space on injunctions, such as KARKAMIŠ A11b+c (§18-34) and KÖRKÜN (§7-11). These all suggest that devoting most of a monument to injunctions was a perfectly acceptable form and in fact may have been the most common structure for such inscriptions during the earlier period.

'apodictic law' and explained via connection to ancient Near Eastern treaty stipulations.[597]

However, Dennis McCarthy soundly demonstrated that there was little connection between the injunctions of the Decalogue and the stipulations of ancient Near Eastern treaties.[598] His argument was strengthened by Erhard Gerstenberger, who connected such commands to what he called "rules for social conduct" outlined in wisdom literature. Specifically, Gerstenberger makes reference to the teaching of Amenemope and Ani, the counsels given to Merikare, the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead, and the incantation series Šurpu.[599] Gerstenberger was working within a different theoretical framework, so he did not note that these are nearly all monumental

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[597] Alt, "Die Ursprünge Des Israelitischen Rechts"; Mendenhall, "Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East"; Beyerlin, *Herkunft Und Geschichte Der Ältesten Sinaitraditionen*; Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Origins of Biblical Israel*, 136–41.

[598] McCarthy noted that though there are some examples of second-person commands in Hittite treaties, these are mostly limited to the treaties in Asia Minor and are much rarer in the treaties with polities in Syria. Furthermore, most of the examples of the second-person stipulations occur in treaties made with relatives of the royal family, in which such intimate language may have been more justified. There is thus no clear arc of transmission from the Hittite material to the Decalogue. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 35–37. Similarly, it should be noted that stipulations in the later Neo-Assyrian treaties were mostly formulated as protases in the second person with an apodosis at the end of the treaty specifying a curse. Only one injunction is formulated differently in the Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon – the command that vassals ensure the succession of the crown-prince in lines 283-301. Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," 45.

[599] Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," 46–51.

texts as defined in the present study.[600] To these comparatives, we may now add the injunctions of eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions.[601]

Though injunctions in the second person were not the most common form of injunction in eastern Mediterranean monuments, this innovation was not unique to the Decalogue. The injunctions in the Tabnit Sarcophagus Inscription (5th century) are second-person commands of the form ʿl + prohibitive.[602] Before this, the Yehawmilk Stele (6th century) expressed injunctions as conditionals in the second person indicative.[603] Even earlier, the Neirab stelae (7th century)

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[600] The instructional texts may be literaturizations of monumental inscriptions from Egyptian tombs. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 53. Similarly, the Book of the Dead was a literaturization of the monumental inscriptions labeled the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts. Peter F. Dorman, "The Origins and Early Development of the Book of the Dead," in *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Foy Scalf, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), 29.

While the Šurpu incantations are not monumental, they assume the same embodiment of presence and agency on a smaller scale as that produced by Mesopotamian monuments. In particular, they are replete with ritual instructions for the manipulation of substitutionary objects. Walter Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East 3* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 1898; Herring, "A 'Transubstantiated' Humanity: The Relationship between the Divine Image and the Presence of God in Genesis I 26f," 488 n. 440.

It is also important to note that works like the Egyptian instructional texts and the Mesopotamian incantation series were frequently used as school texts in scribal education. This made them particularly attractive for scribal adaptation in other contexts. The Teaching of Amenemope in particular has been recognized as the source for much of the material in the book of Proverbs, which – if Gary Rendsburg's and other scholars translation of Prov 22:19 is correct – even explicitly cites that source. Gary A. Rendsburg, "Literary and Linguistic Matters in the Book of Proverbs," in *Perspectives on Israelite Wisdom: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Jarick, The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 618 (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016), 128–29.

[601] As will be seen below, this comparison will also solve a major issue in Gerstenberger's hypothesis. His comparison cannot account for the pairing of cultic and social commands, which he explains instead through speculative historical reconstruction. Gerstenberger, "Covenant and Commandment," 51.

[602] Lines 3 and following.

[603] Lines 13-16.

attest injunctions in the second person indicative functioning as a conditional.[604] Still earlier, second person imperatives appear in the Mesha Stele and the Zakkur Inscription (both 9th century).[605] In Hieroglyphic Luwian, negative commands are usually stated as negative indicatives and mostly in the third person.[606] There are, however, some examples of second person prohibitives as well as positive commands. TELL AHMAR 5 (late 10th-9th century), TELL AHMAR 6 (late 10th-9th century), ISKENDURUN (9th century), and KARKAMIŠ A18a (8th century) all have injunctions in the second person. Such injunctions are possible to reconstruct in PORTOROO (late 9th century), MARAŞ 14 (late 9th-8th century), ARSLANTAŞ (8th century), HİSARCIK 1 (8th century), PALANGA (8th century), BOYBEYPINARI 2 (8th century), and SULTANHAN (8th century). What these examples demonstrate is that injunctions were not necessarily standardized in monumental discourse in the eastern Mediterranean. While injunctions in the third-person were arguably the norm, commands in the second person were attested throughout the history of eastern Mediterranean monuments.

Another piece of data must be considered in connection to the Decalogue's second person commands. While the injunctions of agents are not consistently rendered in the second person, the commands of deities are. Where divine speech is recorded in the corpus of eastern Mediterranean inscriptions, commands are always rendered in the second person. This is true of

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[604] KAI 225:5-14, KAI 226:8-10.

[605] KAI 181:14, 24, 32; KAI 202:A13.

[606] Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts (2nd Revised Edition)*, 38–39; J. David Hawkins, "The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian," *Anatolian Studies* 25 (December 1975): 123, https://doi.org/10.2307/3642579.

the Mesha Stele, the Zakkur Inscription, TELL AHMAR 5, TELL AHMAR 6, and potentially

BOYBEYPINARI 2. This likely served to demonstrate the nearness of the agent to the divine.[607]

Since the most innovative aspect of the Decalogue is that the producers have made Yahweh into

an agent, it may be possible that the commands are rendered in the second-person because that

was the standard way to represent divine speech in monumental inscriptions. When a deity

became agent – an innovation of which the Decalogue is the sole example – his speech

necessarily had to be rendered entirely in the form of commands almost exclusively in the

second-person.

Exodus 20:1 and Direct Speech

Exodus 20 begins with a brief introductory verse ending with the quotative particle *lʾmr*

indicating that verses 2 and following should be understood as an independent text recounting

the direct speech of Yahweh.[608] As discussed in the previous two chapters, direct speech was

part-and-parcel of monumental rhetoric.[609] Relating a monumental text as if it were direct speech

was an essential part of how the text functioned as a monument. It is also invariably connected to

the monumental form in the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, by suggesting that the words to

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[607] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 167.

[608] The quotative particle of v. 1 recalls the use of quotative particles in every clause of Hieroglyphic Luwian monumental inscriptions. It is also parallel to the introduction of monuments with *UMMA* in Hittite practice, as has been observed elsewhere. It must be stressed that this parallel is incidental, however, and not actually derived from Hittite practice. Rather, as both the monumental discourse of the Hittites and that in evidence in the Hebrew Bible understood monumental texts as direct speech, both could be realized with an introduction explicitly marking the text as a quote.

[609] Jon Levenson previously argued that direct speech in this instance aligns the text with ancient West Asian royal rhetoric, but he made no connection to monumental texts in particular. See Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis, Chicago, New York: Winston Press, 1985), 28.

follow are the direct speech of Yahweh and implying that they were spoken to the community –

a feature of the text which is made explicit later – verse 1 in a sense announces that the

Decalogue should be taken as a monumental text.

The direct address is even more significant because the Decalogue is the sole example of

Yahweh addressing the people at large in the Hebrew Bible.[610] The narrative material framing

the Decalogue – in particular Ex 19:19-25 and 20:15-18 draw special attention to the directness

of this address and the affect it had on the people. Some interpretations even suggest that this

direct address was so terrible or otherwise amazing that the people could not even hear the words

but rather only thunder.[611] Mediating against this reading, we should note that Ex 20:1 merely

reports that Yahweh spoke, and not that he told Moses to repeat a message to the Israelites as in

every other instance of communication between God and Israel in Exodus. All other revelation

prior to the Decalogue within the Bible's internal narrative and all revelation subsequent to it

was delivered by means of a mediator. The Decalogue in Exodus is thus the singular example of

a collectively received address from Yahweh. Even if the words of that address were not

understood by the people, it still affected them as the direct speech of Yahweh – much as would

an ideal "I Am" monument even if it could not be read. It is only natural that such an address

would be taken as monumental in textual form.

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[610] Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 48.

[611] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 351–60; Arie Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 136; Jacob Licht, "The Sinai Theophany," in *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Y. Avishur and J. Blau (Jerusalem: Rubenstein, 1978), 266–67; Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 163; Benjamin D. Sommer, "Revelation at Sinai in the Hebrew Bible and in Jewish Theology," *The Journal of Religion* 79, no. 3 (1999): 428–32.

It is clear from the version of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy and allusions to the Decalogue elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible that do not reproduce v. 1 that it is to be understood as separate from the text of the Decalogue.[612] This point is important to emphasize because it highlights that the Decalogue may be studied as a discreet text. This is in part indicated by the use of perceptual and compositional deixis in vv. 1-2.[613] Exodus 20:1 prepares the reader to project into a new level of text. The verse implies a perceptual deictic shift from the vantage point of the narrator to the point of view of Yahweh, who will be speaking. It also implies a compositional deictic shift by noting that Yahweh spoke the words to follow, implying to the audience that a new type of text is about to begin with an orientation towards orality. The key function of the first verse is thus to embed the encounter with the Decalogue as a monument into a literary context. To read an inscription requires that the users project themselves out of the real world and into the virtual world of the text. The readers of Exodus – as a literary work – would already be projected into a text world. This introductory verse allows them to project into a deeper level of text – the text world of the monument.[614]

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[612] Levin, "Der Dekalog Am Sinai," 187.

[613] There is a shift in perceptual deixis from a narrator describing Yahweh's speech in the third person in v. 1 to the perspective of Yahweh speaking in the first person in v. 2. Simultaneously, the introduction of direct speech in v. 1 prepares the audience for a new type of text in v. 2, which opens with a typical formula of monumental inscriptions. In Stockwell's terms, this formula is an element of compositional deixis, and it indicates to the audience that they should reorient themselves to the text to follow based on texts of similar compositional patterns – namely, monumental inscriptions. For more on this type of deixis, see Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 45–46.

[614] I have derived the term 'text world' from the work of Stockwell. This term is preferable to Green's use of 'narrative world' to describe the perception embodied by monumental texts because not all monuments include narrative. The creation of a text world, by contrast, can be accomplished by as simply an operation as provoking the audience to imagine an "I" separate from themselves in the opening of the text. Stockwell, 47.

The "I Am" Statement (Ex 20:2)

The first verse of the Decalogue is the strongest indication that it is to be understood as a

monumental text. The relationship between the Decalogue's "I (am)" formula and the regular

introductory phrase for the class of eastern Mediterranean monuments discussed in the previous

chapter has already been noted by previous scholarship.[615] What has gone unstated is that such a

phrase as the introduction to a text occurs in no context apart from monumental inscriptions, at

least in current evidence. The only literary example of such an introduction apart from the

Decalogue is the Hittite example from KBo 12.38. Like the Decalogue, the section beginning

with "I (am)" in KBo 12.38 in lines 22 and following is understood as an independent text that

has been inserted into the broader narrative.[616] Furthermore, it has been argued that the text in

KBo 12.38 is the reproduction of a royal monument.[617] The use of the "I (am)" formula is a

textual compositional deictic shift. That is, because this formula is used in no other context than

monumental compositions, it implies to the readers that they are to set the Decalogue against this

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[615] Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*, 53–57; Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 76, 241; Sarna, *Exodus Commentary*, 15, 109; Aaron Demsky, "The Interface of Oral and Written Traditions in Ancient Israel: The Case of the Abecedaries," in *Origins of the Alphabet: Proceedings of the First Polis Institute Interdisciplinary Conference*, ed. Christophe Rico and Claudia Attucci (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 21.

[616] Following a double line on the tablet indicating the start of a new text, line 22-3 read: *ú-uk-za* ᵈUTU-*ŠI Ta-bar-na-aš* ᵐKÙ.GA.[TÚ]L-*aš* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ᵘʳᵘ[*Ḫa*]*t-ti* "I am My Sun, the Tabarna Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, king of Hatti." Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 76–78.

[617] This example is considered a reproduction and not an adaptation, because the monument it reproduces has actually been discovered in the form of the rock inscription NIŞANTAŞ. Güterbock, 81.

This situation is almost exactly parallel to the Decalogue, though I must hasten to stress that this is not evidence that the editors of the book of Exodus learned this mode of insertion from the Hittites. Rather, the attestation of a parallel practice elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean lends credence to the possibility that the same development could occur in the Hebrew Bible.

body of literature even if other elements of the text do not appear to line up. This is a sign-posting device, and – along with other such formulae in the Decalogue – it announces to the reader that the Decalogue is to be imagined as a monumental inscription.[618] It was of paramount importance that the Decalogue begin in this way. More than any other clause, the "I Am" formula aligns the Decalogue with monumental rhetoric and creates the expectation that the text it introduces is monumental.

Just as in other eastern Mediterranean monumental texts, the Decalogue opens with the first-person pronoun followed by the agent's name and title. The Decalogue departs from convention only by personalizing Yahweh's title with a second-person possessive suffix. The Decalogue also lacks any genealogy as might be expected. This is not simply a suggestion that Yahweh has no genealogy to relate but rather that he is legitimated as an agent by other means. Similar to Zakkur's "I Am" statement in KAI 202:2 or those of Yariris in all of his inscriptions, Yahweh is legitimated by his actions rather than his ancestry.[619] His "I Am" statement thus concludes with a relative clause relating his salvation of the people from Egypt and their bondage there.

As in other monumental texts, the "I Am" formula centered the Decalogue – specifying that Yahweh was the ideological center around which the rest of the text revolved. In personal deictic terms, he was the defining example of the Decalogue's expressed ideology, the key figure

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[618] Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 44–46.

[619] For Yariris, see especially KARKAMIŠ A6, in which the agent provides no genealogy but instead an extensive justification for his reign on the basis of being "reputed from the West and the East," "beloved by the gods," and righteous. This was necessary because Yariris was only the steward of Carchemish, who ruled until the rightful heir Kamanis was of age. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:124.

in its brief expression of history, and the legitimated proposer of a new identity.[620] In addition,

the "I Am" formula is the first semantic element of the text that accomplishes Yahweh's

manifestation by initiating deictic projection.[621] By opening his address with "I," Yahweh

gestures to himself in the text world, provoking the users to imagine him standing before

them.[622] This is because the "I" of his statement – as a deictic reference – cannot be understood

without a concrete referent in the thought-world of the addressee(s). This activated an imagined

encounter with him in the minds of the monument's users, who were thus provoked to imagine

Yahweh addressing them.[623] It is a clause designed to manifest the presence and agency of an

agent that has here been adapted to accomplish the same thing for Yahweh.

The Decalogue's "I Am" statement is innovative one very significant respect already

alluded to – it is personalized. Yahweh's title is "your God" and his defining action is that he

"brought you out from the land of Egypt." The users thus do not merely imagine Yahweh

speaking to them, but also themselves being addressed. This relational address in the second

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[620] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 318.

[621] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[622] See Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones"; Houston and Stuart, "The Ancient Maya Self," 88.

[623] Zilmer, "Viking Age Rune Stones in Scandinavia," 152; Zilmer, "Deictic References in Runic Inscriptions on Voyage Runestones," 138; Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 114; Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 35.

It is worth noting in connection to this argument that Dennis McCarthy correctly adduced that the Decalogue was more closely connected to a theophany than a covenant. The opening "I (am)" formula in combination with other elements of the text was primarily meant to embody and manifest Yahweh and only secondarily to establish a relationship between him and the people. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 163–67.

person served to blend the deictic centers of Yahweh at "I" and the people at "you(r)."[624] The implication already from this personalized origo is that the users are not just being proffered Yahweh's perspective through his monumental text. They have been intimately projected into the same interactive space with him, and they must thus imaginatively construe the remainder of the text as not only Yahweh's perspective but as theirs as well. Such a process was always a potential result of the deictic projection effected by such inscriptions. The Decalogue innovates on this potential by activating the full projection within the "I Am" statement itself.

The Monolatry Commandment (Ex 20:3)

The next verse in the Decalogue demands a recognition of Yahweh's superiority over any other gods. In this, it resembles monumental rhetoric centered on the removal or defamation of rival claimants to power, especially vague references to other 'kings.'[625] In the case of the Decalogue, the first line had already made use of the motif of the king as victor by referencing the defeat of the Egyptians.[626] This recalls Yahweh's overcoming of his primary rival in Exodus – the Pharaoh.[627] V. 3 ensures that no more rivals will rise to challenge him. There his people are forbidden from having any ʾlhym ʾḥrym "other gods" or any that might usurp Yahweh's claim to

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[624] Herman, "Deictic Projection and Conceptual Blending in Epistolarity," 529–30.

[625] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 287 n. 8.

[626] Green, 290; Moshe Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2013), 11.

[627] The theme of conflict with Pharaoh has been explored by various scholars. For a consideration of how it influenced the structure of Exodus, see Erhard Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, Beiheft Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 189 (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 9–17; Mark S. Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1996): 25–50.

that title. In monumental inscriptions, potential rivals most often bear the same title as the individual identified in the "I Am" statement (usually "king").[628] Monumental rhetoric typically required that all of these rivals be somehow eliminated or humiliated.[629] For example, in line 6 of the Tel Dan Inscription (KAI 310), Hazael claims somewhat generically to have slain *ml*[*kn rbr*]*b̊n* "mighty kings,"[630] meaning that he has removed all of his rivals.[631] Similarly, in KAI 202 A:14, Zakkur's god promises him אחצלך מן כל מלכיא אל "I will deliver you from all these kings." Ex. 20:3's reference to "other gods" likely replicates vague references like these to rival claimants to power.

The defamation of rivals is usually encountered in monumental inscriptions in the form of legitimating narrative, so its expression here as a command is somewhat unusual. This may suggest that this clause originated elsewhere and was placed in the Decalogue because of its

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[628] For generic negative references to rival kings see Kulamuwa (KAI 24:5-7); Azatiwada (KAI 26 A.I:12, 19, A.III:4, 6-7, 19); Mesha (KAI 181:4-5, 10, 18); Zakkur (KAI 202 A:4-7, 9, 14, 16). Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 287.

[629] Matthew Suriano, "The Apology of Hazael: A Literary and Historical Analysis of the Tel Dan Inscription," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66, no. 3 (July 2007): 172.

[630] The original publication by Biran and Naveh reconstructed this as *ml*[*kn šb*] *ʿn* "seventy kings," P.-E. Dion proposes instead the form *mlkn rbrbn* "mighty kings." This would exactly parallel the phrase in line 10 of the Bar-rakib Palace Inscription (KAI 216), whereas *mlkn šb ʿn* "seventy kings" is otherwise an unattested trope. Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," 16; P. E. Dion, "The Tel Dan Stele and Its Historical Significance," in *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies. FS Prof. Michael Heltzer*, ed. Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 148; Erhard Blum, "The Relations between Aram and Israel in the 9th and 8th Centuries BCE: The Textual Evidence," in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture, and Identity*, ed. Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster, Oriental Religions in Antiquity 20 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 38–39, https://www.academia.edu/35248158/The_Relations_between_Aram_and_Israel_in_the_9th_and_8th_Centuries_BCE_The_Textual_Evidence.

[631] Suriano, "The Apology of Hazael: A Literary and Historical Analysis of the Tel Dan Inscription," July 2007, 167–68.

thematic connections to monumental rhetoric. However, there are some commands for recognition to this effect in the corpus of eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions, and that rhetoric may have further motivated the inclusion of this clause. For example, KARKAMIŠ A17b §3 preserves the third person injunction |*za-ha-wa/i* DEUS-*ni*-[*na*] |*i-zi-i-sa-ta-tú-u* "let him honor this god."[632] The command here is admittedly not targeted at the agent, but the direct injunction to recognize one of the primary ritual participants of the monument – the deity – is nonetheless an interesting parallel. Another possible parallel may be found in TELL AHMAR 5 §12, which reads: |SUPER+*ra/i-a-wa/i-ta* |SA$_4$(-)*li-li-ia-wa/i-na-´* |VAS-*tara/i-i-na* BONUS-*li-ia-nu-wa/i* "cause to exalt high the person."[633] This clause clearly has in mind recognition and the verb may be a second person imperative, but the line is too poorly preserved to definitely say that this is a command.[634] In a similar broken context, KAI 215:22-23 seems to include an injunction to recognize Panamuwa *qdm ʾlhy wqdm ʾnš* "before gods and men," but the verb is not preserved. This data cannot definitively show a class of commands for recognition that the Decalogue was imitating, but they at the very least demonstrate that recognition could be demanded in the form of an injunction. If the Decalogue's command is an innovation or drawn from a different context, it is not entirely unusual when set alongside monumental inscriptions.

The command in v. 3 can replace the expected narratives of enemy humiliation because of the wealth of deictic references it provides. These orient the users to the perspective of the

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[632] Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:176.

[633] Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, Volume I:232.

[634] Hawkins, Volume I:233.

Decalogue. The verb is the only command explicitly formed in the third person, suggesting greater distance from the speaker than any other command. On the other hand, the specified "for you" reveals the target of this and all of the commandments and also creates a special sense of intimacy between the users and Yahweh. The actual subjects of the verb are the "other gods." "Other" may be read here as a negative evaluation on the part of Yahweh and thus acts as a form of relational deixis. This is confirmed by the spatial deictic element that closes this commandment "above me." By denying any right to other gods to be above him, Yahweh implies that he is in fact above them. Cumulatively, these elements provide a perspective to the users that sees Yahweh as supreme over other deities, whom the users are commanded to view negatively just as Yahweh views them. Thus, in just this brief command, Yahweh has accomplished everything that a battle narrative accomplished in other monumental inscriptions. This transformation of monumental rhetoric into command is one of the key innovations of the Decalogue; it is only partially realized this way in other monumental texts.

As for the translation of ʿl pny as "above me," I take it to be the natural sense of the word in this context. The meaning of this preposition has been much discussed by previous scholarship and only a few summary comments are necessary here.[635] The traditional translation "before me" is not precisely helpful for elucidating the meaning. Modern translations of "besides me," "in my presence," and "before my face" are unjustified and anachronistic. "Besides me" assumes that the commandment is a statement of monotheism, which is not the intent here.[636] The translation

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[635]*HALOT*, s.v. "פָּנֶה," 3:943-944.

[636] Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 150–53.

"in my presence" typically assumes a reference to idols in this commandment, which requires the retrojection of later idolatry polemics into the Decalogue.[637] "Before my face" is a near impossibility resulting from a double translation of *pny*, which would require emending the text to *lpny pny* or *ʾl-pny pny* or some other such formulation. Against these proposals, "above me" highlights that the command intends the removal of rival claimants to Yahweh's position.[638]

The reading above is confirmed by the Decalogue's connection to monumental rhetoric, answering Childs' challenge of how "to explain the delineation of God's claim on Israel in negative terms against other gods," especially from a form-critical perspective.[639] By co-opting the language of royal monumental inscriptions, the Decalogue assumes not only the deity but also the kingship of Yahweh – a kingship which is literarily rendered in terms usually relegated to human kings. Just as human kings used their monumental inscriptions to humiliate or otherwise subsume other kings to their overwhelming authority, so too Yahweh must disavow other gods who might claim his divine kingship. Monumental inscriptions typically express rule over individuals and regions using the preposition "above." This appears multiple times in both Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. Perhaps the closest parallel to the prepositional description of preeminence in the Decalogue is in the Azatiwada inscription, in which one of the blessings requested by the agent from the gods is *ʿz ʾdr ʿl kl mlk* "great power

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[637] Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 259–61.

[638] Walter Eichordt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, trans. J. A. Baker, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), 222; Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 402–4.

[639] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 404.

over every king." The Luwian parallels of this phrase shed even more light on the trope. It is

once rendered as *pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu* OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* || ⟨*pihas-sa tanimanza*⟩ REX-*za*

SUPER+*ra/i-ta* "let them give him all victory over all kings,"[640] highlighting the connection

between this theme and warfare. The other Luwian parallel of the Phoenician phrase is even

more striking given the phrasing in the Decalogue. It reads SUPER+*ra/i-li-há-wa/i-sá* |FRONS-

la/i/u-sá i-zi-ia+ra/i-ru |OMNIS-*MI-ma-za* REX-*ta-za* "let him be made highly preeminent over

all kings."[641] Azatiwada's preeminence is here describe with two prepositions, one denoting

relative height ("highly," "above" or "over") and the other denoting relative order ("before,"

"foremost," or "first"). This pairing of prepositions to describe preeminence over rivals may

provide an exact parallel to the clause in the Decalogue.[642]

<u>The Image Commandment (Ex 20:4-6)</u>

The first true commandment in the second person in the Decalogue has given literary

critics and grammarians alike considerable difficulty. The phrase *lʾ tʿśh* "you will not make" is

straightforward, but the addition of *lk* is difficult to parse. This appears to be a prepositional

phrase acting as a sort of dative-reflexive pronoun "for yourself," but such a use for *l-* is quite

unusual in Hebrew. A construction in which a negative injunction is followed by *l-* and a

pronominal suffix that matches the subject of the verb occurs only 11 times in the Hebrew

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[640] KARATEPE 1 Hu. §LII. Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:55.

[641] KARATEPE 1 Hu. §L. Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, Volume I:55.

[642] Ilya Yakubovich analyzes the paired prepositions in this passage as a superlative "foremost," in which case it would not semantically parallel Ex. 20:3 but it does become an even closer thematic parallel. Ilya Yakubovich, "The Degree of Comparison in Luwian," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 118 (2013): 156–58.

Bible.[643] In 10 of these examples, the object is a cult object and the verb is one of creation or erection.[644] The most convincing solution has been to label this "the centripetal *lamedh*" – a use of *l-* that emphasizes the subject's agency more than the bare verbal phrase would alone.[645] Yoshiyuki Muchiki has added that in a negative context this usage of *l-* also emphasizes the forbidden action more than its object.[646] These observations are helpful in disambiguating this phrase in the Decalogue, but why is this usage of *l-* so rarely attested and in so specific a context? And where did it come from? Monumental discourse may provide the answer.

In fact, the use of centripetal *lamedh* to describe monument creation probably entered Northwest Semitic dialects as a calque of a Hieroglyphic Luwian expression for the same activity. This emphatically declared the subject's agency in monumentalization. The creation of a monument was an act of some hubris, and the agent typically claims sole agency in this act even though the actual commissioner of the object probably had nothing to do with its crafting. In Hieroglyphic Luwian, the bombastic agency of the agent is typically claimed by means of an additional reflexive pronoun. In Karkamišean inscriptions, for example, this is typically realized by the verb *izi(ya)-* "to make" + a dative-reflexive (usually *-mu* or *-mi* since this action is almost

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[643] Ex 20:4/Deut 5:8 (*lʾ tʿśh lk psl (w)kl-tmwnh*); Ex 20:23 (*ʾlhy zhb lʾ tʿśw lkm*); Ex 30:37 (*hqṭrt...lʾ tʿśw lkm*); Ex 34:17 (*ʾlhy mskh lʾ tʿśh-lk*); Lev 19:4 (*ʾlhy mskh lʾ tʿśw lkm*); Lev 26:1a (*lʾ-tʿśw lkm ʾllym*); Lev 26:1b (*wpsl wmṣbh lʾ-tqymw* lkm); Num 16:21 (*lʾ-tṭʿ lk ʾśrh*); Num 16:22 (*lʾ-tqym lk mṣbh*); Jer 16:2 (*lʾ-tqḥ lk ʾšh*).

[644] Only Jer 16:2 does not concern monument creation or erection. Yoshiyuki Muchiki, "The Functions of the Preposition lamedh + 2nd Person Pronominal Suffix Used in Negative Commands," *Exegetica* 23 (2012).

[645] T. Muraoka, "On the So-Called Dativus Ethicus in Hebrew," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29, no. 2 (1978): 497; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Eisenbrauns, 1990), 208.

[646] Muchiki, "The Functions of the Preposition lamedh + 2nd Person Pronominal Suffix Used in Negative Commands."

always related in the first person). I have demonstrated elsewhere that this phraseology was calqued into Sam'alian at Zincirli in the phrase *qnt ly nṣb* "I made (for) myself a monument" in the Katumuwa Inscription.[647] Since then, Craig Melchert has demonstrated that the same Luwian terminology was calqued into Phoenician in the Azatiwada Inscription in the phrase *yp ʿl l šʿr zr* "he will make himself another gate."[648] To these we may tentatively add line line 18 of the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215), in which it is said that Tiglath-Pileser *hqm lh mšky* "erected himself an image."[649] The roots *qny* and *p ʿl* represent the Sam'alian and Phoenician isoglosses for the verb "to make" in their respective languages. Verbs of creation are sometimes substituted for verbs of erection, as demonstrated by the use of the root *QWM* in the same context in both Northwest Semitic monumental inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible.

Apparently, this technical phraseology was also calqued into Hebrew as *ʿśh l-* "to make (for) oneself" using the Hebrew isogloss *ʿśh*. The fact that this strange construction almost only occurs in accounts of creating monumental objects lends more credence to this proposal. It must be allowed that Hebrew acquired this idiom from Phoenician or another Northwest Semitic language acting as an intermediary for the Luwian language from which it originated. Nevertheless, this is a technical phrase meant to denote someone's exclusive agency in the creation of a monument and it originates in Levantine monumental discourse. That this unusual

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[647] Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels," 64.

[648] KAI 26 AIII:16. Melchert, "Bilingual Texts in First-Millennium Anatolia."

[649] In this case, though, it would also be perfectly reasonable to read *lh* as an indirect object referring back to Panamuwa.

phraseology would originate in Hieroglyphic Luwian is also unsurprising given that this is the second adaptation of Luwian phraseology encountered in the Decalogue. The "I Am" formula itself – the distinguishing feature of "I Am" inscriptions – was likely adapted into Northwest Semitic dialects based on Hieroglyphic Luwian models.

What does the origin of this phrase contribute to an interpretation of this portion of the Decalogue? In other contexts, this phraseology does not emphasize the object that is made but rather the subject's agency in making it.[650] In the Decalogue, this is therefore not precisely a prohibition of a particular class of objects, but rather a ban on usurping Yahweh's agency in creating such objects.[651] As agent, Yahweh has the sole prerogative to create any and all monumental images meant to manifest him. If anyone were to *ʿśh l-* and make one for themselves, they would be usurping Yahweh's role and implicitly challenging his own monuments. They might also be manipulating Yahweh by attempting to manifest him in a form he had not legitimated himself. To understand this second possibility, though, we must explore the meanings of the terms *psl* and *tmwnh* in the Decalogue.

The monumental objects specifically banned in verse 4 are any *psl* "cult image" or *tmwnh* "ritual substitute," which in this version of the Decalogue appear to denote separate but closely related concepts. There has been some debate whether the *w* in the phrase *psl wkl-tmwnh* is original or an addition, and thus scholars are not agreed on whether these should be understood as two separate objects or as a singular compound. Erhard Blum has recently concluded –

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[650] Muchiki, "The Functions of the Preposition lamedh + 2nd Person Pronominal Suffix Used in Negative Commands."

[651] Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 290–99.

correctly in my opinion – that the *w* is original and that *psl* and *tmwnh* therefore represent two separate objects and act together as a plural object.[652] The *w* was secondarily deleted in Deut 5, probably based on a later misunderstanding of the terms to be discussed in the next chapter. Within Ex 20, however, I propose that these two terms should be taken as a hendiadys to describe any monumental image that might usurp Yahweh's legitimated monuments.

The root *psl* originally means "to fashion," and it is used to describe the making of an idol (Hab 2:18), the carving of the tablets of stone (Ex 34:1, 4; Deut 10:1, 3), and the dressing of building materials for the temple (1 Kgs 5:32). As such, though the root does emphasize a means of production, it does not correspond to a particular form or genre of figured art. What is consistent across these uses is that an act of *psl* results in an object that can reproduce divine presence.[653]Thus, as both the context of monumental rhetoric and the rest of this commandment reveal, what is forbidden here is the use of an image as a competing monument and not merely the act of fashioning.[654] While *psl* has been traditionally understood as a reference to a non-

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[652] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 290. See also Daniel I. Block, *How I Love Your Torah, O LORD! Studies in the Book of Deuteronomy* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2011), 59–60; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60; Carmen Joy Imes, "Bearing YHWH's Name at Sinai: A Re-Examination of the Name Command of the Decalogue" (Doctoral dissertation, Wheaton College, 2016), 209.

[653] Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 298.

[654] "Cult image" also emphasizes the potential broadness of this term. While it could certainly refer to a divine image in this case, that is not the only possible referent for a "cult image" in the ancient Near East. This might be especially emphasized by the term *lk* in this commandment. לך may be an emphatic element related to monument creation. However, it may be preferable to take it literally as "for yourself" as this allows for the full range of meaning of פסל in this context. In the ancient Near East, cult images were not just idols as later tradition supposed but also substitutes for any of the ritual participants including the worshippers. Perhaps in addition to forbidding competing images of Yahweh, this clause is also forbidding the Israelites from creating competing images of themselves. This meaning is highlighted by the second part of the clause where the people are forbidden from making a *tmwnh* "ritual substitute" for anything in nature, thereby preventing them from treating any force of nature as a ritual participant, whether or not that participation would be construed as divine. For a discussion of parallel objects in Mesopotamia, see Postgate, "Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch," 177–79;

Yahwist idol, it is more likely that this prohibition has in mind competing or unauthorized cult icons.[655]

The word *tmwnh* comes from an uncertain root and is more difficult to speak to with certainty. It is probably cognate with the Ugaritic *tmn* "form" or "manifestation." Joseph Aistleitner has suggested that both Ugaritic *tmn* and Hebrew *tmwnh* may be related to the Akkadian *temennu*, a term for a class of buried monuments often translated "foundation deposit."[656] As was in the case for other such monuments, the primary function of *temennu* was to manifest the individual it commemorated, so it is a striking functional parallel to the Ugaritic and Hebrew terms even if not etymologically linked.[657] In Akkadian usage, *temennu* was sometimes interchangeable with *ṣalmu* "image" or "substitute," *narû* "monument," and most importantly *pisiltu* "clay tablet," which is cognate to Hebrew *psl*. I have chosen to translate *tmwnh* as "ritual substitute" to highlight its apparent relationship to *ʾšr bšmym mmʿl w ʾšr b ʾrṣ mtḥt w ʾšr bmym mtḥt l ʾrṣ* "anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth below, or that is in the water beneath the earth." Whatever the precise meaning and etymology of *tmwnh*, in its present context it clearly refers to a monument meant to manifest some entity other than Yahweh. The term *psl* thus may have referred to illegitimate images of Yahweh, while *tmwnh* referred to illegitimate images of other figures.

Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 31–37.

[655] Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 300.

[656] Joseph Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, 3rd (1967) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 2773.

[657] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 92–96.

As a thematic element of monumental inscriptions, image manipulation could either enhance the text's monumentality or compete with it. Therefore, monumental texts often regulate the erection of images, legitimating those of the agent but forbidding any unauthorized usage. For example, the first line of the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214) relates Panamuwa's erection of a cult image, and lines 15-18 give specific instructions for properly activating it.[658] Lines 20-24, on the other hand, contain curses on any potential successors to Panamuwa who would use the image for a purpose other than that specified in the monumental text, namely to maintain the memory of Panamuwa.[659] The Tell Fekheriyeh Inscription (not an "I Am" inscription) explicitly commands the maintenance of a votive image and forbids any use of it other than to commemorate its commissioner (lines 10-12).[660] The Nerab Steles (also not "I Am" monuments) both dedicate funerary images and explicitly forbid their destruction or removal (KAI 225:6-11 and 226:8-10). On the positive side, the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26 AII.19-AIII.1) and the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215:17-18) specify how an image is to be properly used. Similarly, version C of the Azatiwada Inscription gives specific instructions for the activation of the divine statue the inscription adorns in KAI 26 IV:2-6a.[661] Lines 13 and following then forbid the misuse

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[658] Specifically, a sacrifice must be offered to the image and particular set of recitations performed. A similar set of instructions is preserved in KAI 26 AII.19-AIII.1, Panamuwa (KAI 215:18), and the Katumuwa inscription.

[659] Specifically, the inscription calls on Hadad to curse the individual who offers sacrifices to the image without invoking the name of Panamuwa.

[660] These lines read *wmn ʾḥr kn ybl lknnh ḥds wšmym lšm bh wzy yld šmy mnh wyšym šmh hdd gbr lhwy qblh* "and whosoever is after me, when it [the image] becomes worn, may he set it up anew and place my name on it. But whosoever removes my name and sets his name, may Hadad the Hero be against him!"

[661] *wzbḥ ʾš ylk lʾlm kl hmskt z z zbḥ y[mm] ʾ[lp 1 w]bʿt ḥrš [š 1 w]bʿt qṣr š 1* "And the sacrifice which this whole district will bring to the god is this: the annual sacrifice – one ox, at the time of sowing – one sheep, and at the time

of the cult image, specifying that future users of the monument should not claim it as their own, remove the name of Azatiwada, or create a *sml zr* "strange image" to replace it. In short, where similar image prohibitions are preserved, they regulate the proper use of the monument and prohibit its misuse, destruction, or improper usurpation or replacement. The primary intention of v. 4 in its present context is most likely the prohibition of any unauthorized monuments that would compete with those legitimated by Yahweh.

The implication of v. 4 is that the Decalogue itself is Yahweh's legitimate image. According to Victor Hurowitz, the Decalogue "was fashioned by an act of פסילה" and it is "the only proper פסל."[662] While Hurowitz's conclusion is based on the faulty assumption that the Decalogue was carved (*psylh*) on the tablets of stone, his assertion that it may be understood as a legitimate image of Yahweh is still worth considering. The Decalogue's ability to replace an image has already been emphasized through its use of the "I (am)" formula, which was typically used in eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions as either an image itself, an augment to a separate image, or as a replacement for an image. This overlap and replacement was possible because ancient Near Eastern images primarily functioned to embody their referents, producing their presence and agency in material form apart from their bodies. This exact same function was accomplished by the strategic use of deictic referents – such as the "I (am) formula – in

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of harvesting – one sheep." Translation follows Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "MSKT À Karatepe," *Orientalia, NOVA SERIES* 69, no. 1 (2000): 80.

[662] The verbal form of this root is used in reference to the tablets of the testimony in Exodus 34:1, 4 and Deuteronomy 10:1, 3 and Solomon's temple in 1 Kings 5:32, suggesting that it can be used in reference to legitimate cultic productions. Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 298.

monumental texts.[663] The Decalogue accomplishes the same function as a monumental image whether or not it is imagined as interacting with a separable image in the text. V. 3 thus forbids any additional object that would usurp this function.

The justification of the image commandment makes its connection to monumental rhetoric even clearer. The generational blessings and curses in vv. 5-6 are typical of image regulations in monumental inscriptions. Monumental inscriptions treated images as analogous to lineage as both were a means of perpetuating a person's presence.[664] Clauses protecting images are therefore often accompanied by curses on any potential violator's descendants. Where parallel blessings are preserved, they often focus on progeny as well. For example, SHEIZAR §3-7 read as follows:

> §3 |wa/i-mu-ta-*a |mi-zi-*a |INFANS-ni-zi |"LONGUS"-zi |FLAMMAE(?)(-)ha_x||-si |PONERE?-wa/i-ta
> §4 |za-pa-wa/i-mu |(STELE)ta-‹ni›-sà |mi-i-zi-*a|INFANS.NEPOS-zi |INFANS.NEPOS-ka-la-zi |(INFANS)NEG2-wa/i-zi ||x-x(-)za-wa/i-nu-wa/i-ta
> §5 á?-mi-wa/i-tá |wa/i-[…]-′ |mi-sa-*a |REL-i-sa |INFANS.NEPOS-si-sa |INFANS.NEPOS||-ka-la-[sa] |(INFANS)NEG2-wa/i-sa |(INFANS)NEG2-‹wa/i›-[NEG2-]wa/i-sa [...
> §6 [RE]L-s[a? …]-i
> §7 |pa-ti-[pa]-wa/i-*a ||DEUS.REGIO-ni-si-i (DOMINA)ha-susa 5+ra/i-sa |LIS|-li-sa |sa-tu-*a
> "And my children put(?) me on the … pyre(?), and my grandchildren, great-grandchildren (and) great-great-grandchildren caused this stele to … And among my [posterity?], who(ever is) my grandchild, greatgrandchild, great-great-grandchild, great-great-great-grandchild: who(soever) shall [harm them?], the divine Queen of the Land shall be his prosecutor!"[665]

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[663] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

[664] Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 316.

[665] Transcription and translation follow Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 49–50.

Here, the blessings of the agent's descendants are paired with curses on any future violators of her stele or her progeny.

The best Northwest Semitic parallels for the blessings and curses in vv. 5-6 come from the Nerab Steles (KAI 225-226). These were not "I Am" monuments, but they did utilize elements of their monumental discourse. Lines 6-11a of KAI 225 have a curse upon the violator's seed should he remove the dedicator's image.[666] Lines 11b-14 promise: *hn tnṣr ṣlmʾ wʾrṣtʾ zʾ ʾḥrh ynṣr zy lk* "if you guard this image and this plot, in the future yours will be guarded." KAI 226 similarly pairs the motifs of the blessing of *bny rbʿ* "children of the fourth generation" (line 5) with a curse upon any violator's descendants (line 10).[667] Because monumental images were extensions of the agent's presence and agency, their usurpation or deactivation required an equivalent punishment. Thus, on the one hand, curses were placed on potential violator's and their descendants, which performed the same function as a monumental image. On the other hand, preserving a monumental image was a good deed worthy of a blessing of similar degree, namely the preservation of the user's descendants.

While it is undoubtable that the image commandment in the Decalogue was edited at a later date and also very likely that material was added to supplement it, its key components originate in the discourse of Levantine "I Am" monuments. Image manipulation was carefully regulated throughout the history of such monuments. The curses attached to the image commandment, however, point to a contrastive level of discourse in the Decalogue. Not only is

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[666] *Mn ʾt thns ṣlmʾ znh wʾrṣtʾ mn ʾšrh šhr wšmš wnkl wnšk ysḥw šmk wʾšrk mn ḥyn wmwt lḥh ykṭlwk wyhʾbdw zrʿk* "Whoever you are who drags this image and its earth from its place, may Sahar, Shamash, Nikkal, and Nusk tear your name and your place from life, may they kill you with an accursed death, and may they cause your seed to perish."

[667] *wʾḥrth tʾbd* "May his progeny perish!"

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usurpation of Yahweh's legitimate monuments forbidden, those potential usurpers are labeled *śn'y* "those that hate me." In other words, they are Yahweh's enemies. This most resembles the monumental discourse of the Age of Civic Ritual and the Age of Territorialization and also suggests an origin prior to the Age of Court Ceremony. Against other commentators, I maintain that the image commandment in some form was part of the original Decalogue and that it was not composed later than the 8th century.[668]

The Name Commandment (Ex 20:7)

Verse 7 recalls monumental rhetoric protecting the agent's name. An ancient Near Eastern monument could not function unless the agent's name was preserved. The destruction of the name was seen as a metaphysical attack on the person, preventing any imagined encounter with them in the future from being activated.[669] The 'name' can even be understood as a metaphor for the entire monument because the monument's function depends on the inscribed name.[670] In the Northwest Semitic corpus, name erasure or replacement is forbidden in the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26 AIII:13-19)[671] and the Tel Fekheriyeh Inscription (KAI 309:11-12, 16-17).[672] Similarly, the forgetting of the commissioner's name is forbidden in the Hadad

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[668] For a contrasting argument, see especially Blum, who argues that the image commandment was the last editorial addition to the Decalogue. Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 291–92.

[669] May, "Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East," 4–5.

[670] Yakubovich, "Nugae Luvicae," 196; Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 334.

[671] In line 13, the person to be cursed is identified as אש ימח שם אזתוד "(he) who would erase the name of Azatiwada."

[672] In both places, the cursed party ילד שמי "removes my name."

Inscription (KAI 214:21).[673] This sort of discourse undoubtedly underlies the name

commandment in the Decalogue

The name commandment has traditionally been linked to the invocation of Yahweh's

name. This is undoubtedly the meaning of the phrase *nśʾ šm* "to lift the name" in Psalm 16, for

instance. Name invocation is also one of the possible ritual responses to monuments in the

ancient Mediterranean. However, both biblical and broader eastern Mediterranean monumental

discourse suggest that this commandment originally referred to a physical act. For example,

Sandra Richter has argued that *šm* "name" in Deuteronomic texts is often used as a metonym for

inscription, a metonym the Hebrew Bible shares with Mesopotamian and Hieroglyphic Luwian

monumental discourse.[674] The verbal expressions *śym šm* "to place the name" and *śkn šm* "to set

the name" literally describe the physical act of setting up an inscription. Though *śkn šm* is likely

a calque from Akkadian, *śym šm* is undoubtedly derived from eastern Mediterranean

monumental discourse.[675] Similar expressions occur in both Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic

Luwian monumental inscriptions.[676] The phrase *nśʾ šm* similarly described a physical act in its

original conception.

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[673] Here, the cursed party לא יזכר אשם פנמו "does not remember the name of Panamuwa."

[674] Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 133; Yakubovich, "Nugae Luvicae," 196; Karen Radner, *Die Macht Des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien Zur Selbsterhaltung*, Arbeiten Und Untersuchungen Zur Keilschriftkunde 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 161–62; Nathaniel B. Levtow, "Monumental Inscriptions and the Ritual Representation of War," in *Warfare, Ritual and Symbol in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 18 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 34–36.

[675] Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 199–205.

[676] The construction *śym šm* is used to describe name inscription in Tell Fekheriyeh (KAI 309:11), while the similar construction *śyt šm* is used with the same meaning in Azatiwada (KAI 26 AIII:13, 16; CIV:16, 18). The

The phrase *nśʾ* is used elsewhere in Exodus to refer to a physical interaction with an inscribed object, so it is fitting to take its appearance in the Decalogue as describing a literal physical activity as well. The phrase *nśʾ šm* is used in Ex. 28:12 and 29 to describe Aaron's literal carrying of the names of the Israelites on his shoulders by means of the ephod. In other words, the names referred to in these verses are clearly inscribed objects that Aaron must literally lift up.[677] A similar physical act is envisioned by the name commandment in the Decalogue, but it is negativized by the inclusion of *lšwʾ*. This act of lifting the name of Yahweh off the monument in this context entailed erasing it. Though this meaning was lost in later receptions of the Decalogue and replaced with a related understanding of ritual interaction with the text, name erasure is far more likely the intent of this phrase as originally produced. In fact, this unusual phrasing is one of the clearest evidences of the Decalogue's interaction with monumental discourse.

Though the Semitic parallels to v. 7 are more thematic in nature, *nśʾ šm* has an exact semantic parallel in the Hieroglyphic Luwian phrases *alamanza ahha wala-* "to lift away the name" or *alamanza (wan)ahha la-* "to take away the name," which are the standard ways to describe name erasure.[678] These phrases were even worked explicitly into commands and curses,

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Hieroglyphic Luwian phrase *alamanz tuwa-* "to put the name" appears in KARATEPE 1 Hu. §XXXIX in parallel with the Phoenician *śyt šm*. It also appears in ALEPPO 2 §10, HAMA 4 §7, and HAMA 5 §4.

[677] Imes, "Bearing YHWH's Name at Sinai: A Re-Examination of the Name Command of the Decalogue," 142–43. In contrast, the occurrence of this phrase in Psalm 16:4 specifies that it refers to a speech act by the addition of *ʿl-spty* "on my lips." Imes contends that this is a metaphorical extension of the earlier meaning of "to bear the name."

[678] Petra M. Goedegebuure, "Hittite Iconoclasm: Disconnecting the Icon, Disempowering the Referent," in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. Natalie Naomi May, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 435 n. 96.

as in ISKENDURUN §6, which reads: *za-pa-wa/i* ¹*la+ra/i+a-ma* || (B) |*á-là-ma-za* |*ni-sa* |*wa/i-na-*(A)*ha* |*la-si* "Do not take away (i.e., erase) this name – Laramas." Third person injunctions against the same activity also occur in ANCOZ 2 I.2, KÖTÜKALE §5, HAMA 4 §8, and BOYBEYPINARI 2 §19. Of these, the last parallel is the most striking as it includes the instrumental MALUS-*lá/í-sa-tara/i-ti* CUM-*ni* "with malice" or "maliciously." This could provide a striking parallel to *lšwʾ* if we accept an understanding of the term as referring to "evil" rather than "emptiness."[679] If the latter translation is preferred, *lšwʾ* would be acting in parallel to the Luwian *ahha* or *wanahha*.[680] Regardless, these parallels demonstrate that the rhetoric of taking up a name was not uncommon to ancient eastern Mediterranean monuments and that it referred to a literal physical act – in this case, erasure.

Alternatively, v. 7 may be understood in light of ritual prescriptions in monumental inscriptions. See, for example, the commands in the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214) to remember (i.e., invoke) a name in lines 16, 21, and 28. Reading the command in the Decalogue in parallel to these ritual instructions may be supported by the Decalogue's placement relative to the altar law in Ex. 20:24-26, which includes the provision that an altar should be built *bkl-hmqwm ʾšr ʾzkyr ʾt-šmy* "in every place where I cause my name to be remembered (i.e., invoked)" (Ex. 20:24). This possible connection to name invocation may also explain why the name commandment was placed directly before the Sabbath command, which consists of a positive

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[679] Christopher Wright also translates *lšwʾ* as "maliciously." Christopher J. H. Wright, *Old Testament Ethics for the People of God* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2004), 262.

[680] HALOT suggests translations of *šwʾ* such as 'worthless,' 'futile,' 'evil,' 'deceit,' and 'destruction,' all of which may be justified depending on the word's context. They offer the translation "to abuse a name in an evil way (in a magic ritual or an oath)" for *nśʾ šm lšwʾ*. *HALOT*, s.v. "שָׁוְא אוְשָׁ," 4:1425-1426. An understanding of *šwʾ* as somehow referring to malice in Ex. 20:7 may be supported by the Deuteronomist's conflating of the term with *šqr* "false" in Deut. 5:20.

prescription to remember. Nevertheless, it must still be emphasized that the invocation assumed by these prescriptions assumes the materiality of the inscribed name as ritual implement. Inscribing and erasure of names are inextricably linked to the invocation or forgetting of names in ritual related to monuments, so the Decalogue's name commandment may have taken on a meaning relative to invocation in its current context by association. In other words, there is no great conceptual jump from name erasure to improper invocation. The destruction of the material form of the name would prevent proper incantation.

The Sabbath Commandment (Ex 20:8-11)

Verses 8-11 prescribe a commemorative ritual. Monumental inscriptions often gave prescriptions for rituals to be performed before the monument or to otherwise commemorate the agent. The Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26 AIII:1ff.) prescribes specific sacrifices to be brought to a statue associated with the monumental text, a connection which KAI 26 CIII:14-IV:4 makes explicit.[681] The Hadad Inscription (KAI 214:15b-18) and lines 2b-5 and 8b-13 of the Katumuwa Inscription similarly prescribe specific ritual acts to be carried out with reference to the monument and the agent.[682] The prescribed ritual in the Hadad Inscription is especially striking because it is instituted in line 17 with the indirect command: עד יזכר "let him keep remembering." As mentioned above, this command to remember likely has in mind name invocation, but more importantly *zkr* "to remember" is the verb chosen to describe the ritual activation of the monument. This explains why the Sabbath commandment was placed in the Decalogue to act as instruction for its ritual activation, even though little else in the command itself seems to relate to

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[681] Amadasi Guzzo, "MSKT À Karatepe," 80.

[682] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109.

monument manipulation.

The Sabbath Commandment – especially in this version with its connection to creation – may have also been placed in the Decalogue to further develop the notion of the text as a royal monument of Yahweh. More broadly, ritual, creation, and kingship are inextricably linked in eastern Mediterranean monumental discourse. Numerous inscriptions develop the agent's authority through their monumentalization sequences, which legitimate the agent through acts of creation and ritual installation. In KAI 202, Zakkur in part justifies his authority as agent by claiming to have ritually emplaced and inscribed his monument (B 13-15). Panamuwa similarly claims in KAI 214 to have erected his monument (line 1) and goes on to give ritual prescriptions for what may be a coronation ceremony (15-18).[683] Explicit acts of monument creation to legitimate the agent are described in the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26 AIII:15-16), the Mesha Stele (KAI 181:3), and the Tel Fekheriyeh Inscription (KAI 309:15). The conceptual pairing of creation and authority is also regularly encountered in Karkamišean monuments. For example, in KARKAMIŠ A15b, Yariri in part justifies himself as follows:

> §11 *á-mi-i-na-pa-wa/i(-)u!-mu!* ("COR")*á-tara/i-i-na* |"SCALPRUM"(-)*i-ara/i-za i-zi-i-ha*
> §12 *wa/i-mu-tá* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sa* |("PES")*pa-lá/í-´* PONERE-*mi-i-na* /CAPERE-*i* //

> §11 "I made my person into a portrait,
> §12 and Kubaba will take me (i.e., my portrait) placed at (her) foot."[684]

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[683] Brian B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israeilte Religion and Tradition*, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament 11 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994), 134 n. 9; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109.

[684] This transcription follows (Payne 2012, 85–86), but the translation is adapted from (van den Hout 2002, 185).

The key action that the agent accomplishes here is the creation of his monument and its subsequent ritual emplacement and acceptance.[685] Though the Sabbath command may represent a pre-existing law that was placed in the Decalogue, it was placed there precisely to create this link between the act of creation or construction, ritual practice, and kingship.

More specifically, monumental inscriptions were sometimes set up to act as ritual implements in coronation ceremonies. For example, in the Panamuwa Inscription (KAI 215), lines 20b and following imply a coronation ceremony for the monument commissioner to be held before the inscribed stele.[686] This is an attractive parallel because the Sabbath is especially connected with the enthronement of Yahweh.[687] The Sabbath created a bond between cult and cosmos that was realized through the creation of the Tabernacle later in Exodus and the Sabbath rituals located there.[688] The placement of a creation-oriented Sabbath commandment in the Decalogue perhaps foreshadows the link between the Sabbath, the tabernacle, and Yahweh's enthronement by first attaching the Sabbath to Yahweh's royal inscription.

The final line of the Sabbath commandment in the version of the Decalogue preserved in Exodus explicates its connection to the other commands that imagine the Decalogue as a monumental inscription. Verse 11 closes an inclusio that was begun with the creation triad in the

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[685] Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels."

[686] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109.

[687] Moshe Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the Sitz Im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3," in *Mélanges Bibliques et Orientaux En L'honneur de M. Henrie Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1981), 501–12.

[688] Geller, *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible*, 68.

image commandment (v. 4). That is, v. 4's prohibition of images of anything, *ʾšr bšmym mmʿl w ʾšr b ʾrṣ mtḥt w ʾšr bmym mtḥt l ʾrṣ* "that is in the heavens above, or that is on the earth below, or that is in the waters below the earth" is recalled by v. 11's statement that Yahweh created *ʾt-hšmym w ʾt-h ʾrṣ w ʾt-hym w ʾt-kl- ʾšr-bm* "the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all that is in them." The close proximity and similarity of these lines suggest that they form an inclusio framing the Decalogue's violation clauses. The closing of this inclusio suggests that this sequence of injunctions was produced together, whether that was through composition or strategic juxtaposition and expansion. The result is a set of injunctions focused on the proper maintenance and activation of Yahweh's monument. The image commandment forbids the creation of any competing monumental objects. The name commandment simultaneously implies that Yahweh's name must not be removed from the monumental text and that it may not be invoked improperly in the monument's ritual activation. The Sabbath commandment then provides the correct means of activating the monument that Yahweh himself created.

Based on the connections to monumental discourse discussed above, it is highly likely that some ritual commandment is original to the Decalogue, but many have argued that the Sabbath Commandment is actually secondary and late.[689] Admittedly, the Sabbath Commandment is substantially different in the two versions of the Decalogue, suggesting extensive literary transformation. The differences are so marked, however, that one version may not be a transformation of the other. Rather, the Sabbath Commandment may indicate that both

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[689] E.g. Mark S. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 239 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 233; Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1995), 67, 102, 104; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 293–94.

versions of the Decalogue were transformed interdependently.[690] While the text is certainly

composite, this does not necessarily mean that it is late, as some have proposed. Brevard Childs

cogently argued that the various components of the commandment

> "testify to an early Israelite tradition which gave the sabbath a special sanction…the
>
> command to observe, or not desecrate, the sabbath was the bare datum of the tradition. To
>
> this basic command a variety of different reasons were added, but no one ever became
>
> fully normative, as the continual fluidity demonstrates."[691]

While I will similarly conclude that some form of Sabbath commandment was original to the

Decalogue and derived from monumental discourse, the antiquity of the commandment must

first be defended.

It is now widely argued that the Sabbath commandment preserved in the Decalogue

combines two ritual observances: 1) *šbt*, that is, the Sabbath proper, which in its most ancient

guise was really a new moon festival, and 2) *ywm hšbʿy* "the seventh day." This combination

became most pronounced during the exilic period and later, when the weekly Sabbath became an

important identity marker for the Judean community.[692] Nevertheless, this does not necessarily

mean that the Sabbath commandment itself was first composed in the post-monarchic period.

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[690] Martin Prudký, "The Two Versions of the Sabbath-Commandment: Structural Similarities," in *Stimulation from Leiden: Collected Communications to the XVIIIth Congress of the International Organisation for the Study of the Old Testament, Leiden 2004*, ed. Hermann Michael Niemann and Matthias Augustin (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 254.

[691] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 415.

[692] Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine Späten Fassungen, Die Originale Komposition Und Seine Vorstuten*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 45 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1982), 247–52; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60–61.

The traditions combined in the preserved commandment are themselves ancient, and the combination may have occurred as early as the monarchic period, even though it was more strongly emphasized during the exile and later. Erhard Blum has suggested that the term *šbt* was loaned into Hebrew from Akkadian during the monarchic period to describe the seventh day of rest, which had no other designation at the time. He argues this based on phonological correspondence between the Hebrew root *šbt* "to cease" and Akkadian *šapattu*, a technical designation for the 15th day of the month.[693] Of course, if one accepts that the term may have been loaned based on phonological correspondence, then the Akkadian term for the seventh day of the month, *sebūtu*, should be an equally plausible candidate.[694] Also, the suggestion of a relationship between Akkadian *šapattu* and Hebrew *šbt* was originally proposed based on the assertion that both referred to the day of the full moon.[695] I concur with Blum that this cannot be the meaning of Hebrew *šbt*.[696] Rather, as already mentioned, I follow Nicholson and Hossfeld in treating the Sabbath – or at least one of the observances that gave rise to it – as the day of the new moon.

The connection to the new moon is attractive for a number of reasons. First, a number of texts mention the new moon and the Sabbath in the same breath and even appear to equate the

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[693] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 293 N. 15.

[694] On this term and related terminology in Akkadian, see William W. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 48 (1977): 7–8.

[695] Johannes Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament: eine Untersuchung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1905); D. Johannes Meinhold, "Die Entstehung des Sabbats.," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 29, no. 2 (1909): 81–112, https://doi.org/10.1515/zatw.1909.29.2.81.

[696] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 293.

two (2 Kgs 4:23; Isa 1:13; Hos 2:13; Amos 8:5). Second, the new moon is celebrated in Psa 81:4,

and v. 10 includes a quotation of the first line of the Decalogue, explicitly linking the two

traditions.[697] Third, the new moon was closely aligned with the ancient Israelite New Year

festival. In this connection, however, the day of the new moon was only the first day of a much

longer festival.[698] The eventual combination of this New Year festival with Sukkoth meant that

the festivities could last at least until the full moon.[699] This is particularly striking because

Jeroboam's inauguration of the northern kingdom and its major cult sites in 1 Kgs 12:28-33

occurs on the 15th day of the eight month, and he quotes the Decalogue in connection to this

festival – likely the northern kingdom's New Year festival.[700]

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[697] The Decalogue was also known by Hosea, but he does not quote it in relation to the new moon.

[698] Karel Van Der Toorn, "Celebrating the New Year with the Israelites: Three Extrabiblical Psalms from Papyrus Amherst 63," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136, no. 3 (2017): 640–41.

[699] George W. MacRae, "The Meaning and Evolution of the Feast of Tabernacles," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1960): 257; Johannes C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, Kamper Cahiers 21–22 (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1972); Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach," 9–10; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabbath: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*, ConBOT 18 (Lund: Gleerup, 1982), 67; Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 116–23; Alexander Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Simor, 2009), 473–74; Noga Ayali-Darshan, "The Seventy Bulls Sacrificed at Sukkot (Num 29:12-34) in Light of a Ritual Text from Emar (Emar 6, 373)," *Vetus Testamentum* 65 (2015): 3; Van Der Toorn, "Celebrating the New Year with the Israelites: Three Extrabiblical Psalms from Papyrus Amherst 63," 639. In this regard, it may be worth allowing the possibility of *šbt* being a loan of Akkadian *šapattu*, the designation for the fifteenth day of the month and the day of the full moon. If this is so, the mention of the new moon (*ḥdš*) and Sabbath (*šbt*) alongside each other served as a hendiadys for the first and last day of the New Year festival. It is admittedly problematic that another term - *ksh* - already existed for the day of the full moon. If this term was originally synonymous with *šbt*, then Hos 2:13 may be using *ḥdšh wšbth* "her new moon and her Sabbath" as a hendiadys in apposition to *ḥgh* "her festival." This would parallel the usage in Psa 81:4, in which *ḥdš* and *ksh* are used in apposition to *ywm ḥgnw* "our festival day." Alternatively, *ḥdš* and *šbt* may be synonymous, as they appear to be in Amos 8:5. Regardless, there is a clear relationship between the three designations, and perhaps there was some fluidity in regards to which part of the festival *šbt* referred.

[700] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 40. If Meinhold's thesis is correct, Jeroboam inaugurated his kingdom on *šbt* – the fifteenth day of the month or the day of the full moon (Akkadian *šapattu*). Even if his thesis is not maintained, however, there is clearly

The original connection between the Sabbath and the New Year festival may also be implied by the verb heading the commandment – *zkwr*. As discussed in the previous chapter, in monumental discourse this was a technical term for ritual incantation or invocation performed before the monument, perhaps in connection with sacrifice. The same root was also the name of the autumnal New Year in Emar – the *Zukru*. Most significantly, the grand *Zukru* – the most elaborate form of the festival – was only performed every seven years, paralleling the biblical notion of the Sabbath year.[701] The *Zukru* also lasted for seven days, an ancient ritual pattern attested throughout the Near East that ultimately gave rise to the Israelite practice of resting on the seventh day.[702] The *Zukru* was also closely linked with the full moon.[703] Also, one of the chief ritual activities of the *Zukru* was the removal and then triumphal reentry of the chief deity Dagan into Emar.[704] This may parallel the ancient Israelite festival celebrating the enthronement of Yahweh, which is thought to be the New Year festival or the Sabbath.[705] Of course, the connection between the *Zukru* and the Sabbath cannot be based on the etymology of the terms

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an implicit connection between the two. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament*; Meinhold, "Die Entstehung des Sabbats."

[701] Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*, 48.

[702] Fleming, 74–75.

[703] Fleming, 159–60.

[704] Fleming, 138–39.

[705] Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the Sitz Im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3."

alone, but these various parallels suggest at least another case in which the autumnal new year, patterns of seven, and divine enthronement were combined in ritual.

As for the Sabbath commandment's combination of *šbt* and *ywm hšbʿy*, this may not be original. The blocks of text surrounding the term *ywm hšbʿy* show some signs of transformation. We can appeal to some of the markers of innerbiblical discourse to substantiate this.[706] Among other markers, ancient scribes marked explanatory insertions by means of resumptive repetitions, deictic markers, and motive clauses. These admittedly may be signs of explanatory comments by a composer, but they often represent editorial insertions or replacements. All of these are present in the Sabbath Commandment and are summarized in the diagram below. The first level of the outline represents the initial clause being explained, the second level is reserved for motive clauses, and the third level represents additional insertions. I have marked resumptive repetitions in bold and deictic particles in italics. I provide the outline in translation for the ease of the reader.

I.   Remember the Sabbath-day to **consecrate it.**

        i. **Six days** you will work and do all your labor, but **the seventh day** is a Sabbath to Yahweh your God. Do not do any labor, you, your son, or your daughter, your manservant or maidservant, or your livestock, or your sojourner who is within your gates.

      b. *For* **in six days** Yahweh made **heaven, earth, the sea,** and everything in them,

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[706] I borrow this term from William Schniedewind's take on the topic, but the seminal work on the subject is that of Michael Fishbane. William M. Schniedewind, "'Are We His People Or Not?' Biblical Interpretation During Crisis," *Biblica* 76, no. 4 (1995): 540–42; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

        i. but he rested on **the seventh day**.

    c. *Therefore*, Yahweh blessed the Sabbath-day and **consecrated it.**

If the Sabbath Commandment followed the logic of the Image and Name Commandments, the motivation clause marked by *ky* "for" should immediately follow the initial commandment.[707] This is not the case. The motivation clause is instead preceded by a further set of commands regarding the observance of *ywm hšbʿy* "the seventh day." These secondary commands are framed by the words *ššt ymym tʿbd* "six days you shall work" in v. 9 and *ky ššt ymym ʿśh yhwh* "for in six days Yahweh made" in v. 11. This may be a resumptive repetition marking inserted material – namely, the commands concerning the seventh day of rest.[708] This insertion accomplished the merger of the Sabbath with the seventh day of rest.

The motivation clause marked by *ky* also contains a resumptive repetition from the *ky* clause of the Image Commandment. The Image Commandment opened by forbidding *kl-tmwnh ʾšr bšmym mmʿl wʾšr bʾrṣ mtḥt wʾšr bmym mtḥt lʾrṣ* "any likeness (i.e., ritual substitute for anything) that is in heaven above or that is on the earth below or that is in the waters beneath the earth." The Sabbath Commandment closes by noting that Yahweh created *ʾt-hšmym wʾt-hʾrṣ wʾt-hym wkl ʾšr bm* "the heavens and the earth and the sea and all that is in them." This repetition

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[707] Some take all of these *ky* clauses as secondary insertions. However, as mentioned above, these scribal exegetical markers could be employed just as easily by composers as editors. Since the *ky* clauses appear to integrate into the structure of the Decalogue as a whole and draw upon monumental discourse, I propose that they are original, following Blum. Levin, "Der Dekalog Am Sinai," 170; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 299.

[708] Ottilia Lukács, "The Inner-Biblical Interpretation of the Sabbath Commandment," in *Hiszek, Hogy Megértsem!": Konferenciakötet–Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége Hittudományi Osztály Fiatal Kutatók És Doktoranduszok IV. Nemzetközi Teológuskonferenciája, Budapest, 2013. November 30* (Budapest: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, 2015), 44–45.

brackets the first discursive unit of the Decalogue, ties the motivation clauses of the Image

Commandment and Sabbath Commandment together, and strongly suggests that these were

composed by the same individual and are likely original to the Decalogue. We might reasonably

expect the entire rhetorical unit to end with the close of this inclusio, but this is not the case.

Instead, it is followed by the phrase *wynḥ bywm hšbʿy* "and he rested on the seventh day" in v.

11, which echoes the appearance of the seventh day in v. 10 and perhaps marks an additional

insertion. This is then followed by an additional motivation clause marked with *ʿl-kn* "therefore."

This is unlike any of the other motivation clauses in the Exodus Decalogue, but it does resemble

a motivation clause that was inserted into the Decalogue in Deuteronomy.[709] This is probably an

additional insertion, but it is tied to the rest of the commandment by its resumptive repetition of

the root *qdš* "to consecrate," which now forms a bracket around the preserved version of the

Sabbath Commandment.

Because these insertions are so well integrated into the current text, it is difficult to

determine which portions of the text are original and which are editorial. However, I maintain

Childs' assertion, which has also been substantiated by Lukács' analysis of innerbiblical

discourse in the passage, that some form of Sabbath Commandment was original to the

Decalogue.[710] The following points may be made based on the above analysis. First, the equation

of the Sabbath and the seventh day of rest was accomplished by scribal insertion. It is certainly

possible that both concepts are original, but it is more likely that one predates the other in its

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[709] Deut 5:15 replaces this clause with *ʿl-kn ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk lʿśwt ʾt-ywm hšbt* "therefore, Yahweh your God commanded you to perform the Sabbath-day." This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but it is clearly an insertion based on its use of typical Deuteronomic language.

[710] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 415; Lukács, "The Inner-Biblical Interpretation of the Sabbath Commandment," 43.

inclusion in the Decalogue. Based on the connections between the Decalogue and the New Year festival discussed above, I propose that the Sabbath was the focus of the original commandment.[711] The *ky* clause is then either original or an early insertion because it substantiates the Sabbath based on a connection to creation, which is a common theme in monumental discourse.[712] However, it must be emphasized that these insertions are not as cleanly marked as we might hope and are clearly well integrated into their current context. The full extent and nature of this literary activity is thus difficult to define.

Nevertheless, it must also be admitted that the connection between the seventh day of rest and the Sabbath is undoubtedly older than the exile. Already, the seventh day of rest as well as other ritual patterns of seven were connected with the festival calendar and the New Year festival in particular in Ex 23:10-16 as well as Ex 34:21-22.[713] Also, as mentioned above, *šbt* may have been loaned into Hebrew precisely to describe the seventh day of rest that had no other designation, and this would have occurred during the monarchic period.[714] Thus, while there are suggestions of literary transformation in the Sabbath Commandment in order to combine the Sabbath and the seventh day of rest, this literary activity could have occurred before the exile. It

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[711] André Lemaire has argued the same thing, but he connects the Sabbath to the full moon instead. Lukács, on the other hand, concludes that the seventh day of rest is original. However, her reasoning is based on the argument that the phrase *šbt lyhwh* is exilic at the earliest, but this phrase appears only in the apparent insertions. It is not present in the initial commandment. André Lemaire, "Le Sabbat a l'Époque Royale Israélite," *Revue Biblique (1946-)* 80, no. 2 (1973): 184–85; Lukács, "The Inner-Biblical Interpretation of the Sabbath Commandment," 44.

[712] Such a combination is also attested at Ugarit, so the biblical connection may predate the exile. Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord - The Problem of the Sitz Im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3."

[713] Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60.

[714] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 293.

is perhaps safest to allow that the Sabbath was reinterpreted and given new significance in the post-monarchic period, but the Sabbath Commandment – possibly even one very similar to the one preserved in Ex 20 – is certainly pre-exilic.[715]

The Honor Commandment (Ex 20:12)

Commands to honor someone are not unheard of in eastern Mediterranean monumental discourse, though the objects of the command in v. 12 are somewhat unique. This command may have been placed in the Decalogue due to its thematic connection to monumental rhetoric. It was simultaneously expanded to draw explicitly on monumental rhetoric, as will be discussed below. Similar demands for honor appear in the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214), where Panamuwa demands that his descendants remember and respect him and his name. The same is demanded in KARKAMIŠ A1b §2-3. Similarly, an explicit command to honor a god appears in KARKAMIŠ A17b §3. On the other hand, inscriptions like the first Bar-Rakib Palaice Inscription (KAI 216) demonstrate that monumental rhetoric assumed parental honor as a key theme whether or not this was expressed in the form of an injunction. In line 4, Bar-Rakib justifies his own rise to power on the basis of *ṣdq ʾby* "my father's righteousness."[716] In lines 7-8, he relates that *byt ʾby ʿml mn*

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[715] Even if one points to the parallels to priestly language in the Sabbath commandment, this is not enough to prove a late date, as Blum contends. Similarities to priestly themes and terminology occur mostly in the apparent insertions in the Sabbath Commandment, so this may indicate a priestly editor rather than composer for the commandment. Furthermore, there is mounting evidence that some strata of priestly literature are pre-exilic. Blum, 298; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 159–61; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 99 N. 8; Jonathan S. Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P," Forthcoming; Jonathan Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Forthcoming.

[716] A similar trope also appears in SHEIZAR §2, which reads: |*wa/i-ˊ* |*mi-ia+ra/i*||-ˊ |(IUSTITIA)*tara/i-wa/i-na-ti* |CENTUM-*ni* |ANNUS-*si-na* |(PES2)*pa-za-ha_x* "On account of my justice I *lived* one hundred years." Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:417.

kl "my father's house labored more than all (others)." Though Bar-Rakib claims to have surpassed his father in lines 11-12, it is clear that his father's honor is a key foundation to his own kingship. More generally, honor was a key theme of all eastern Mediterranean monumental inscriptions, even if it only occasionally appeared explicitly in injunctions.[717] The parallels explored here demonstrate at least that honor could be explicitly demanded, even if this was not the norm.

Verse 12 also contains the only clause in the Decalogue where an explicit benefit is promised to the people – long life. The purpose of obtaining long life is another common trope of monumental inscriptions, especially dedicatory inscriptions. Almost the exact same wording occurs in lines 4-5 of the Ekron Inscription (KAI 286), which concludes with *tʾrk ywmh wtbrk ʾrṣh* "may she lengthen his days and bless his land." Similar requests for the lengthening of days but without a mention of land occur in the dedicatory inscriptions from Byblos (KAI 4-7) and the Tell Fekheriyeh Inscription (KAI 309:11-12). This trope is also encountered in funerary and memorial inscriptions. For example, line 3 of the second Neirab Stele (KAI 226) claims that the god to whom the deceased was devoted *hʾrk ywmy* "lengthened my days." This trope has also been encountered in a memorial inscription, the Tell Siran Bottle Inscription, but with slightly different phrasing.[718] The exact use of monumental rhetoric in this commandment is yet another indicator to the audience that the text should be read as if it were a monumental inscription.

Nevertheless, the parallels between the Honor Commandment and monumental discourse are far from certain. In addition to having some of the weakest connections to monumental

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[717] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 294.

[718] Green, 281.

discourse, this commandment also makes use of a motivation clause with *lmʿn* "in order to,"

which occurs nowhere else in the Decalogue. While the *lmʿn* clause itself contains close parallels

to monumental discourse, it may suggest that the material preceding it is not original to the

Decalogue. Also, the Honor Commandment appears to place an emphasis upon familial

relations. While this is sometimes attested in monumental inscriptions from the Iron Age, it is

rare and may be more at home in the literary traditions of the Judean exiles.[719] It must therefore

be allowed that Blum may be correct in asserting that this commandment is not original to the

Decalogue but rather a post-monarchic insertion.[720]

The "Social" Commandments (Ex 20:13-17)

Verses 13-17 have previously been treated as the ancient core of the Decalogue and may

derive from a separate composition.[721] Nevertheless, it is still striking that this particular set of

commands was juxtaposed to the commands in the first half of the Decalogue. The way they are

framed by verse 12 reveals an attempt to incorporate them into the Decalogue as a newly

compiled monumental inscription. Verse 12 was introduced to bridge the first set of commands

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[719] Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 61.

[720] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 294.

[721] Levin, "Der Dekalog Am Sinai," 170–71.

and the second.[722] Parallels to the commands against murder,[723] adultery,[724] false witness,[725] and coveting[726] are also attested in the corpus of monumental inscriptions. Though the context of some of these injunctions may differ from that of the Decalogue's commands, what is most striking is that these commands were compiled as part of the Decalogue. These were strategically selected to match the monumental frame of the Decalogue in Exodus.

There is one especially notable aspect to the social commandments in the Decalogue. Yahweh is not the direct beneficiary of any of them. This has perhaps only two parallels among Northwest Semitic monumental texts. In KAI 181:24-25, Mesha commands his citizens to build cisterns for themselves. He does not directly benefit, but he does demonstrate his beneficence

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[722] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 417–18.

[723] In line 26 of KAI 214, Panamuwa indirectly commands his potential successor: אל·יהרג "let him not murder." Compare לא תרצח "do not murder" in Exodus 20:13.

[724] TELL AHMAR 2 §16 reads [NEG₂]-*a-pa-wa/i-ti mi-i-na-´* FEMINA-*ti-i-na* LITUUS-*PA-la-ni-ia-i* (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa₅+ra/i-i-na* "or he who shall regard my wife as his concubine." This may be comparable either to the commandment against adultery (*lʾ tnʾp* in v. 14) or against coveting the neighbor's wife (*lʾ-tḥmd ʾšt rʿk* in v. 17). Transcription and translation are here adapted from Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:228.

[725] The Sefire Stelae (KAI 222 A2:38) declare to any violators of the inscriptions' stipulations שקרת בעדי אלן "you were false to these testimonies." This is almost exactly parallel with עד שקר "false witness" in Exodus 20:16. The term עדיא in KAI 222:A2:38 is a plurali tantum usually translated "treaty." This is the Aramaic equivalent of the Akkadian term *adê*. I have translated it more literally in this case to highlight the correspondences between this line and the verse in the Decalogue.

[726] A curse formula in Azatiwada (KAI 26 AIII:14-15) includes the line: אם אף יחמד אית הקרת ז ויסע השער ז "if, moreover, he covet this city and usurp this gate…" Compare לא תחמד "do not covet" in Exodus 20:17. For this translation of KAI 26, see Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," 143. For more on usurpation in monumental rhetoric, see Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 316.

and effectiveness as a ruler.[727] Even more striking are the social injunctions of the Hadad

Inscription (KAI 214). In lines 25 and following, Panamuwa leaves instructions for how his heirs

are to relate to their family and citizenry. Not only does Panamuwa not directly benefit, he

cannot benefit because he is dead. The social injunctions primarily demonstrate Panamuwa's

ideal justice, and they allow him to mold his ideal heirs.[728] In this way, these injunctions

resemble the Narû of Hammurabi, which was primarily intended to declare Hammurabi's justice

and mold his ideal citizens.[729] The social commandments of the Decalogue serve a similar

purpose. They propose correct behavior for ideal users of the monument – those who accept the

practice and identity Yahweh is proposing. They also attest to Yahweh's righteousness through

his ability to give just commands.

Meaning Afforded by the Decalogue's Semantic Dimension

The semantic content of the Decalogue – like that of other eastern Mediterranean

monumental texts – afforded social formation to its users. The history it affords is brief, but the

Decalogue legitimates Yahweh as an agent through his defeat of Egypt, his salvation of the

people, and his acts of creation. The ideology afforded is centered on Yahweh's supremacy and

its implications for Israelite ritual practice and social behavior. The identity afforded by the

semantic dimension is mostly implied. The ideal users proposed by the text are those that accept

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[727] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 290.

[728] Green, 184.

[729] Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," 17; Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," 160.

Yahweh's memory and ideology as their own and behave accordingly. This identity is actually effected, however, through the poetic dimension of the text.

The Poetic Dimension

In its present form, the Decalogue has long been understood as a bipartite text purported to contain "the two tables of the law." It may now be proposed that the editing of the text into such a format was originally prompted by the larger attempt to align the Decalogue with monumental discourse. As discussed in the previous chapter, the bipartite form was a typical layout for monumental inscriptions in the eastern Mediterranean. In addition to previously observed shifts in content, the Decalogue's two units are also demarcated according to the typical structural syntagms of such inscriptions. Though this was not the only possible format, the bipartite form appears to have especially afforded the deictic operations of the text. The deictic elements of the text – including its layout according to such categories – ultimately prompted the text's users to engage in deictic projection: imagining the agent and themselves in a variety of configurations relative to the text's proclaimed ideology. In the case of the Decalogue – as in other monumental texts – this served to propose ideological motion to the users in personal, temporal, and spatial terms.

Structural Syntagms in the Decalogue

The two rhetorical units in the Decalogue are distinguishable almost at a glance on the basis of clause length and type. Verses 2-11 contain significantly longer clauses than vv. 12-17, revealing the same sort of organization present in the Kulamuwa Inscription (KAI 24), for

example.[730] Most of the clauses in vv. 2-11 consist of justifications for the injunctions given there and provide the closest approximation of narrative to the Decalogue. Such justifications are almost entirely absent from vv. 12-17. This organization is comparable to that of the Hadad Inscription's injunctions, which begin with directions for monument activation that are significantly framed by justifications for Panamuwa's kingship but close with a series of socially-oriented commands with no preserved justifications other than the curses themselves.[731] The border between the Decalogue's two rhetorical units is marked by the only two positive injunctions in the text, which demonstrate a transition from one set of negative injunctions to another. Furthermore, both of these positive injunctions are rendered as infinitive absolutes, creating a marked contrast between these transitional injunctions and the prohibitives of the negative injunctions. A similar shift in verbal forms was used in the Kulamuwa Inscription to demarcate the text's rhetorical units; the first unit of the text closes with a final narrative clause that begins with an infinitive (lines 7b-8).[732]

As discussed above, these two rhetorical units are further demarcated by the use of an inclusio. Verse 4 prohibits the making of images or *wkl-tmwnh ʾšr bšmym mmʿl w ʾšr b ʾrṣ mtḥt w ʾšr bmym mtḥt l ʾrṣ* "any likeness (i.e., ritual substitute for anything) that is in heaven above or

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[730] M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 226 (April 1977): 26.

[731] See especially Hadad (KAI 214:25ff.).

[732] The verb in question is שכר. For its analysis as an infinitive, see Josep María Solá-Solé, *L'infinitif Sémitique*, Bibliothèque de L'école Pratique Des Hautes Études 315 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1961), 104–18. For an alternative analysis of this verbal form, see John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: III. Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 37. However, note that if Gibson's analysis is correct, my argument still stands that the author of the Kulamuwa Inscription has demarcated rhetorical units with shifting verbal constructions.

that is on the earth below or that is in the waters beneath the earth." This triad is repeated to close

the inclusio at the beginning of v. 11 where Yahweh is said to have created *ʾt-hšmym wʾt-hʾrṣ*

wʾt-hym wkl ʾšr bm "the heavens and the earth and the sea and all that is in them." The expansion

of the creation triad in its second occurrence – *wkl ʾšr bm* "and all that is in them" – recalls the

qualifier before the first appearance of the triad – *wkl-tmwnh ʾšr* "and any likeness which…".

The first rhetorical unit is thus not only framed by the repetition of the creation triad but by the

closing of this triad within a chiasm. Both inclusios and chiasms are attested structural syntagms

of monumental inscriptions. The use of these syntagms also confirms that the first rhetorical unit

ends with the Sabbath commandment. Though the opening of the second unit is clearly marked,

no structural syntagm frames it in Exodus.[733]

Deictic Organization of the Decalogue

As has already been alluded to above, the Decalogue is further organized on the principle

of deixis. The first rhetorical unit is primarily focused on the addressor – Yahweh – giving it a

proximal orientation. The first unit is also marked by a number of strategic deictic shifts meant to

suggest that the monument's users will be distanced from Yahweh if they fail to keep his

commandments and thus end up in the same category as his enemies. This gives the first

rhetorical unit a simultaneously distal orientation at least as a potential. The second rhetorical

unit, however, focuses only on the addressees. By detailing actions which the Israelites are

forbidden from perpetrating against each other, this unit takes on a medial orientation. The

structure of the Decalogue may thus be outlined as follows:

I.   "I Am" Statement (v. 2)

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[733] As we will see in the next chapter, this situation is reversed in the Deuteronomic Decalogue. Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 50–51.

II.   Proximal-Distal Unit
     a. Removal of rivals (v. 3)
     b. Clauses Concerning Ritual Implements
         i. Images (vv. 4-6)
            1. First Resultant Deictic Shift (vv. 5-6)
        ii. Name (v. 7)
            1. Second Resultant Deictic Shift (v. 7b)
     c. Ritual Instructions (vv. 8-11)
III.   Medial Unit
     a. Positive Social Injunction with Purpose Clause (v. 12)
     b. Negative Social Injunctions (vv. 13-17)

As discussed above, the "I Am" statement primarily functioned to initiate the process of deictic projection by manifesting the agent – Yahweh in this case – and specifying him as the center of the text's discourse.[734] Structurally speaking, this designates the point around which the rest of the text's discourse will revolve. The "I Am" statement of the Decalogue creates a textual, compositional, and most importantly a perceptual deictic shift. The use of the "I (am)" formula provokes the audience to imagine a monumental inscription in line with the genre usually headed by such formulae. This is a genre marked by the presentation of a particular ideological perspective. That perspective is revealed by the perceptional shift. The "I" of the "I Am" formula invites the monument's users to enter into Yahweh's perception of the world, projecting themselves into his perspective. The users are indicated here as well through the pronominal ending on Yahweh's title, ʾlhyk "your god." This implies that the users are obligated in some sense to accept the perspective presented to them by the Decalogue.

The following information in the Decalogue is all organized on the basis of its proximity or distance from Yahweh as the ideological center-point. The second unit is entirely stated in

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[734] Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," 183; Liverani, "Model and Actualization: The Kings of Akkad in the Historical Tradition," 47; Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 305. Hogue, "I Am that I Am," in preparation.

terms of "you" and "your" and suggests no break in this medial orientation. The first unit, however, reveals a much more complex texture and must be explained in more detail. This is most clearly illustrated by deictic shift in the curses of the proximal-distal unit. It has previously been observed that shifts in person were typical of West Semitic curse formulae, suggesting that the shift from first and second person to third person in the Decalogue's name commandment was intentional rather than the result of redactional activity.[735] Deictic shift theory explains the utility of this shift. For instance, the name commandment opens in the second person with "You shall not maliciously erase the name of Yahweh your God," but it continues with both Yahweh and the perpetrator spoken of in the third person with "for Yahweh your God will not acquit anyone who erases his name maliciously." The command is given in the second person to stress the immediacy of its application to the user, but the attendant curse is delivered in the third person to reveal the result of not keeping the command. That is, if the command is not heeded, the violator will enter into a distal relationship with Yahweh as expressed by the third person. The relationship ceases to be defined in terms of "I" and "you" and transforms into the less intimate "he" and "anyone." The deictic shift in such clauses reveals that the situation described is hypothetical and expresses the relational changes that may result.[736] Similar operations may be observed throughout the first rhetorical unit of the Decalogue.

As discussed above, the first injunction of the Decalogue outlines the key ideological poles in Yahweh's perspective. This injunction is stated in the third person with an implied

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[735] Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," 157.

[736] Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele," 49 n. 64.

second person made explicit by the prepositional pronoun *lk* "for you." The subjects of the verb in this clause, however, are actually the *ʾlhym ʾḥrym* "other gods." Yahweh is the center at "me" in *ʾl-pny*, and he is binarily opposed to the distal "other." Between these two poles is "you" – that is, the users who will be prompted to move in one direction or the other by the remaining clauses. In other words, this clause provokes the users to deictically project themselves into a liminal state with a transformation possible into either the people of Yahweh – the you of the clause – or the people of his enemy, the other gods. The users are thus provoked to imagine themselves as defined by the text. The deictic shifts to follow similarly promote social formation.

The image commandment presents the users with their first potential shift. Yahweh initially addresses them as "you" in v. 4, but shifts to the third person in the blessing and curse in vv. 5-6. This shift constitutes a potential relational shift expressed by personal deixis. The users may either obey the injunction and receive blessing or disobey the injunction and be cursed. Both of these possibilities are expressed as potentialities through the use of the third person as opposed to the second, which here points to the users in their liminal state. The deictic shift in the name commandment reinforces this liminality but with a marked transition. Yahweh begins by addressing the users as "you," but he then only describes violators in the third person. As in the image commandment, the third person here expresses the potential distancing outcome of breaking the commandment. But the lack of a third person blessing implies that the "you" of the command is now expressing the proper ideological response. In other words, "you" is less in between "I" and "other" at this point and is being shifted more towards the perspective of "I" – that is, Yahweh. Though the Sabbath command does express some stern warnings, it – like the rest of the Decalogue – makes no use of deictic shift to express the result of breaking it. The text thus expresses the expectation that the users will move even further towards Yahweh's

perspective. The social commandments then invite the users of the text to look inwards and observe how the agent's ideology might affect their actions towards one another.

The same kind of deictic shift is proposed by the layout of the entire text. Effectively, the first unit proposes Yahweh's ideology in terms of the "I" of the opening formula. The second unit shifts to focusing on the "you" of the commands. "He" and "they" are only used when speaking of potentialities, as in "those who hate me," "those who love me," and "he who removes my name." Thus even the deictic structure of the text is devoted to creating intimacy between Yahweh and the users. The transformative intimacy reflects the transformation of identity proposed implicitly by the text's ideology. In other words, the poetics of the Decalogue reveal the relationship it effects. This dimension of the text materializes the imagined encounter between Yahweh and the users as well as the intended result – namely, the transition to a Yahweh-centered perspective.

The Literary Spatial Dimension

The Decalogue also affords social formation through its spatial deployment. Though the Decalogue is a purely literary monument, it is nonetheless possible to analyze its integration in spatial and geographic terms. It is not difficult to conceptualize how a literary text may take on a spatial or even geographical dimension. One of the most significant aspects of the act of reading is the reader's ability to convert movement through space (such as moving across marks on a line or turning pages in a book) into movement through time (such as experiencing a written sentence as speech or advancing through a narrative). The literate mind can accomplish this subconsciously, but the cognitive processes underlying the conversion are actually quite

complex.[737] It is no more complex – and perhaps even less so – to convert movement through the space of a text into movement through another space. This is in fact the underlying assumption of certain forms of ancient Near Eastern and biblical literature.[738] In the book of Exodus, the narrative order and literary frame of materials surrounding the Decalogue provide spatial and temporal coordinates to create a narrative world – an ideologically informed thought world that is constructed within the text.[739] In order to further consider how the Decalogue's monumentality within the book of Exodus, this section will turn to questions of how the text was framed within its broader context, especially with a view towards its depicted location with the narrative's world.

The Conquest Account in Exodus and the Victory Monument

The narrative of Exodus prior to the Sinai pericope in many ways resembles an ancient conquest account in which Yahweh defeats Egypt and overcomes his rival – the Pharaoh.[740] This is not to suggest that the accounts that make up the exodus narrative were composed as conquest narratives, nor even that that the book as a whole was redacted solely to function as one. Rather, I am suggesting that ancient annalistic accounts provided a model for textual compilation in

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[737] Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*, 210–11.

[738] Gudme, "Dyed Yarns and Dolphin Skins: Temple Texts as Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible"; Smoak, "From Temple to Text: Text as Ritual Space and the Composition of Numbers 6:24-26."

[739] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 285.

[740] Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*, 22–23; Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 127–53; Walter Bruggemann, "Pharaoh as Vassal: A Study of a Political Metaphor," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (1995): 44–47; Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," 39; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 129.

ancient Israel, and some of their typical syntagms may have motivated stages of the book of

Exodus' compilation and redaction.[741] I would suggest that, while the initial composer of Exodus

undoubtedly used earlier sources, he collected them in a manner similar to ancient annals, since

that was one of the only models for text compilation he may have been familiar with.[742] This is

not to say that every single element of the book of Exodus lines up with this model, but a

plurality of the book's syntagms do seem to match those of ancient Near Eastern annals,

suggesting a common transmission code.[743]

Assyrian annals have been the most extensively studied, so the syntagms suggested for

them will provide the most suitable point of departure for a brief syntagmatic analysis of the

structure of the book of Exodus.[744] Note, however, that this organizing principle was not an

Assyrian invention. Barbara Cifola has demonstrated that the same model is applicable to

Egyptian annalistic accounts, and K. Lawson Younger Jr. extended the model to Hittite annals.[745]

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[741] Gary Rendsburg goes even further and suggests specifically that the Exodus narrative was composed to act as a Königsnovelle to Moses. Gary A. Rendsburg, "Moses as Equal to Pharaoh," in *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, Brown Judaic Studies 346 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 2006), 218. He is correct to note the connection to Königsnovelle – a type of annalistic text – and this may indeed be the model used. However, this connection is complicated by the fact that Yahweh also plays the role of king in addition to Moses. For more on Königsnovellen, see Shih-Wei Hsu, "The Development of Ancient Egyptian Royal Inscriptions," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98 (2012): 274–76.

[742] K. Lawson Younger Jr. argued the exact same process for the collection of texts in Joshua 9-12, so Exodus would not be alone in adhering to this model. K. Lawson Younger Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 98 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 321 n. 1.

[743] Younger Jr., 241.

[744] See E. Badali et al., "Studies on the Annals of Aššurnasirpal II: I. Morphological Analysis," *Vicino Oriente* V (1982): 13–73.

[745] Barbara Cifola, "Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions," *Orientalia* 57 (1988): 275–306; Barbara Cifola, "The Terminology of Ramses III's Historical Records. With a

The organization of Exodus is more complex than a syntagmatic analysis can show, but it is nonetheless striking that many major sections fit the typical syntagms of annals. For example, the book of Exodus includes spatio-temporal coordinates (Ex. 1:1-7), enunciation of disorder (Ex. 1:8-22), divine aid (Ex. 2-6), movement from place to place (Ex. 16-19), the fearful presence of the deity in the passing of the night (Ex. 11-12), flight (Ex. 7-10, 13:17-14:4), pursuit (Ex. 14:5-12), combat (Ex. 14:13-31), acts of celebration (Ex. 15), and monument erection (Ex. 20-40).

The connection between the Exodus account and annalistic writing is even more striking when one isolates the non-Priestly strata of the narrative. In these portions of the text, the Exodus is clearly a military narrative.[746] In Ex. 13:17-18 the Israelites leave Egypt armed for war, in Ex. 14-15 Yahweh fights on their behalf with Pharaoh's army, in Ex. 17 the Israelites do battle themselves with the Amalekites.[747] The non-priestly plague accounts that precede these may also be read as a form of combat, in which Yahweh attacks Egypt in its own territory in order to rescue Israel. The priestly supplements to the plague accounts reframe this military overtone considerably.[748] In short, it comes as little surprise that such a military narrative would conclude

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Formal Analysis of the War Scenes," *Orientalia* 60 (1991): 9–57; Younger Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*, 125–64.

[746] Angela R. Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant 3 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 150–51.

[747] Joel Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), 124–25.

[748] Bruggemann, "Pharaoh as Vassal: A Study of a Political Metaphor"; Thomas B. Dozeman, *God at War: Power in the Exodus Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 113–18.

with the erection of monuments to commemorate the victory, and even some of the victory

monuments attracted to the end of this narrative maintain militaristic overtones.[749]

The non-priestly strata of the Exodus narrative also contain substantial parallels to the

annalistic account of Jeroboam's rise to power in 1 Kings. Like Moses Jeroboam originates in a

royal context (compare Ex. 2:5-10 and 1 Kings 11:28), he acts rebelliously on behalf of the

people (Ex. 2:11-12 and 1 Kings 12:4), he flees in fear of his life (Ex. 2:13-15 and 1 Kings

11:40), he returns to his people after the death of his pursuer (Ex. 4:19-20 and 1 Kgs 11:43-12:3),

he attempts to negotiate the relief of his people from forced labor (Ex. 5:1-5 and 1 Kgs 12:4-5),

forced labor is intensified as a result (Ex. 5:6-14 and 1 Kgs 12:6-14), and finally he leads his

people out from southern domination (Ex 7-14 and 1 Kgs 12:16). Even though Judahite polemics

are apparent in both narratives, they similarly conclude with the erection of cultic victory

monuments including golden calves (Ex 32:1-6 and 1 Kgs 12:26-30). Strikingly, Jeroboam even

inaugurates these monuments by quoting the Decalogue in 1 Kgs 12:28. These parallels suggest

that though the Exodus account may have drawn upon earlier traditions, it was partially

composed in annalistic format to act as a legitimating myth of the Northern Kingdom.[750]

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[749] The tabernacle, for instance, has been compared to Egyptian ritual war tents. Scott B. Noegel, "The Egyptian Origin of the Ark of the Covenant," in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture, and Geoscience*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp, Quantitative Methods in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 226.

[750] Robert B. Coote, *In Defense of Revolution: The Elohist History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Königszeit*, vol. 1, Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 215; John Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 72; James Nohrnberg, *Like Unto Moses: The Constituting of a Literary Interruption*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 282–96; David Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 477–79; Israel Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 145–51; Mark Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 120–21.

Jeroboam is essentially Israel's new Moses in the account in 1 Kings.[751] This is not the place to determine whether such a charter myth was in fact commissioned by Jeroboam or one of his successors, but it was undoubtedly originally composed in the northern kingdom in order to create a clear parallel between Moses and the Israelite king.[752]

It is also possible that the non-priestly strata of the Exodus narrative were meant secondarily to serve as a charter myth for the Mushite priesthood at Dan that rose to special prominence during the reign of Jeroboam. Mark Leutcher has argued that "the picture of Moses in the mature versions of the Exodus narrative may preserve memories regarding the Mushites during Israel's formative period."[753] The Exodus narrative may reveal additional structural parallels to the account of the Danite and Mushite migration to the city of Dan, for example, which became one of Jeroboam's national shrines.[754] In the aesthetic section below, we will see that the parallels between Moses and Mushites are also supported by the similarities between the cultic installations at Dan and those depicted at Mount Sinai.

The connections between the Exodus narrative and annalistic literature is even more striking when viewed in light of the book's redaction. Angela Roskop has demonstrated that the

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[751] Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity*, 130.

[752] Rendsburg's assertion that the Exodus narrative is essentially a *Königsnovelle* for Moses is all the more striking in this case. The exodus narrative is written in annalistic style to legitimate Moses' and Yahweh's position over Israel, and by extension it legitimates the reiteration of that position in the form of the northern monarchs. Rendsburg, "Moses as Equal to Pharaoh."

[753] Mark Leuchter, "The Fightin' Mushites," *Vetus Testamentum* 62 (2012): 490.

[754] Abraham Malamat, "The Danite Migration and the Pan-Israelite Exodus-Conquest: A Biblical Narrative Pattern," *Biblica* 51, no. 1 (1970): 1–16.

itinerary notices in Exodus and Numbers, for instance, share many formal similarities with those of Neo-Assyrian annals.[755] These itinerary notices utilize the same standard verbs (*nsʿ/nasāḫu* "to set out" followed by *ḥnh/biātu* "to camp"), they are paired with date formulae, and they function primarily to structure narrative materials drawn from other sources.[756] Itinerary notices are only attested in this form and for this purpose in the Pentateuch and the Neo-Assyrian annals of the 9th and 8th centuries. However, while Roskop concludes that the Israelite scribes must have adapted this literary practice from Neo-Assyrian texts, she nevertheless concludes that this happened during the Persian period based on the typical assignation of the itinerary notices to a priestly hand. While she provides some insightful arguments for what may have motivated this adaptation, she provides no clear vector of transmission for this adaptation to have taken place centuries after the literary convention was in vogue.[757] To borrow the critique of Eckart Otto of a similarly suspect use of Neo-Assyrian comparative evidence: "the question arises as to why the biblical authors should use the Neo-Assyrian motifs of the seventh century in the sixth century, when they were already outdated…To speak of a *verspätete Rezeption* 'belated reception' does not explain anything."[758]

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[755] Ex 12:37; 13:20; 16:1a; 17:1; 19:2; Num 10:12; 20:1; 20:22; 21:20; 21:11.

[756] Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 149.

[757] Roskop, 146–51.

[758] Eckart Otto, "Assyria Nd the Judean Identity: Beyond the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, ed. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 346.

There is, however, a possible vector of transmission that may point to the adaptation of Neo-Assyrian annalistic conventions at an earlier date. Beginning especially during the reign of Assurnasirpal II, Neo-Assyrian annals were inscribed on architectural elements. Assurnasirpal's annals, for instance, were inscribed in full on the pavement slabs of the Ninurta Temple in Nimrud, and select years were also inscribed on walls and thresholds in his palace, which remained in use until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.[759] For his own part, Tiglath-Pileser III had his annals inscribed in full on the walls of his palace in Nimrud.[760] Sargon II followed suit and his Nimrud palace was decorated with the first 14 years of his annals.[761] During the reigns of these kings, Neo-Assyrian annals were used as a primary means of communicating ideological claims to the public, especially elites and foreign dignitaries visiting the Nimrud palaces. However, this ceased to be the case during the reign of Sennacherib, when annals were relegated to cylinder inscriptions hidden within walls and intended only to be read by future royal scribes. The annals were replaced instead with mostly pictorial narratives on palace walls, representing a significant shift in Neo-Assyrian monumentality and communication strategies.[762]

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[759] John Malcolm Russel, *The Writing on the Wall: Studies in the Architectural Context of Late Assyrian Palace Inscriptions*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 9 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 15, 48–53; Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 87–88; Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century," 181.

[760] Russel, *The Writing on the Wall: Studies in the Architectural Context of Late Assyrian Palace Inscriptions*, 88–94.

[761] Russel, 111–14.

[762] Russel, 244.

How might Neo-Assyrian monumental practices of a very specific time have come to influence the production of literature in ancient Israel? The most probably answer is that Israelite scribes were exposed to Neo-Assyrian annals when they visited the palaces at Nimrud as emissaries to the Assyrian throne. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even though Assyria did not have direct hegemony over the Levant between the reigns of Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-Pileser III, Levantine elites – including emissaries from the kingdom of Israel – continued visiting the palaces at Nimrud to bring tribute and participate in court ceremonies there.[763] Israelites could have been exposed to annalistic conventions as early as the 9th century and definitely during the early 8th century.[764] This exposure would have only increased during and after the reign of Tiglath-Pileser up until the destruction of the northern kingdom. It is thus during the 9th and 8th centuries in the northern kingdom that Israelite scribes most likely adapted Neo-Assyrian conventions for the structuring of their own literature. During this time, not only was there a clear vector of transmission, but annalistic conventions were also being used as a means of communicating ideology to a public. It is far less likely that these conventions would have been adopted after the Assyrians themselves abandoned them in favor of other strategies, and still less likely that Judean exiles somehow rediscovered the Assyrian annals centuries later.

The connection between itinerary notices and priestly literary activity also does not pose serious problems to the adaptation of these conventions during the 9th and 8th centuries. On the one hand, the itinerary notices have themselves been assigned to various sources and are not

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[763] Shawn Zelig Aster, "Transmission of Neo-Assyrian Claims of Empire to Judah in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 78 (2007): 13–18; Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century," 181–87.

[764] Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century," 193.

definitively priestly.[765] On the other hand, not all priestly strata are necessarily late. While some

aspects of the annalistic form in the exodus narrative were obscured by later priestly redactions,

others were actually enhanced by it. For instance, the spatio-temporal coordinates – a typical

means of opening an annalistic account – were added by the priestly editor.[766] The scene at the

sea mirrors ancient West Asian battle accounts with its structure of flight, pursuit, and combat,

and it shows many marks of priestly compositional and redactional activity.[767] The majority of

Ex. 25-31 and 35-40 are priestly, and their focus on monument erection naturally follows the

earlier combat account and move away from enemy territory.[768] The golden calf episode had

already been attracted to this material and edited based on this preoccupation with monuments,

and I would argue that the same may be true for the insertions of the Decalogue and the

Covenant Code.[769] The priestly editors merely continued the non-priestly insertion of accounts of

monuments to close the annalistic account in Exodus. While some of the strata in this editorial

material are undoubtedly late, others point to an earlier period and a northern setting in

particular.[770]

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[765] Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 153.

[766] Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 129–30.

[767] Herring, 131.

[768] Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation"; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 132.

[769] Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 296–97.

[770] Avi Hurvitz, "The Usage of שש and בוצ in the Bible and Its Implication for the Date of P," *The Harvard Theological Review* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 1967): 117–21; Avi Hurvitz, "The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code," *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974): 24–56; Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the*

Among other objects in Exodus, the Decalogue functions as a victory monument would in ancient Near Eastern annals. Much as would the Hittites and Egyptians during the Bronze Age as well as the Assyrians during the Iron Age, Yahweh halted his campaign at a mountain and set about commemorating his victory. At Sinai, Yahweh gives a law code (Ex. 21-23), has an altar and stelae erected (Ex. 24), produces a building inscription for a shrine (Ex. 25-31),[771] and has that shrine constructed (Ex. 35-40). The second half of Exodus is so concerned with monument erection that it even attracted the story of the Golden Calf, which in this context is presented as a counter-monument for Yahweh to have destroyed.[772] None of these monuments is especially surprising for a new monarch to be setting up; the only common type missing is a summary inscription to simply announce the victory.[773] This is the function of the Decalogue, which has

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Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel, Cahiers de La Revue Biblique (Paris: Gabalda, 1982); Avi Hurvitz, "Once Again: The Linguistic Profile of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch and Its Historical Age. A Response to J. Blenkinsopp," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 112 (2000): 180–91; Mehahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Mehahem Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100, no. 3 (September 1, 1981): 321–33, https://doi.org/10.2307/3265957; Gary Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P,'" *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 12 (1980): 65–80; Ziony Zevit, "Philology, Archaeology, and a Terminus a Quo for P's Ḥaṭṭāʾt Legislation," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David N. Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1995); Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 99; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P." For a broad survey of the debate surrounding the date of the priestly materials, see Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 159–61.

[771] William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 129–31.

[772] The episode of the Golden Calf is especially striking in this regard. Despite its apparently non-priestly origin, it has been edited to correspond to the priestly tabernacle passages. It was thus redacted to make even clearer that it should be read as a narrative about a counter-monument. See Hurowitz, "What Can Go Wrong with an Idol?," 296–97; Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 330–31.

[773] Badali et al., "Studies on the Annals of Aššurnasirpal II: I. Morphological Analysis," 39–41; Yamada, "History and Ideology in the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III"; Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during

been inserted before any of the other monuments in Exodus. Yahweh thus delivers his one and only direct speech to the Israelites in the form of a Northwest Semitic royal inscription.

While the Decalogue resembles Northwest Semitic memorial inscriptions such as the Kulamuwa Inscription (KAI 24), the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26), or the Mesha Stele (KAI 181) as a commemoration of victory in warfare, it is more strikingly aligned with the Assyrian and Hittite practice of commemorating victories with monuments erected on mountains. In the 9th century BCE, Assyrian kings set up summary inscriptions at significant topographical features – such as mountains – that may have represented cosmic extremities.[774] The erection of these monuments was narrativized in annals, often as the last episode in the annal. Shalmaneser III erected some such mountain monuments in the west, including one which may have been located on Mount Carmel in Israel.[775] He erected a similar monument on Mt. Lebanon beside an older mountain monument of Tiglath-Pileser I.[776] Apart from these examples nearest ancient Israel, a number of such monuments were erected by Shalmaneser III in throughout the northern

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His Campaigns"; Younger Jr., *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*, 72.

A similar practice is also attested among the Hittites. Younger Jr., 120–22.

[774] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 144–45.

[775] Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," 4; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 192.

[776] Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 194–95.

Levant as well.[777] This practice was thus clearly in evidence in the eastern Mediterranean and may have reshaped local monument-making traditions, as discussed in the previous chapter. The Biblical editors may be drawing upon the same practice to cast the Decalogue as a mountain monument.

Though it is less likely to have directly influenced the biblical narrative, the Hittite practice of erecting monuments on mountains is an even more striking parallel.[778] This is because in at least one instance the complete text of the mountain monument was recorded within an annalistic account after the narrative of the king's arrival at the peak and his erection of the monument. In the aforementioned KBo 12.32, Šuppiluliuma II describes a victory monument he set up on a mountain after his conquest of Cyprus. After the description of this monument, a double line indicates that a new text will begin. This double line is followed by a royal inscription that is understood to be carved on the mountain monument.[779] The annalistic text thus not only includes an episode of mountain monument erection but also the complete text of that monument is inserted. The exact same process occurred in Exodus. In addition to accounts of stelae and altar erection in chapter 24 following the theophany in chapter 19, the composer inserted the Decalogue in chapter 20 to act as the monumental inscription emplaced at Mount Sinai.

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[777] For a discussion of all of these monuments, see Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns"; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 273–96.

[778] This practice continued in the region of Tabal as demonstrated by the "I Am" inscriptions BULGARMADEN, HİSARCIK 1, and HİSARCIK 2.

[779] Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," 73.

<u>Ascending Sinai in Ex. 19-24</u>

After completing their trek through the wilderness, the Israelites spend the remainder of the book of Exodus at Sinai. It would go beyond the scope of this study to address chapters 19-40 in full, but the material in Ex 19-24:11 is directly pertinent to the Decalogue. This material creates an immediate literary-spatial context to frame the Decalogue at Sinai and appears especially sensitive to framing the text within monumental spatial and aesthetic discourse. Ex 24:12, however, begins a new episode in the Sinai pericope that shifts focus to a new kind of monumental construction – the tabernacle. I will argue this in more detail below, but it must be stated here that, contrary to popular tradition, the tablets of stone introduced later in chap. 24 have no relationship to the Decalogue in Exodus but rather belong to the Tabernacle account.[780] Also, the so-called "Ritual Decalogue" in Ex 34 is ultimately a separate text that has more in common with the Covenant Code. For this reason, it is better labeled 'the small Covenant Code' and excluded from this treatment of the Decalogue's context.[781] My analysis of the immediate context of the Decalogue will thus be restricted to Ex 19-24:11.

Ex 19-24:11 represent some of the most confusing materials preserved in the Pentateuch. The scholarly literature on this material is vast, stretching back to at least the Middle Ages.[782]

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[780] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128–32.

[781] Yehezkel Kaufmann and Moshe Greenberg, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 166; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Ban on the Canaanites in the Biblical Codes and Its Historical Development," in *History and Traditions of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen, May 8th 1993*, ed. André Lemaire and Benedikt` Otzen, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 142; John Bright, *A History of Israel*, Fourth (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 142, 164–66.

[782] For summaries of the major issues and competing views, see Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 344–60; Thomas B. Dozeman, *God on the Mountain: A Study of Redaction, Theology, and Canon in Exodus 19-24*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, 88–99; Bernard Renaud, *La Théophanie Du Sinaï: Ex 19-24: Exégèse et Théologie*, Cahiers de La Revue Biblique

Because I will primarily address the apparent reflections of monumental spatial discourse in these texts, I will only briefly summarize some of the major issues and reference other critical studies as they are relevant. The text is clearly composite and the various strata have been juxtaposed in manner generally opaque to modern scholars. Among other problems, Moses ascends and descends from Sinai 5 times in these verses, sometimes only to be told to go down and then come back up.[783] Also unclear is who is allowed to ascend with Moses, and different groups appear and disappear from the mountain with little comment. It is important to note, however, that innerbiblical discourse markers may suggest that some of these events are contemporaneous. In this regard, it should also be kept in mind that the organization of these passages is clearly governed by spatial rather than temporal concerns.[784] Though the narrative does appear to proceed in a chronological fashion, its primary concern is the location and movement of various individuals in the environment of Sinai. Interruptions in the narrative will be shown to function primarily to draw attention to the special movement in this location or else to insert important personages in their proper place on the mountain.

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30 (Paris: Gabalda, 1991); Eckart Otto, "Die nachpriesterschriftliche Pentateuchredaktion im Buch Exodus," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction - Reception - Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 126 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 99; Erich Zenger, "Wie und wozu die Tora zum Sinai kam: Literarische und theologische Beobachtungen zu Exodus 19-34," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction - Reception - Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 126 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 265–88; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 232–44; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 212–14.

[783] Emanuel Tov, "Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses' Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34," in *Gotteschau - Gotterserkenntnis*, ed. Evangelia G. Dafni, vol. Band I, Studien Zur Theologie Der Septuaginta (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 4.

[784] Similar arguments have now been defended for the tabernacle materials in Exodus as well as some of the ritual instructions in Numbers. It is thus unsurprising that spatial concerns would direct the structuring of Ex 19-24 as well. Gudme, "Dyed Yarns and Dolphin Skins: Temple Texts as Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible"; Smoak, "From Temple to Text: Text as Ritual Space and the Composition of Numbers 6:24-26."

Much as was the case in the Epic of Gilgamesh discussed above, the textualization of monumental discourse in the form of the Decalogue is accompanied by a framing narrative in Ex 19-24:11 meant to introduce the characters – and by extension the reader – to the monumental encounter. Also as in the Epic, the users of the Decalogue must ascend a significant landmark in order to encounter the text. Unlike the Epic, this ascent has several false starts and consists of many incomplete climbs. The result is confusing but also striking when considered in tandem with the spatial discourse of Levantine "I Am" monuments. The reader – like the user of such monuments – has no direct path to the Decalogue. In order to ascend the mountain, the reader must linger at different stations, retreat, and repeatedly try again. The passages surrounding the Decalogue are undoubtedly the product of a complex composition history, but the resulting compendium is filled with the uncanny. This was likely not entirely unintentional.

I will once again turn to markers of innerbiblical discourse in order to make some sense of the movements in this text. It must be stated at the outset that though differentiating discursive strata may reveal some elements of editorial activity – insertions in particular – this method is not guaranteed to distinguish every textual stratum that has been composed. Some seams will remain opaque in this analysis, but this is not overly problematic. As Emmanuel Tov has argued, the most important conclusion that can be reached about this text is that it was apparently coherent in the minds of its ancient composers, editors, and readers.[785] The primary concern in the present study is not to reveal every source or layer in the text but rather to determine what was gained by constructing such a confusing context for the Decalogue.

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[785] Tov, "Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses' Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34," 7.

Ex 19-24:11 is rife with *Wiederaufnahmen*, inclusios, step parallelism, and epexegetical markers. In the chart on the following pages, I provide a translation of these passages meant to draw attention to these features. I distinguish between four discursive layers in the text: the framing narrative, framed elaborations and explanations, epexegetical comments and glosses, and independent insertions. As above, I mark resumptive repetitions in bold and epexegetical markers in italics, and I have also marked repeated key phrases in underline. After the chart categorizing these discursive strata, I provide a translation of the narrative with apparent interpolations moved to footnotes, which I propose may be the best modern equivalent to the various ancient scribal conventions that mark these insertions as secondary.[786] This exercise will allow us to make some more substantial observations on the structure of the text.

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[786] This is not to suggest that the resulting framing narrative is the original form of this text. The result still shows signs of compositing. Rather, I would suggest that this result is what an ancient audience may reasonably have perceived as the primary narrative, given that the remaining material is clearly marked as separate by standard scribal conventions.

Framing Narrative	Framed Elaborations and Explanations	Epexegetical Comments and Glosses	Independent Insertions
[19:1] On the third new moon after the children of Israel set out from Egypt – on the very day – **they arrived in the wilderness of Sinai.**	[2a] They had set out from Rephidim, and **they arrived in the wilderness of Sinai.**[794]		
[2bα] And they camped in the wilderness.		[2bβ] *Now*, Israel camped opposite the mountain.[803]	
[3] Then Moses went up to God, and Yahweh called to him from the mountain, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob and report to the children of Israel: [4]			

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[794] In addition to being framed by a *Wiederaufnahme*, this itinerary notice is typically considered a redactional insertion along with the other itinerary notices as discussed above. It is often, though not universally, assigned to a priestly editor. Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 136–78.

[803] In addition to functioning as an apparent gloss on "the wilderness," this has also been determined to be an interpolation based on the double arrival in Sinai. This makes explicit that the setting of the following material is at a mountain. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 224; Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period: From the Beginnings to the End of the Monarchy*, vol. I, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 53; Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 153–64; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 189, 230, 234; Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 182–84, 218–23.

Alternatively, Alviero Niccacci sees the repetition of the verb *ḥnh* as a *Wiederaufnahme* designed to introduce the following material, rather than bracket the material preceding it. Niccacci, "Narrative Syntax of Exodus 19-24," 213.

'You saw what I did to Egypt. But I lifted you up on eagles' wings and brought you to me. ⁵ And now, if you indeed hear my voice and keep my covenant, you will be my special possession out of all the peoples, though all the earth is mine. ⁶ But you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. <u>These words</u> you shall speak to the children of Israel." ⁷ Then Moses came and spoke to the elders of the people, and he set before them <u>all these words</u> which Yahweh had commanded him. ⁸ And the whole people answered together and they said, **"<u>All that Yahweh has said, we will do.</u>"⁷⁸⁷ Then Moses reported the words of the people to Yahweh.**⁷⁸⁸			
	^{9a} And Yahweh said to Moses, "Behold I have come to you in a thick cloud that the people may hear my words with you."		

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⁷⁸⁷ This inclusio in Ex 19:8 will not close until Ex 24:3 below. This phrase will be repeated a third time Ex 24:7 and may also be understood as contributing to the step parallelism of the whole passage.

⁷⁸⁸ The repetition in Ex 19:8-9 has also been identified as a *Wiederaufnahme* by Niccacci. Alviero Niccacci, "Narrative Syntax of Exodus 19-24," in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible. Papers of the Tilburg Conference 1996*, ed. E. Van Wolde, Biblical Interpretation 29 (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1997), 217–18.

		^{9bα} *By the way,*⁸⁰⁴ this is also that they may believe you forever.⁸⁰⁵	
	^{9bβ} **And Moses reported the words of the people to Yahweh.**		
¹⁰ And Yahweh said to Moses, "Go to the people and consecrate them today, and tomorrow they shall wash their clothes. ¹¹ And they shall make ready for the third day – the day that Yahweh shall descend before the eyes of all the people upon Mount Sinai. ¹² But you shall restrain the people, saying, "Take care that you do not approach the mountain nor touch its edge. Anyone who touches the mountain shall surely die. ¹³ You must not reach out your hand for it. The one who does will surely			

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⁸⁰⁴ The epexegetical marker *wgm* typically introduces tangentially related information, thus I have chosen to translate it "by the way." This may be interpreted as a compound epexegetical marker, or as the epexegetical explicative *waw* + focusing particle *gm*. On the functions of these particles, see T. Muraoka, *Emphatics Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 143; William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 197 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 136; C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Pragmatics and the Translation Value of *Gam*," *Journal for Semitics* 4, no. 2 (1992): 181–99; C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Old Hebrew Particles and the Interpretation of Old Testament Texts," *Journal For the Study of the Old Testament* 60 (1993): 35–37; C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Another Look at the Biblical Hebrew Focus Particle גם," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LIV, no. 2 (2009): 313–32.

⁸⁰⁵ Carr identifies this interpolation as a post-D expansion. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 271.

be stoned or shot. Whether animal or man, he must not live. But at the sounding of the trumpet, they may go up the mountain." [14] Then Moses descended from the mountain, consecrated the people, and washed their clothes. [15] And Moses said to the people, "Make ready for three days; do not go near a woman." [16a] And it happened on the third day in the morning that there was <u>thunder and lightning</u> and a heavy cloud upon the mountain. **And the sound of the trumpet was very loud,**	[16b] and all the people in the camp **trembled**. [17] And Moses brought out the people from the camp before God, and they stood at the base of the mountain.	[18] *Now*,[806] Mount Sinai was full of smoke because Yahweh descended upon it in fire. And the smoke was like the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain **trembled** greatly.	

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[806] This clause is further set off from the material framed by the double *Wiederaufnahme* by the use of an explicative *waw*, especially as indicated by the inverse word order of this clause. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 343. On the syntax of explicative *waw*, see Theophile James Meek, "The Syntax of the Sentence in Hebrew," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 64, no. 1 (1945): 6–7; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 199.

	^{19a} **And the sound of the trumpet was continuing very loudly.**		
^{19b} Moses spoke, and God answered him with thunder. ^{20a} And Yahweh descended upon Mount Sinai – **to the summit of the mountain,**			
	^{20b} and Yahweh called Moses **to the summit of the mountain**, and Moses went up. ²¹ But Yahweh said to Moses, "**Go down and warn the people not to defile Yahweh by looking,** or else many of them may fall.		
		²² *By the way*, the priests who have access⁸⁰⁷ to Yahweh consecrate themselves, so Yahweh doesn't break out against them.	
	²³ But Moses said to Yahweh, "The people cannot come up to Mount Sinai, because you already warned us to put a boundary around it and consecrate it." ²⁴ But Yahweh said, "**Go down, [**and you will come up, you and Aaron with you as well as the priests,] **but**		

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⁸⁰⁷ On this translation of the verb *ngš* as "to have access," see Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology I: The Encroacher and the Levite, the Term ʿAboda* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 35.

	the people will not dare to look upon Yahweh, or he shall break out against them." ²⁵ And Moses went down to the people and spoke to them.⁷⁹⁵		
²⁰:¹ And God spoke **all these words**,⁷⁸⁹ saying: ¹⁸ Meanwhile,⁷⁹⁰ the whole people saw the <u>thunder and lightning</u> and the sound of the trumpet and the smoking mountain, and they saw and were afraid and stood **far away**.			Decalogue (Ex 20:2-17)
	¹⁹ And they said to Moses, "You speak with us and we will listen, but do not let God speak with us lest we die." ²⁰ And Moses said to the people, "Do not fear. God came to test you and to set the fear of him before you so that		

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⁷⁸⁹In addition to ᵃᶜ²²ᵗⁱⁿᵍ as a key phrase to structure the step parallelism of the passage, this label for the Decalogue in Ex 20:1 also functions as the opening of an inclusio that will close Ex 24:3. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 234.

⁷⁹⁰ The repetitive resumption can also function to denote that actions are simultaneous. In this case, the people perceive the storm theophany as Yahweh speaks. I provided "meanwhile" in the translation to draw attention to this function. Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 78.

⁷⁹⁵ In addition to being marked by *Wiederaufnahmen* and epexegetical markers, the material in Ex 19:20-25 is typically considered a secondary priestly expansion. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 361–64; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 240.

	you might not sin." ^{21a} And the people stood **far away,**		
^{21b} but Moses approached the deep darkness, in which God was. ^{22a} Then Yahweh said to Moses:			Altar Law (Ex 20:22b-26)
^{21:1} And these are the **traditions**[791] that you shall set before them:			
	^{24:1} And to Moses, he said,[796] "**Come up** to the mountain, **You and Aaron and Nadab and**		Covenant Code (Ex 21-23)

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[791] This label for the Covenant Code in Ex 21:1 opens an inclusio that will close in Ex 24:3. Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 234.

[796] There is no subject in this clause, resulting in a significant disconnect from what precedes and follows it. Baden suggests that it resumes the narrative line from Ex 19:24, because Moses again is directed to ascend the mountain with Aaron and a variety of other figures while the people are kept away. Baden considers this to be part of a non-priestly layer, but if the connection to Ex 19:24 is correct we might also assign this to a priestly hand on the basis of the priestly character of the material it connects to as well as the focus on priestly figures and ritual segregation. The framing narrative that ended in Ex 19:19 and continued in the materials narrating the giving of the Decalogue and Covenant Code resumes in Ex 24:3. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 77–78, 117–18; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 123–25; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 240.

	Abihu[797] and seventy from the elders of Israel.[798] And you will worship <u>from afar.</u>[799]	[2] *Now*, Moses alone shall approach Yahweh, and they shall not approach him, and the people shall not go up with him.	

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[797] The mention of Nadab and Abihu here is worthy of special comment. These names appear to be based on those of Jeroboam I's sons – Nadab and Abijah. It has been suggested therefore that the inclusion of these characters serves as a further indication that one version of the book of Exodus was written so as to mirror the life of Jeroboam. The possible assignment of this section to a priestly hand is not necessarily problematic to this view, as some priestly strata have been distinguished as pre-exilic and northern in character. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 477; Jonathan S. Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 358 (2010): 27–45; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P"; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P."

[798] This phrase in Ex 24:1 will be resumed in Ex 24:9, perhaps providing a secondary frame around the material in vv. 3-8. Vv. 1-2 were probably introduced by a later editor in order to connect vv. 3-8 to vv. 9-11. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, 126 N. 47. For critical approaches to this material in particular, see Perlitt, *Bundestheologie Im Alten Testament*, 190–203; Ernest Nicholson, "The Antiquity of the Tradition in Exodus 24:9-11," *Vetus Testamentum* 26 (1976): 148–60; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 264–69; Ronald S. Hendel, "Sacrifice as a Cultural System: The Ritual Symbolism of Exodus 24:3-8," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 101 (1989): 366–90; Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, 51–52; Jean-Louis Ska, "Exod 19,3-8 et les parénèses deutéronomiques," in *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Für Norbert Lohfink SJ*, ed. Georg Braulik, W. Groß, and S. McEvenue (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993), 311–12; Jean-Louis Ska, "Le Repas de Ex 24,11," *Biblica* 74 (1993): 305–27; Friedhelm Hartenstein, "Wolkendunkel und Himmelfeste: Zur Genese und Kosmologie der Vorstellung des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. B. Ianowski (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 136–37; William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 19-40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 2A (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 147–48; Thomas B. Dozeman, *Exodus*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2009), 567.

[799] This repetition of the *Wiederaufnahme* from the previous narrative interpolation likely functions to connect this interpolation with that one, as opposed to the framing narrative.

³ And Moses came and recounted to the people **all the words** of Yahweh and all the **traditions,**[792] and the whole people answered with one voice and said, "**All of the words that Yahweh said we will do.**"[793] ⁴ Then Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh, and he got up early and built an altar beneath the mountain and twelve stelae for the twelve tribe of Israel. ⁵ And he sent the youths of the people of Israel, and they offered up offerings and sacrificed whole sacrifices to Yahweh: bulls. ⁶ And Moses took half of the blood and put it in bowls, and half of **the blood he sprinkled** on the altar.

⁷ And he took the scroll of the covenant and read it in the ears of the people and they said, "All

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[792] These repetitions of the labels for the Decalogue and Covenant Code close the inclusio bracketing the Decalogue and the Covenant Code and resume the framing narrative. W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1965), 16; Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 500; Harold Louis Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (Ktav Pub Incorporated, 1982), 46; P. Kyle McCarter, "Exodus," in *Harper's Bible Commentary*, ed. J. L. Mays (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 149; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 234.

[793] This line in Ex 24:3 is an exact duplication of the phrase in Ex 19:8, closing the inclusio that opened there to bracket the entire passage. Lothar Perlitt, *Bundestheologie Im Alten Testament*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien Zum Alten Und Neuen Testament 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 192; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 29.

⁸ And Moses took **the blood and sprinkled** the people and said, "Behold the blood of the covenant that Yahweh cut with you concerning **all these words**."	that Yahweh has said, we will do and we hear."⁸⁰⁰ ⁹ And Moses **went up**, along with **Aaron and Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel.**⁸⁰¹ ^{10a} **And they saw the God of Israel,**	^{10b} *Now*, beneath his feet was a pavement of sapphire as clear as the sky. ^{11a} *Now*, against the nobles of the people of Israel, he did not stretch out his hand. ^{11bα} **And they saw God,**	

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⁸⁰⁰ Schniedewind takes this repetition as a resumption of v. 3. Given that it occurs within another *Wiederaufnahme*, though, it may be repetition designed to better incorporate the insertion into the passage rather than to bracket vv. 4-6. This does, however, serve as an additional editorial marker that material has been inserted, as Schniedewind already argued. Also, this insertion does indeed create an intertextual link to 2 Kgs 23:2, 21, and may represent a Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic redactional layer. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 124–26.

⁸⁰¹ With this repetition, the narrative of vv. 1-2 resumes. Schniedewind, 127.

	[11bβ] and they ate and drank.[802]		

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[802] The last part of v. 11 has previously been identified as a separate layer based on source critical criteria. This is corroborated by its placement outside the close of the *Wiederaufnahme* preceding it. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 117.

This discursive structure reveals a narrative that is centered on the giving of the Decalogue and secondarily the Covenant Code. Even if one argues that the Decalogue is a secondary insertion itself, the narrative clearly revolves around the revelation of "these words" or "all these words." Whatever these may have been in a different stage in the text's history, they are clearly the Decalogue in the passage's current form.[808] The primary narrative line framing the Decalogue is not only centered on divine revelation but specifically divine revelation meant to constitute a community.[809] This is apparent even if one reads the narrative without the Decalogue and the Covenant Code, which enshrine Israel's identity in the form of monumental text. Given the general structure of the book of Exodus discussed above, we would expect an identity configuration scene to close the Exodus narrative in the form of a monument erection scene. That is precisely what is preserved.

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[808] This is even clearer when considered alongside the fact that some of the material in Ex 19:3-8, especially vv. 3b-6, may be a later insertion or else earlier material that was inserted into the narrative during a later stage of its development. This is the only other material in Ex 19-24:11 that might be considered a referent for *hdbrym hʾlh* "these words." Though this material is not clearly marked discursively as separate, many scholars have concluded that it is secondary on other grounds. B. Bäntsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri*, Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), 170–71; Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library 613 (London: SCM Press, 1962), 157–59; Frank Moore Cross Jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 21–22; Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 360–61; Alan W. Jenks, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 22 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1977), 48; Dozeman, *God on the Mountain: A Study of Redaction, Theology, and Canon in Exodus 19-24*, 28, 39 N. 10; Erhard Blum, "Israel À La Montagne de Dieu: Remarques Sur Ex. 19-24; 32-34 et Sur Le Contexte Littéraire et Historique de La Composition," in *Le Pentateuque En Question: Les Origines et La Composition Des Cinq Premiers Livres de La Bible À La Lumière Des Recherches Récentes*, ed. Albert de Pury, Le Monde de La Bible 19 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1989), 281; Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, 170; Jean-Louis Ska, "Exode 19,3b-6 et L'identité de l'Israël Postexilique," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction - Reception - Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 289–317; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 92.

[809] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 213–14; Aaron, *Etched in Stone: The Emergence of the Decalogue*, 44; Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 9–10; Simeon Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," *Vetus Testamentum* 65 (2015): 169–222.

When the framing narrative is isolated, a ring structure with step parallelism centered on the Decalogue becomes apparent. As articulated by Mark Smith, "the narrative in 19.1-24.11 has been shaped to accommodate the secondary insertion of the legal sections."[810] The major events are as follows. First, Moses ascends the mountain to meet Yahweh, who tells him to prepare the people to receive *hdbrym hʾlh* "these words." Second, the people communally respond with a sort of ritual incantation that brackets most of the passage (*kl ʾšr-dbr yhwh nʿśh* "All that Yahweh has said, we will do."). Third, the people ritually prepare themselves for Yahweh's theophany. Fourth, Yahweh appears in a storm theophany.[811] Then the Decalogue is inserted. After this, the people's perception of the storm theophany is related. Then Moses again ascends the mountain to receive revelation. He then reports *hdbrym hʾlh* "these words" to the people, who respond with the same ritual incantation as before. The people then ritually enter into a relationship with Yahweh, described as *dm-hbryt ʾšr krt yhwh ʿmkm ʿl kl-hdbrym hʾlh* "the blood of the covenant Yahweh cut with you concerning all these words." While it is true that the Decalogue does not arrive where one might expect it if this is read as a parallel sequence, when the framing narrative is read with a ring structure and parallelism in mind the Decalogue appears right in its center.[812]

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[810] Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 233.

[811] The fire theophany notably only appears in marked elaborations on the passage.

[812] It has been suggested that the original form of the Sinai monument-making scene would have had the Decalogue and its ritual inauguration in Ex 24 immediately following Ex 18. The restructuring of the material in the midst of Ex 19-24:11 was to promote the secondary attachment of the Covenant Code to the tradition. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 350–56, 500; Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*, 46; McCarter, "Exodus," 149; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 233–34.

I.	Moses receives revelation (19:3-7)
a.	"these words" (19:6)
II.	Communal Response (19:8)
III.	Ritual Preparation for Theophany (19:10-15)
IV.	Storm Theophany (19:16-19)
V.	Decalogue (20:2-17)
a.	"all these words" (20:1)
VI.	Storm Theophany (20:18)
VII.	Moses receives revelation (20:22-21:1)
VIII.	Communal Response (24:3)
IX.	Ritual Ratification (24:4-8)
a.	"all these words" (24:8)
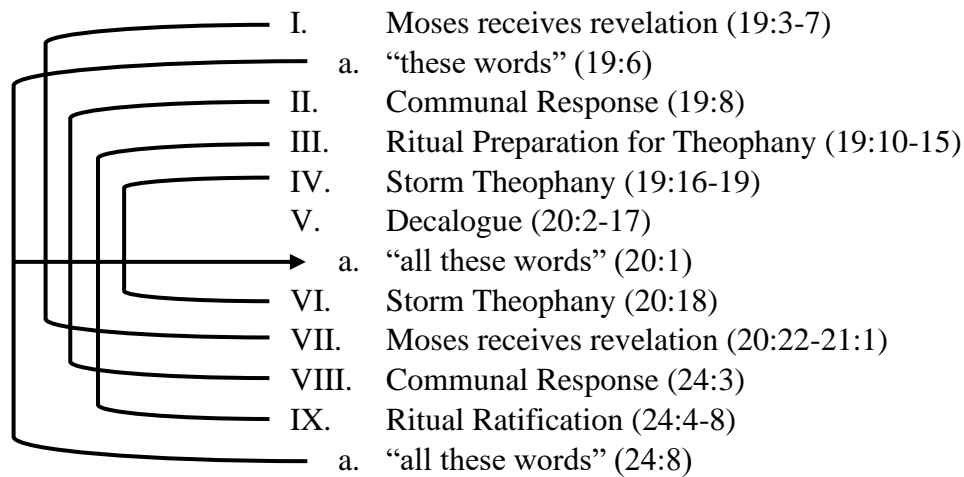
Within the framing narrative, the marked elaborations and explanations serve to place additional weight on the location and the gravity of the theophany there. One of the key ways they do this is by complicating the narrative's hierarchy.[813] In the narrative, Yahweh directs and restricts the movement of the people around Sinai using Moses as an intermediary. This reveals a mostly bipartite hierarchy as we might expect based on the poetic dimension of the Decalogue. The elaborations, however, introduce a tripartite and sometimes even more complex hierarchy. This can especially be demonstrated with two examples. First, Ex 19:20-25 is typically considered a priestly insertion, partially on the basis of its tripartite hierarchy of Yahweh, Moses with the priests, and then the people.[814] This insertion is first marked by the resumptive repetition of ʾl-rʾš hhr "to the summit of the mountain" in vv. 20 and 21, and it is further bracketed by

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[813] Tov, "Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses' Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34," 13.

[814] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 361–64; Jenks, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions*, 48; R. W. L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of Hte Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism*, Overtures to Biblical Theology (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 102; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 240. On this tripartite hierarchy as a mark of priestly composition or redaction, see Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*, 158–88; Jacob Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly 'Picture of Dorian Gray,'" *Revue Biblique* 83 (1976): 390–99.

means of a *Wiederaufnahme* in vv. 21 and 24 based on the repeating terms *rd* "go down" and

yhrsw "they will break through." Within this bracketed section, the epexegetical marker *wgm* "by

the way" introduces tangential information about the priests' access to Yahweh and how it

differs from that of the people, who are being warned to stay back from the mountain. The

closing of the *Wiederaufnahme* in v. 24 then either confirms or further nuances this assertion.

The repetition of the key words is interrupted by noting that Aaron is exempt from the warning

while the priests in general are not. The composer or editor has thus added information

expanding the hierarchy beyond Moses and the people in Ex 19:21 to a hierarchy also including

Aaron and the priests vv. 22 and 24. These additions likely represent editorial activity reflective

of the changing social context of the text.[815]

In Ex 24, the hierarchy is even further complicated by additions. It has long been

recognized that vv. 1-2, 9-11 and vv. 3-8 represent different literary layers. In its present form, 1-

2 and 9-11 create a frame around vv. 3-8 that is partially achieved by the repetition of the verb

ʿlh "to go up" with a list of the people who are now allowed to go up: Moses, Aaron, Nadab,

Abihu, and the seventy elders of Israel. Now, not only are the priests part of the hierarchy, the

elders have been added as an additional social level and both have access to Sinai. The insertion

of these figures serves to legitimate their authority.[816] Following the second occurrence of this

list, an additional *Wiederaufnahme* encloses yet another group placed on the mountain. Verses

10-11 are bracketed by a repeated description of seeing Yahweh (*wyrʾw ʾt ʾlhy yśrʾl…wyḥzw ʾt-*

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[815] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 214; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 202–7.

[816] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 30, 228.

hʾlhym "they saw the God of Israel…they saw the God"). Bracketed by this *Wiederaufnahme* is a note about the *ʾṣyly bny yśrʾl* "the nobles of the people of Israel," who were also apparently present on Sinai. Notably, both the term *ʾṣyl* "noble" and the verb that closes the *Wiederaufnahme ḥzh* "to see," are Eastern Aramaic loanwords that most likely entered Hebrew during the Persian Period.[817] This is important evidence that this passage was edited over a long period by scribes hoping to legitimate their own social position or that of their patrons by adding more and more groups to those allowed to be on the mountain.[818]

The initial introduction of a more complex hierarchy to Sinai may reflect the monumental discourse of the age of Court Ceremony, in which political power was strongly segregated.[819] The elevation of the priests is especially instructive in this regard. Though they undoubtedly always played a significant role in ancient Israelite cultural affairs, archaeological evidence suggests that the priests became a significant elite class during the 8th century under the Nimshide dynasty in Israel.[820] This development mirrored the ascendancy of other non-royal elite classes in the Levant during this period, such as the eunuchs of Carchemish who became

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[817] More significantly, it is the concentration of Aramaic words in this insertion that indicates a late date. Avi Hurvitz, "The Chronological Significance of 'Aramaisms' in Biblical Hebrew," *Israel Exploration Journal* 18, no. 4 (1968): 234–40.

[818] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 123; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 213–14; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 202–7.

[819] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–33.

[820] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 105, 135–36; Davis, *Tel Dan in Its Northern Cultic Context*, 136, 173. On the elite status of priests more generally, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (Doubleday, 1991), 52–57; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*, 152–57.

primary ritual officiants during the reign of Yariris.[821] Though the principle of textual attraction

governing the placement of different classes on Sinai apparently continued into the Persian

Period, its initial implementation could conceivably have occurred as early as the 8th century.[822]

The elaborations also make Yahweh appear more inviolable, uncanny, and otherworldly.

For instance, the triple repetition of the warning that the people cannot approach the mountain in

Ex 19 serves as "a compositional device aiming at inculcating God's awe upon the people,"

according to Alveiro Niccacci.[823] Furthermore, Moses ascends and descends from the mountain

at least five times, sometimes without a clear purpose and with varying retinues. The resultant

confusion draws special attention to movement up and down the mountain as well as to varying

degrees of access. Though other textual and literary factors may be responsible for the text

reaching its present shape, these were notably not harmonized because they were comprehensible

to ancient scribes.[824] Perhaps because this passage was fixated on monument erection, the

approach to the monument was allowed to spatially reflect such an approach in lived contexts.

This is a literary reflection of the spatial complexities of approaching and engaging a

monumental text.

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[821] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 129–30.

[822] This is also quite possibly the same period when the Covenant Code was inserted into the narrative. Based on Deuteronomy's development of the Covenant Code, some form of Ex 21-23 must predate the Deuteronomic Code and therefore have been composed prior to the 7th century. It would thus originate at a time no later than the 8th century and perhaps even earlier. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 470–72.

[823] Niccacci, "Narrative Syntax of Exodus 19-24," 220.

[824] Tov, "Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses' Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34," 7.

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that Levantine "I Am" monuments had a

very complex spatial syntax in terms of how they related to their environments and invited

particular kinds of movement. A straight approach to such a monument would be highly unusual.

Rather, these objects were embedded into tiered theatres with different levels of participants filed

into tiers of increasing intimacy with the object. Those that could approach the monument did so

by means of many pauses, retreats, 180° turns, and precarious climbs.[825] This difficulty of access

heightened the users' sense of the specialness of the monument, its uncanniness, and its

inviolability. This complex spatial syntax has been translated into narrative syntax in Ex 19-

24:11. If even some of the composers of these passages were hoping to depict the approach to a

monument, a straight approach is the last thing their audience would expect. What they would

expect is exactly what we have: a tiered approach with some groups left behind before reaching

the summit, and an approach requiring retreats and turns as directed by the agent (Yahweh).

When read as a narrative about approaching a monument, even the current form of the text is

quite coherent, or rather incoherent by design.

This incoherence by design is also indicated by insertions that highlight the uncanniness

of the theophany. For example, in Ex 19:18 a *waw explicativum* introduces the fire theophany at

Sinai, in contrast to the storm theophany of the framing narrative. Juxtaposed, these two accounts

of the theophany highlight the uncanniness of Yahweh's appearance and his otherworldliness.

Similarly, the aforementioned *Wiederaufnahme* in Ex 24:10-11 also brackets a qualifying

statement about seeing Yahweh. Instead of viewing him directly, the group on the mountain

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[825] Pucci, *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture*, 171; Gilibert, "Death, Amusement and the City: Civic Spectacles and the Theatre Palace of Kapara, King of Gūzāna," 40.

apparently only see Yahweh's feet through a sheet of clear sapphire.[826] Simeon Chavel has

correctly analyzed this passage as representing the ineffability of Yahweh and the decorum that

required the group on the mountain to avert their eyes. In his words, "the narrative works hard to

convey and elicit a sense of wonder."[827] As Umberto Cassuto very eloquently described the

scene, "it is fitting that the happening should be shrouded in the mists of sanctity."[828] These

additions all serve to highlight the uncanny quality of the theophany – a feature already

emphasized by the apparent incoherence of the movement in the narrative.

The question remains as to when the narrative began to take the shape discussed above.

As already mentioned, because Ex 19-24:11 acts as an etiology for Israelite social formation, it

attracted much editorial activity in several different time periods in order to redefine Israel in

different sociocultural and historical settings.[829] Nevertheless, some form of this narrative

probably originated during the pre-exilic period in the northern kingdom as a charter myth for

the monarchy. Carr suggests that the initial non-priestly narrative consisted of the storm

theophany, the Decalogue, possibly the Covenant Code, and some form of the ritual Ex 24:3-

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[826] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 506; Hartenstein, "Wolkendunkel und Himmelfeste: Zur Genese und Kosmologie der Vorstellung des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs," 140; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128–29; Dozeman, *Exodus*, 567; Simeon Chavel, "The Face of God and the Etiquette of Eye-Contact: Visitation, Pilgrimage, and Prophetic Vision in Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Imagination," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 19 (2012): 43–45; Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, 19; Tov, "Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses' Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34," 16–17.

[827] Chavel, "The Face of God and the Etiquette of Eye-Contact: Visitation, Pilgrimage, and Prophetic Vision in Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Imagination," 43.

[828] Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 225.

[829] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 213–14; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 202–7.

8.[830] Furthermore, the elements such as the mountain of God and the storm theophany in the narrative points not only to a pre-exilic date but specifically to an origin in the northern kingdom.[831] Even elements of the priestly redaction may actually be assigned to shortly after this period, as they reflect conventions of annalistic writing from the 9th-7th centuries as well as shifts in Levantine hierarchies from the 8th century.[832] Much of this material may have been introduced in northern circles as well, though it is conceivable that some of these additions are the result of Judahite editorial activity. While there is much debate over the date of the attendant rituals in Ex 24, various scholars date portions of both vv. 3-8 and 9-11 to the pre-exilic period.[833] Editorial

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[830] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 120.

[831] Edwin C. Kingsbury, "The Theophany Topos and the Mountain of God," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86, no. 2 (1967): 205–10; Yair Hoffman, "A North Israelite Typological Myth and a Judean Historical Tradition: The Exodus in Hosea and Amos," *Vetus Testamentum* 39, no. 2 (1989): 169–82; Stephen McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (Leiden, New York, København, Köln: Brill, 1991), 83–87; Daniel E. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 116 N. 4; Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel*, 145–51.

[832] Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?"; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 105–19; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P"; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–33; Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, 2011, 146–50.

[833] Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte Einer Alttestamentlichen Gattung*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien Zum Alten Und Neuen Testament 10 (Neukirchener Verlag, 1965); Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 155; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*, 163–69; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 264–69; Hendel, "Sacrifice as a Cultural System: The Ritual Symbolism of Exodus 24:3-8," 378–81; Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 254–70; Zenger, "Wie und wozu die Tora zum Sinai kam: Literarische und theologische Beobachtungen zu Exodus 19-34," 265–88; Smith, *The Pilgrimage Pattern in Exodus*, 241–44; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 122–28; Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 470–77.

activity undoubtedly continued into the Persian Period, but it began in the pre-exilic period and may reasonably be assumed to have been motivated by shifts in monumental discourse.

<u>A Peripheral Monument in the Wilderness</u>

Not only is the immediate context of the Decalogue apparently patterned after the spatial syntax of monuments, but its territorial deployment within the narrative world of the book of Exodus is modeled on monumental discourse as well. As was the case for the Zakkur Inscription, the Tel Dan Stele, and the monuments of Urahilina discussed in the previous chapter, the placement of Yahweh's monument created not only an intimate interactive zone but also an ideologically defined territory.[834] In addition to the native Levantine exemplars, the Decalogue is also reminiscent of the peripheral deployment of the monuments of Shalmaneser III that may have inspired their broader territorial application, especially those that were set up on mountains in the Levant.[835] These Assyrian peripheral monuments may have inspired the territorial deployment of monuments in the eastern Mediterranean as a form of competitive emulation. The use of monuments for this type of boundary-making introduced an entirely new dimension to their affordance of social formation.[836]

It is also striking that the Decalogue's insertion in Exodus has framed it as a monument on a mountain in Sinai. This was significant peripheral zone for the Egyptians, who act as the main antagonists in the transition to Sinai. Furthermore, Sinai was the first known location of

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[834] Much as was the case for Shalmaneser III's peripheral monuments, the Decalogue marked a cosmic extremity – the boundary between Yahweh's domain and that of his enemies. Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 145.

[835] One of Shalmaneser III's peripheral monuments may have even been erected on Mount Carmel in Israel. Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 284.

[836] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 94–97.

inscriptions inscribed in a Semitic dialect that appear to competitively emulate Egyptian monumental text. It was a location where Asiatics in the past claimed the power of monumental rhetoric for themselves.[837] If Exodus contains any cultural memory of this competitive emulation, Sinai is an even more meaningful setting for the first revelation delivered in textual form. Much as the wilderness in Sinai was seen as a chaotic frontier of the Pharaoh's control in Egypt, the producers of Exodus understand it as a region where the people can escape from Egyptian power.[838]

It has previously been proposed that such a geographically informed structuring of the book of Exodus was one of the key concerns of the priestly redaction of the book. For example, Mark Smith argued that the book of Exodus is divided roughly in half relative to geography, with chapters 1-15:21 centering mostly on Egypt, 19-40 occurring at Sinai, and 15:22-18:27 narrating the march out of Egypt to Sinai.[839] The transition from Egypt to Sinai represented a move from

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[837] On the co-option of monumental discourse in Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, see Aren M. Wilson-Wright, "Interpreting the Sinaitic Inscriptions in Context: A New Reading of Sinai 345," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 2 (2013): 136–48; Aren M. Wilson-Wright, "Sinai 357: A Northwest Semitic Votive Inscription to Teššob," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136, no. 2 (2016): 247–63, https://doi.org/10.7817/jameroriesoci.136.2.247.

[838] The biblical account effectively reverses the Egyptian notion of cosmic extremities. Whereas the Egyptians conceived of Sinai as a chaotic transitional zone between their land and the desert, Exodus presents Egypt as the enemy land and Sinai as the dominion of Yahweh. Ian Shaw, "Exploiting the Desert Frontier. The Logistics and Politics of Ancient Egyptian Mining Expeditions," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. A. Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 256–57; John Baines, *Visual & Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 104; Thomas Hikade, "Crossing the Frontier into the Desert: Egyptian Expeditions to the Sinai Peninsula," *Ancient West & East* 6 (2007): 1–2; Carola Vogel, "This Far and Not a Step Further! The Ideological Concept of Ancient Egyptian Boundary Stelae," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 337–38; Uroš Matić, "Scorched Earth: Violence and Landscape in New Kingdom Egyptian Representations of War," *Journal of Historical Researches* 28 (2017): 21.

[839] Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," 38.

Pharaoh's domain to that of Yahweh.[840] This transition also resulted in a change in the Israelites' social relations. As opposed to their former relationship to Pharaoh as his slaves, they were now the servants of Yahweh.[841] This geographical organization and the way it is used to advance the narrative creates the expectation of a peripheral monument to actualize the transitions it suggests.

Apart this geographical organization of the book, it has also been previously suggested that the priestly redaction of Exodus was centered on monument creation, though this theory has not previously been stated in those exact terms. Stephen Herring has argued that a key concern of the priestly redactors was the presence of Yahweh – especially as seen in his appearance to Moses, his coming to Egypt, and ultimately the anchoring of his presence in various objects throughout the Sinai pericope. In fact, this concern pre-existed the priestly strand and was expanded upon by the priestly editors.[842] Because monuments were a significant "mode of presencing" in the ancient Near East, it was essential that Yahweh's presence be anchored in monuments.[843] Herring's observations thus amount to a theological explanation for the appearance of monuments in the Sinai pericope. These were objects necessary for anchoring the presence of God at Sinai.

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[840] Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993), 127–59.

[841] Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," 39; Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*, 22–23.

[842] Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 127–37.

[843] Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*, 137.

Combining these insights, we may posit that the Decalogue served as one of the fulcrums for the exodus account and the Sinai pericope in the book of Exodus.[844] On the one hand, the Decalogue serves as a victory monument capping the account of Yahweh's warfare in Egypt. The erection of the monument also suggests the frontier of a new territory defined by a Yahweh-centered ideology. Placing the Decalogue first among the monuments in the Sinai pericope marks this frontier as it is expressed in the text, which was structured according to a transition from Egypt to Sinai. On the other hand, the Decalogue is the first in a suite of objects designed to anchor Yahweh's presence – the other major theme of the book. By manifesting Yahweh, the Decalogue is the first means by which he engages with the people he brought out of Egypt as a collective. Furthermore, as a textual monument it is his only unmediated materialized verbal interaction with the people. The Decalogue goes on to propose a new identity to the people encountering it on the basis of the anchored and manifested presence of Yahweh it produced. Thus, both in terms of the broader motivations for Exodus' redaction as well as the typical functions of ancient Mediterranean peripheral monuments, the Decalogue appears at the precise point in the narrative world where a monument was needed to manifest Yahweh, to materialize a new ideology, and to constitute a new people. As the first monument at Sinai, the Decalogue actualized the transition of the people out of Egypt in both geographic and ideological terms.

The Ekphrastic Aesthetic Dimension

It would be tempting to conclude that, as a literary text, the Decalogue had no aesthetic dimension. While it is true that it is somewhat difficult to make clear connections between the

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[844] It is not the victory over Egypt in Exodus 15 that acts as the fulcrum point for the book of Exodus, as Mark Smith suggests. Rather, it is the monument to that victory in Exodus 20 that is the turning point. The Decalogue materializes the ideology and identity that the victory enabled. Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," 46.

Decalogue and any described objects in the text, there are nevertheless some key candidates for

ekphrastic monuments that may be understood as epigraphic supports or aesthetic

accompaniments to the text. In many traditions, the Decalogue has been connected to the *lḥt*

hʿdwt "tablets of the testimony" mentioned later in the book of Exodus. Though this connection

is not made explicit until the republication of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy, it has nevertheless

influenced many scholars' approaches to the Decalogue in Exodus.[845] However, a close reading

of Exodus reveals a very different material support for the Decalogue. The only objects that

appear to be mentioned in relation to the text in its immediate context are in fact a *mzbḥ* "altar"

and *mṣbwt* "standing stones" or "stelae,"[846] which are set up and inaugurated by Moses in Ex 24.

Whether we understand these objects to be inscribed with the Decalogue or to merely act as

material supports for a broader monumental installation including the Decalogue, they shed new

light on the Decalogue's meaning affordance in the book of Exodus.

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[845] Schniedewind has concluded that the tablets originally contained the plans for the Tabernacle and not the Decalogue. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128–29.

[846] The Hebrew *mṣbh* is certainly cognate with the Aramaic and Samalian terms *nṣb* and *nṣbh*, which are usually translated "statue" and "stelae" respectively. Carl Graesser argues that the Hebrew term should be rendered with a transliteration, however, in order to distinguish a technical definition of *maṣṣeba* as an uninscribed stone as opposed to a "stele" as an inscribed stone. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 35. On the other hand, Elizabeth Bloch-Smith argues that *maṣṣebot* in the Hebrew Bible are never defined by their form but rather by their function. It is impossible to say whether they were inscribed, and Bloch-Smith speculates that the *maṣṣebah* at Tell Arad may have originally been inscribed with ink on the basis of red pigment discovered on the smooth face of the stone. Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 31; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 79. Bloch-Smith's broader definition of *maṣṣebot* comports well with my suggested functional definition for the terms *nṣb/nṣbh*, which in context are not consistently applied to statues in the round and stelae but rather seem to be functional designations for monuments in general. Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels."

Monumental Accompaniments to the Decalogue in Exodus

First, it is necessary to discount the tablets as a possible material support for the

Decalogue in the book of Exodus. In Exodus 24:12, Yahweh invites Moses onto the mountain in

order to give him "the tablets of stone," which he actually delivers to Moses in 31:18. The

material framed by these narrative accounts of the tablets is the description of the Tabernacle, so

it is much more likely that the tablets were originally imagined as containing this framed

material. They thus acted as a sort of building inscription rather than containing the

Decalogue.[847] Other than a passing reference to the tablets also containing ʿśrt hdbrym "the ten

words" in Ex 34:28, there is nothing in Exodus that might connect the tablets to the Decalogue.

However, in Ex 34:28 the Ten Words are also called dbry hbryt "the words of the covenant,"

which in Ex 34:27 are equated with hdbrym hʾlh "these words." In this context, the deictic

reference to "these words" clearly refers to the preceding material in Ex 34:11-26, commonly

known as the Ritual Decalogue or better as the Small Covenant Code.[848] The designation ʿśrt

hdbrym "the Ten Words" only comes to refer to the Decalogue in the book of Deuteronomy and

may be a Deuteronomistic reconfiguration of the phrase. There is no way to connect the

[847] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128–29. As an alternative to Schniedewind's proposal that the tablets are a building inscription for the Tabernacle, Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme suggests that the Tabernacle texts should be understood as an Israelite analogue to the Egyptian *Book of the Temple*, which is currently understood to be the textualization of an ideal temple. This is an attractive comparative for understanding the textualization of architectural monuments in the ancient Near East, but Gudme's argument that the Tabernacle is merely an ideal type is overstated. Jonathan Greer's ongoing work on the Tabernacle and its parallels with the temple at Tel Dan along with its dissimilarities to the Temple in Jerusalem as described in the Hebrew Bible suggest that the Tabernacle may in fact have a basis in a real shrine. Gudme, "Dyed Yarns and Dolphin Skins: Temple Texts as Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible," 8–9; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P."

[848] R. N. Whybray, *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 116.

Decalogue in Exodus to the tablets therefore, unless Ex 34:28 is read in light of later

Deuteronomistic interpretation and divorced from its present context.[849]

Nevertheless, the use of the tablets to frame the Tabernacle material is still instructive for

discovering a possible epigraphic support for the Decalogue. Just as the description of the

Tabernacle is framed by an account of the "tablets of stone," the Decalogue and the Covenant

Code are framed by descriptions of an altar and 12 *maṣṣebot* and a ritual they facilitate. In Ex 19-

24:11, the Decalogue is designated by the title *kl-hdbrym hʾlh* "all these words" and secondarily

as *kl dbry yhwh* "all the words of Yahweh." In Ex 19:7-8, Moses relates *kl hdbrym hʾlh* to the

people and they respond with the phrase *kl ʾšr-dbr yhwh nʿśh* "All that Yahweh has said, we will

do." The title *kl hdbrym hʾlh* is repeated again in Ex 20:1 to actually introduce the text of the

Decalogue. In Ex 24:3, Moses again recounts *kl-dbry yhwh* "all the words of Yahweh" and the

people respond *kl-hdbrym ʾšr-dbr yhwh nʿśh* "all the words Yahweh has said, we will do," thus

bracketing the entire section. The Decalogue is followed in Exodus 20 by a brief section giving

instructions for the creation of an altar (Ex. 20:24-26). Such an altar is actually constructed in

Exodus 24:4 along with 12 *maṣṣebot* at the foot of Mount Sinai, further bracketing the

Decalogue and the people's response to it.[850] Even if none of these objects is explicitly

understood as an epigraphic support for the Decalogue, the altar and the aniconic stelae are

clearly aesthetic amplifications of the text for the purpose of its ritualization.

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[849] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 608–9.

[850] Childs, 505; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 190–92.

In the first part of Ex 24:4, there is a rather prosaic notice that Moses also wrote down *kl dbry yhwh* "all the words of Yahweh," probably referring to the Decalogue. Schniedewind has argued that the material in Ex 24:4-8 is a later interpolation designed to textualize the ritual as well as to connect the account explicitly to Josiah's law book in 2 Kgs 23:2, 21, the only other context that mentions the *sfr hbryt* "scroll of the covenant" (cf. Ex 24:7).[851] It is certainly possible that this notice of Moses' writing *kl dbry yhwh* was part of this interpolation, but it is worth noting that Moses never reads this text. Rather, he reads the *sfr hbryt* "the scroll of the covenant" in 24:7, and this text appears out of nowhere in the narrative. It is clearly intended to be understood as what Moses wrote in 24:3, but the two inscriptions are only connected by the acts of writing and reading. Furthermore, as demonstrated above, Ex 24:7 is actually material inserted by means of a *Wiederaufnahme* within Ex 24:4-8. I would therefore suggest that Schniedewind is correct to point to a later interpolation connecting this text to the Josianic reforms, but that interpolation may be limited to the marked material in Ex 24:7, which contains the only clear link to the story of Josiah and fits poorly with the rest of the narrative. The written version of *kl dbry yhwh* "all the words of Yahweh" in Ex 24:4, however, may have originally referred to the imagined epigraphic form of the Decalogue. While the text does not specify that this was inscribed on the altar or the *maṣṣebot*, the way the erection of these objects has been juxtaposed to the inscription of the Decalogue heavily implies it.

As for the insertion of the Covenant Code, it may represent a later interpolation to this part of Exodus. In Exodus 24:3, Moses repeats *kl dbry yhwh* "all of the words of Yahweh" and *kl hmšpṭym* "all of the ordinances" to the people, implying that these terms describe separate

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[851] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 125–26.

orations. Given the previous application of *kl hdbrym hʾlh* "all these words" and *kl dbry yhwh* "all of the words of Yahweh" to the Decalogue in the book of Exodus, *kl hmšpṭym* "all of the ordinances" may be added here to suggest that Moses also related the Covenant Code.[852] The Covenant Code is clearly headed by the title *ʾlh hmšpṭym* "these are the ordinances" in Ex 21:1. However, the lack of this phrase in other descriptions of what Moses is delivering to the people – most notably in the description of what Moses actually inscribes in v. 4 – makes their inclusion suspect and possibly suggestive of later redactional activity.[853] Given that the Covenant Code imitates a law code such as would be inscribed on a stele, it is easy to understand why it would be inserted alongside the Decalogue and a description of the erection of possibly inscribed stelae.[854] Its insertion in Exodus 21-23 may thus represent a later juxtaposition of the text with the Decalogue and Exodus 24.[855] The result is that two texts imitating stele inscriptions were

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[852] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 502.

[853] Both Bernard Levinson and David Wright are agreed that *kl hmšpṭym* "all the ordinances" is a later insertion referring to the Covenant Code. Wright argues that this was inserted to refer to the Covenant Code only after the Decalogue was inserted into Exodus and the phrase *kl dbry yhwh* "all the words of Yahweh" switched from referring to the earlier Covenant Code to the later Decalogue. His theory is needlessly complex, however, and the simpler solution may be Levinson's, which sees the Covenant Code and the phrase indicating it – *kl hmšpṭym* "all the ordinances" – as late insertions. Indeed, the theory advanced in this chapter would support this view, as the Decalogue is more typical of the type of monument demanded by the narrative than is the Covenant Code. Bernard M. Levinson, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters," in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (New York - London: T & T Clark, 2004), 281–82; David P. Wright, *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 498–99 n. 81. Given that the Covenant Code expressly forbids certain *maṣṣebot* in Ex. 23:24, it is even less likely that it rather than the Decalogue was originally associated with 12 of them in Exodus 24. Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 108–10.

[854] Wright, *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi*.

[855] According to Wright's theory, the pre-existing legal materials the composer of the Decalogue used to create his monumental text actually derive from the Covenant Code, so this may also have motivated their juxtaposition. However, his arguments for the Covenant Code originally occupying the place of the Decalogue within the narrative of Exodus are less convincing. Wright, 498 n. 80.

strategically juxtaposed to an account of stelae erection. The final redaction clearly imagines these texts interacting with these objects in the same way.

The direct connection between the Decalogue and the *maṣṣebot* has been suggested by some other modern and ancient treatments of these portions of Exodus. Dennis McCarthy suggested that the *maṣṣebot* erected in Exodus 24 should be understood as stelae witnessing the ratification of the Decalogue and the Covenant Code as an orally delivered covenant at Sinai.[856] He does not comment on the connection between the *maṣṣebot* and Moses' inscription in Exodus 24:4, however. A direct connection is also suggested by the edition of Exodus preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Samaritan Decalogue's Tenth Commandment is a new addition,[857] a conflation of material from Ex. 13:11a; Deut. 11:29b, 30; 27:2b-3a, 4a, 5-7.[858] Thus, after the command against coveting, the Samaritan Decalogue continues:

> *And when Shehmaa your Elooweem will bring you to the land of the Kaananee which you are going to inherit it you shall set yourself up great stones and lime them with lime. And you shall write on them all the words of this law. And when you have passed over the Yaardaan (Jordan) you shall set up these stones, which I command you today, in Aargaareezem (Mt Gerizim). And there you shall build an altar to Shehmaa your Eloowwem, an altar of stones. You shall lift no iron on them. And you shall build the altar of Shehmaa your Eloowwem of complete (uncut) stones. And you shall offer burnt*

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[856] McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 174.

[857] In the Samaritan numbering of the commandments, the first commandment of the MT is treated as an introduction, so that the ninth commandment is against coveting and the tenth is the commandment concerning the ritual complex at Gerizim. Robert T. Anderson and Terry Giles, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to Its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*, Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study 72 (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 102.

[858] Anderson and Giles, 102.

offerings thereupon to Shehmaa your Eloowwem and you shall sacrifice offerings and shall eat there. And you shall rejoice before Shehmaa your Eloowwem.[859]

The Samaritan Pentateuch thus makes the connection between the Decalogue, the altar, the 12 *maṣṣebot*, and their attendant rituals explicit by conflating them with the Decalogue's commandments themselves. The Samaritan Pentateuch also more clearly uses the altar and *maṣṣebot* as a framing device for the Decalogue and Covenant Code, parallel to the framing of the Tabernacle description with accounts of the two tablets. Though this tradition is admittedly much later than the Decalogue of Exodus, the Samaritan redaction of the text also makes explicit the connection between the Decalogue, the 12 *maṣṣebot,* the 12 stones in Deuteronomy 27, and the 12 stones of Joshua 4:20.[860] In fact, these last two installations are assumed to be meant as reproductions of Moses' *maṣṣebot*.[861] The Samaritan version of the text clarifies that it could be read this way and further that it was understood to have a direct connection to the Decalogue. The implication in the Samaritan Pentateuch is that these stones are inscribed with the Decalogue, an implication borne out by known Samaritan practice of inscribing stones with the Decalogue.[862]

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[859] This translation comes from Anderson and Giles, 96.

[860] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992), 191; Anderson and Giles, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to Its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*, 103.

[861] Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 61; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110.

[862] See for example, the Shechem Decalogue or the Nablus Decalogue. W. R. Taylor and W. F. Albright, "A New Samaritan Inscription," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 81 (1941): 1–6, https://doi.org/10.2307/1355158; Joseph Naveh, "Scripts and Inscriptions in Ancient Samaria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 48, no. 1/2 (1998): 95–96.

Potential Parallels in the Wider Levant

There is no biblical description of a *maṣṣebah* in formal terms. All that is clear based on accounts in the Hebrew Bible is that these objects were made of stone and served a monumental purpose – that is, they manifested a particular individual and often a divine figure.[863] In other words, *maṣṣebah* was primarily a functional term rather than a formal designation. In this regard, we should note that the Hebrew *mṣbh* is derived from the same root as the term *nṣb* or *nṣbh* known in Aramaic and Samalian from Syro-Anatolian monumental inscriptions. These terms were freely applied to both stelae and statues in the round and may thus be simply defined as "monument," because the term was similarly a functional designation rather than a formal description.[864] Nevertheless, archaeologists have proposed some candidate objects as examples of *maṣṣebot*, and have thus delimited some potential formal characteristics. When these are further restricted based on a functional definition, the objects that remain are generally stele-form stones, usually taller than they are wide with a single exception.[865] These are therefore essentially aniconic stelae, the most broadly attested epigraphic support for "I Am" inscriptions.

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[863] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 37; Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 31; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 65; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 57.

[864] Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels."

[865] Bloch-Smith lists *maṣṣebot* at Tell el-Far'ah (N) (11th-7th century BCE), the Shechem Temple (11th-10th century), the Hazor Bamah (mid-11th century), Lachish Locus 81b (10th-8th century), the Tel Rehov courtyard stone (10th-9th century), the Tel Dan gateway installation (9th-8th century), the Beit Saida gateway (850-732 BCE), and Arad (9th-8th century). In addition to these, the one possible *maṣṣebah* that is wider than it is tall comes from the Bull Site (12th-11th century). Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 36; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 114.

Assuming the *maṣṣebot* were aniconic stelae in some way supporting the Decalogue, the best parallels outside of Israel are the inscriptions of Urahilina. HAMA 8, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, and TALL ŠṬĪB are all aniconic stelae adorned only with a repeated "I Am" inscription. As discussed in the previous chapter, most of these stelae were deployed along Urahilina's proposed frontiers of his kingdom in tandem with a number of his inscriptions – including HAMA 8 – in his central city. This mirrors the peripheral deployment of the *maṣṣebot* in the book of Exodus, where they mark the frontier of Yahweh's domain and the end of Egypt proper. Furthermore, RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ, and TALL ŠṬĪB are all exact duplicates of each other, bearing the same inscription that is also duplicated on HINES, a building block. These repetitions were significant for a number of reasons. The duplicate inscriptions conjured Urahilina in multiple places within his kingdom at once, they served as a reminder of the rhythm of ritual attached to such monuments, and their patterned repetition of words served to call to mind the nature of incantation – a practice which may have accompanied these objects.[866] All of these purposes could very well be intended by the repetition of the 12 *maṣṣebot*, which if imagined to be inscribed must be inscribed with the same repeated text – the Decalogue.

The repetition of the *maṣṣebot*, of course, also begs the question of who or what they are precisely conjuring. Generally, *maṣṣebot* are described in the Hebrew Bible as reembodiments of deities – including Yahweh.[867] However, Ex 24:4 specifies that the 12 *maṣṣebot* were erected *lšnym ʿśr šbṭy yśrʾl* "for the twelve tribes of Israel," leading some interpreters to conclude that

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[866] Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 119–32.

[867] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 106–7.

they instead represent the Israelites.[868] In fact, both views are probably correct. In addition to conjuring specific individuals, *maṣṣebot* also marked locations where special communication with the divine was possible or where relationships between two parties had been reified.[869] It should also be recalled from the previous chapter that while "I Am" monuments primarily reembody a particular individual through their text, their accompanying epigraphic supports and aesthetic amplifications may simultaneously manifest deities and other ritual participants.[870] Ultimately, these monuments materialized an encounter between agent and ideal user, and both could be reembodied by the aesthetic dimension. The *maṣṣebot* in Ex 24:4 need not represent either Yahweh or the Israelites; such objects are perfectly capable of and far more likely to conjure both.

Now, it is also possible that the *maṣṣebot* are not to be understood as inscribed objects. In this case, they may very well still be acting as aesthetic amplifications for the Decalogue. The sites of Karatepe, Zincirli, and Carchemish, for example, all attest installations similar to that described in the book of Exodus. Significant gateways to these sites were adorned with multiple inscribed and uninscribed stelae and orthostats complete with fixtures for libations or sacrifices.[871] The book of Exodus similarly proposes a boundary around Sinai marked by the

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[868] Bloch-Smith, 110; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 196.

[869] Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," 41–48; Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 28; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 65.

[870] Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 134; Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*, 116.

[871] Ussishkin, "Hollows, 'Cup-Marks', and Hittite Stone Monuments," 95–100; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:45–47; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the*

altar and the *maṣṣebot*, allowing the Israelites to engage the monumental inscriptions through sacrifice upon encountering that ritualized border. Similarly, it has been proposed that the inhabitants or visitors to Karatepe, Carchemish, and Zincirli would ritually engage with gateway ritual complexes in order to imaginatively transform themselves before entering the site. Such complexes denoted liminal zones that were meant to effect the ideological-shift proposed by their associated inscriptions.[872] The *maṣṣebot* may thus either be understood as inscribed or uninscribed elements of a larger complex of this type. The best parallel to this may be the installation from Karatepe, where several figured orthostats were paired with orthostats inscribed with an "I Am" inscription repeated four times. That "I Am" inscription was inscribed one final time on a divine statue accompanied by an uninscribed and unfigured cone-shaped basalt boulder.[873] This final object was undoubtedly an aniconic monument operating in the same way as undressed *maṣṣebot.*

The above examples are admittedly mostly limited to the Northern Levant, but the Southern Levant attests similar practices as well. The Mesha Inscription, for example, was carved on a stele without additional iconography. Though the inscription does not label it as such, it matches the definitions developed by archaeologists for a *maṣṣebah*, though this would be a Moabite exemplar of the practice. The stele is taller than it is wide with a flattened front

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Archaeology of Performance, 100, 120; Virginia R. Herrmann, "Appropriation and Emulation in the Earliest Sculptures from Zincirli (Iron Age Samʾal)," *American Journal of Archaeology* 121, no. 2 (2017): 237–74, https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.121.2.0237.

[872] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 67–75.

[873] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:45–47; Özyar, "The Writing on the Wall: Reviewing Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş," 123.

surface, similar to examples of *maṣṣebot* known from Arad and Dan.[874] The stele is made from

basalt, the same material used for a *maṣṣebah* at Tel Dan as well as the Tel Dan Stele itself –

another aniconic stele from the southern Levant.[875] It is impossible to say whether the Moabite

Stone was augmented by other stele-form objects, however, as it was not found in situ.

Furthermore, the inscription suggests an original setting within a *bamah* but also that it was

intended to mark the northern frontier of Mesha's domain with a duplicate inscription placed on

a statue in the south at Kerak.[876] This example thus uniquely combines a cultic and peripheral

function, just like the installation in the Decalogue.

Like the aesthetic and spatial dimensions of the Mesha Inscription, the coordination of

the Decalogue with *maṣṣebot* suggests that it is imagined as some sort of cultic installation in a

frontier zone. Thus, in addition to imagining the Decalogue as a peripheral monument, we may

need to imagine it as a ritual precinct or temple courtyard monument as well. Inscriptions, stelae,

and *maṣṣebot* were installed into such cultic zones to act as focal points for ritual interactions

within the sacred space.[877] The fact that the Decalogue was depicted as a mountain monument

already suggests such an alignment with cultic spaces, because mountain monuments were often

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[874] Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," 1, 5; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 77; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 31.

[875] Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," 1.

[876] Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*, 147.

[877] Gitin, Dothan, and Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," 7; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 65; Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," 152–61; Jeremy D. Smoak, "Inscribing Temple Space: The Ekron Dedication as Monumental Text," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 76, no. 2 (2017): 329–30.

treated as marking large natural sanctuaries for ritual practice.[878] So as a peripheral monument set on a mountain, the Decalogue in effect transforms Sinai into a natural temple precinct in the absence of the Tabernacle at this point in Exodus. This is also suggested by the order of elements in the text, in which the Decalogue and Covenant Code stand before accounts of the installation at Sinai and ritual processions through it. The texts stand as courtyard monuments, as it were, which the ritual procession would pass on their way to Sinai.[879] This orientation is especially emphasized by the Decalogue's connection to ritual paraphernalia like the *maṣṣebot* and the altar.

Parallel Installations in Israel and Judah

Previously analyzed examples of *maṣṣebot* from ancient Israel and Judah may provide an even closer look into the monumental installation imagined in Exodus 24. The most significant example from Judah is the *maṣṣebah* from the temple at Arad. Previous scholarship is not in agreement about the date of the temple of Arad, but it appears to have been in use sometime between the 10th and 6th centuries BCE.[880] The *maṣṣebah* at the site was a limestone pillar with

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[878] Yamada, "The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns," 1, 11; Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, 296; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 141; Glatz and Plourde, "Landscape Monuments and Political Competition in Late Bronze Age Anatolia: An Investigation of Costly Signaling Theory," 35, 59; Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," 149–64; Ömür Harmanşah, "Borders Are Rough-Hewn: Monuments, Local Landscapes, and the Politics of Place in a Hittite Borderland," in *Bordered Places - Bounded Times: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Emma L. Baysal and Leonidas Karakatsanis, BIAA Monograph Series 51 (Ankara: British Institute at Ankara, 2017), 40.

[879] Jeremy Smoak has similarly argued that the location of the Priestly Blessing in Numbers reflects the spatial deployment of a monumental inscription in a temple courtyard. Smoak, "From Temple to Text: Text as Ritual Space and the Composition of Numbers 6:24-26."

[880] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 114.

one surface smoothed down that was placed in the focal niche of the temple, suggesting that it was replacing a cult image to act as an embodiment of the deity – likely Yahweh – at that location.[881] Some nearby stones have been identified as smaller attendant *maṣṣebot*, but their identification and dating is contested. The limestone *maṣṣebah* was flanked by two incense altars, suggesting a similar ritual configuration to that described at Sinai in Exodus 24. There is also a central altar constructed in the same fashion as that described in altar law in Exodus 20.[882] There are traces of red pigment on the *maṣṣebah*, suggesting that it was adorned – perhaps with a text.[883] If this stone was adorned after the fashion of the inscription at Deir Alla – where red ink was used for writing on plaster – it would be an attractive parallel for understanding the Decalogue as an inscribed *maṣṣebah*.[884] However, there is currently not enough data to determine how exactly this pigment was used, whether as writing or for some other iconic purpose. Nevertheless, the Arad temple still provides an important parallel to the ritual installation imagined at Sinai in Exodus 24.

The closest parallels to the ritual space and implements accompanying the Decalogue, however, are the gateway installation and temple at Tel Dan. The monumental cycle at Dan may represent an Israelite iteration of the gateway installations from the Northern Levant discussed

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[881] The Arad Temple may have even been a modest peripheral monumental complex meant to manifest Yahweh on the edge of Judah. Bloch-Smith, 107, 112.

[882] Bloch-Smith, 114.

[883] Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 79.

[884] Baruch A. Levine, "The Deir ʿAlla Plaster Inscriptions," ed. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 2 (1981): 197, https://doi.org/10.2307/601759.

earlier.[885] In particular, the gateway at Dan may be modeled on the Southern Gate of Carchemish or the citadel gateway of Tell Halaf.[886] In place of the typically encountered stelae and orthostats, the gateway on the royal processional road to Dan has four *maṣṣebot* shrines.[887] These are generally all dated to the same period, which the excavators propose was the reign of Ahab.[888] Alternatively, David Ilan has recently suggested that the gateway was constructed by the Aramaean king Hazael and later renewed by one of the Nimshide kings.[889] Two of the four shrines house one *maṣṣebah* each and the remaining two contain five each, making Dan unique in terms of the number of *maṣṣebot* present and their configuration. The one-stone shrines were set in the outer gateway, and the first five-stone shrine was at the foot of the outer wall just beside the gate. The second five-stone shrine was 125 feet east of the first.[890] In total, the gateway installation at Dan attests 12 *maṣṣebot*, exactly the number present in Exodus 24, albeit in a particular configuration never commented upon in the book of Exodus. To date, Dan is the

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[885] This is not to say that such gateways did not exist in the southern Levant, but mostly aniconic monumental programs have been preserved, as at Tel Dan and Bethsaida. However, the entryway to Kuntillet Ajrud suggests that inscriptions may have been present in southern Levantine gateways on plaster. In most cases the climate has not allowed such inscriptions to survive. Shmuel Ahituv, Esther Eshel, and Zeev Meshel, "The Inscriptions," in *Kuntillet ʿAjrud: An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Yad Ben Zvi, 2015), 71–121.

[886] Ilan, "Iron Age II *et-Tell*/Bethsaida and Dan: A Tale of Two Gates."

[887] Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," 82.

[888] Biran and Naveh, 84.

[889] Ilan, "Iron Age II *et-Tell*/Bethsaida and Dan: A Tale of Two Gates."

[890] Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 73–74.

only site in Israel where more than three *maṣṣebot* have been found standing together.[891] Furthermore, an altar was discovered in the courtyard of the gate-complex, rendering the gateway at Dan an almost exact parallel for the ritual installation at Sinai in Exodus 24.[892]

Additionally, while none of the Danite *maṣṣebot* appear to have been inscribed, they likely interacted with inscriptions to some degree. It has been theorized that the Tel Dan Stele (KAI 310) was originally emplaced at the gate of Dan after Hazael's conquest of the site.[893] The pieces found in situ suggest that the broken stele was reintegrated into the gateway installation as an Israelite counter-monument after Jehu's dynasty recaptured the site.[894] The *maṣṣebot* and the altars were thus part of a ritual sequence that culminated at various periods with either a monumental inscription or the counter-monumental display of such an inscription. The monumental sequence in evidence at Dan is thus the closest parallel in current evidence to the sequence described in Exodus 24 associated with the Decalogue.

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[891] Bloch-Smith, 74. Septets of *maṣṣebot* have been discovered at non-Israelite sites in the wider Levant. Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 58.

[892] Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College, 1994), 241–45; Jonathan S. Greer, "The Cult at Tel Dan: Aramean or Israelite?," in *Wandering Arameans: Arameans Outside Syria*, ed. Angelika Berjelung, Aren M. Maeir, and Andreas Schüle, Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 4 n. 7.

[893] Ilan, "Iron Age II *et-Tell*/Bethsaida and Dan: A Tale of Two Gates."

[894] Levtow, "Monumental Inscriptions and the Ritual Representation of War," 36–37. Hogue, "With Apologies to Hazael," in preparation.

Dan is an attractive parallel for a number of other reasons as well. Many of the constituent parts of the book of Exodus – including the exodus narrative,[895] the Covenant Code,[896] and the Tabernacle description[897] – are thought to be of originally northern extraction. Dan in particular is known to have been the location of important feasting rituals, similar to that described later in Exodus 24.[898] In terms of ritual implements, in addition to altars, *maṣṣebot*, and inscriptions, Dan also attests the most likely candidate for an Israelite *mizrāq* – a bowl used to collect sacrificial blood for ritual manipulation.[899] This is likely an example of the same sort of vessels referred to as *ʾaggānōt* in Exodus 24:6 that are similarly used for blood manipulation in the rituals at Sinai.[900] In addition, Dan is associated in the Hebrew Bible with a golden calf in

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[895] Hoffman, "A North Israelite Typological Myth and a Judean Historical Tradition: The Exodus in Hosea and Amos."

[896] Foster R. McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory," in *A Light unto My Path. Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Meyers*, ed. H. N. Bream and R. D. Heim (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 304; Dale Patrick, "The Covenant Code Source," *Vetus Testamentum* 27, no. 2 (1977): 156–57.

[897] Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P."

[898] On this practice at Dan, see especially Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*. Gilibert explicitly connects the feasting rituals of Syro-Anatolian monumental installations to similar practices known from the Hebrew Bible. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109; Jonas C. Greenfield, *ʾAl Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001), 70–71.

[899] Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?," 38.

[900] Greer, 28.

parallel with the calf described at Sinai in Exodus 32-34. Dan's golden calf was ritually inaugurated through the curtailed recitation of the Decalogue in 1 Kings 12:28-30.

The temple in Area T at Tel Dan reveals an even more striking set of parallels to the biblical data. For example, the layout of the Tabernacle very neatly matches that of the temple at Tel Dan; in fact, the temple at Dan is a closer match for the Tabernacle than any southern temple, including that in Jerusalem. Jonathan Greer has even suggested that one level of the priestly source should be located at Dan given the preponderance of links between the ritual system of Sinai and that attested at Dan.[901] One of the defining qualities of the temple at Dan is its verticality, which creates a link between ritual procession and ascension just as in Exodus 19-24.[902] Furthermore, the 9th century levels of Area T suggest that the temple was an open space for worship, similar to that imagined in Ex 24:3-8. However, the 8th century levels show a marked change with a higher emphasis on the elite status of the ritual practitioners and their segregation from the rest of the ritual participants. This is especially emphasized by a temenos wall that was constructed around the altar during this period, separating the ritual space of the priests from that of the common people who feasted elsewhere.[903] This segregation of ritual occurs exactly when would be expected based on shifts in monumentality in the broader region. It occurs precisely in the Age of Court Ceremony, which saw the increased segregation of ritual at other sites as well.

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[901] Greer, "The Cult at Tel Dan: Aramean or Israelite?," 13–14; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P."

[902] Davis, *Tel Dan in Its Northern Cultic Context*, 172.

[903] Davis, 173; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 135–36.

Furthermore, this shift in ritual appears to line up better with the ritual segregation imagined by Ex 24:1-2, 9-11. Andrew Davis suggests that this shift is in evidence in other biblical texts as well, and he posits that openness of ritual is a feature of 9th century Israelite texts while segregation emerged as a trend in ritual and text during the 8th century. In the 8th century and especially during the expansionistic phase of the Nimside dynasty, the status of the royal family was amplified as was that of the priests attached to them and rituals became highly segregated as a result.[904] In short, the monumental sequence at Dan appears to reflect that of Sinai, and the Sinai pericope as well as other Pentateuchal texts may have been composed to reflect the ritual system at Dan. It may not be the exact setting, but Dan's monumental sequence and the tradition it evinces is the closest parallel to the system into which the Decalogue is inserted in the book of Exodus.[905]

The Aesthetic Dimension of the Decalogue's Monumentality

The ritual implements associated with the Decalogue in the book of Exodus reveal an essential aspect of its meaning affordance, whether or not those implements were intended to be imagined as actually inscribed with it or merely accompanying it. The association between the Decalogue and the altar and *maṣṣebot* reveals that the Decalogue was inserted into Exodus to act

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[904] Davis, *Tel Dan in Its Northern Cultic Context*, 174–76.

[905] As will be discussed in more detail below, the connection between the depicted material culture of Exodus 24 and the archaeological finds at Tel Dan may suggest that strata from the Elohist source may be located there in addition to the strata of the Priestly source suggested by Jonathan Greer. Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P." The Elohist source has previously been connected to northern traditions and those of Bethel in particular. Michael D. Goulder, "Asaph's History of Israel (Elohist Press, Bethel, 725 BCE)," *Journal For the Study of the Old Testament* 65 (1995): 71–81; Jules Francis Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 368 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 68–100.

as one stationary element within a larger monumental sequence. Specifically, the monumental

sequence associated with the Decalogue appears to imitate gateway installations from the wider

Levant and even from within ancient Israel itself. In this configuration, the Decalogue acts as a

monumental text encountered on the very edge of Yahweh's ritual domain. While the *maṣṣebot*

may have physically manifested Yahweh and the altar provided a means of interacting with him,

the Decalogue would aurally manifest him before the ritual participants.[906] On the other hand,

while the text would provoke the users to imagine Yahweh's voice, the *maṣṣebot* would

"actualize the presence of the deity," in a visual and material sense.[907] The ritual implements

described in Exodus 20 and 24 thus reemphasized and expanded on the functions already

accomplished by the monumental text.

The aesthetic augments to the Decalogue in the book of Exodus also suggest that the text

was meant to be imagined as part of a ritual sequence. The altar and *maṣṣebot* attracted particular

kinds of ritual responses, some of which are narrated within the text. As a part of this ritual

sequence, the Decalogue imitates both gateway monuments and temple courtyard monuments,

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[906] If the *maṣṣebot* represent Yahweh, this would be an example of multiple manifestation or distribution of personhood. On this possibility for the Sinai *maṣṣebot*, see Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image?: Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 98; Sommer, *Bodies*, 51; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 61 n. 62; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110. On multiple manifestation more generally, see Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, 96–154; Harmanşah, "'Source of the Tigris'. Event, Place and Performance in the Assyrian Landscapes of the Early Iron Age," 190–97; Davis, "Abducting the Agency of Art," 209; Feldman, "Object Agency? Spatial Perspective, Social Relations, and the Stele of Hammurabi," 150; Winter, "Agency Marked, Agency Ascribed: The Affective Object in Ancient Mesopotamia." Alternatively, the *maṣṣebot* may be interpreted as embodying the tribes of Israel. If this were the case, they might be understood as ritual objects operating analogously to Mesopotamian votive monuments. Postgate, "Text and Figure in Ancient Mesopotamia: Match and Mismatch," 177; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110.

[907] Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 63.

which textually announced the entrance into a new kind of space defined by a particular ideology and offering a new identity. Much as the placement of the Decalogue suggested its creation of a liminal zone, its accompaniment by particular ritual implements suggests its role as part of a sequence intended to afford that liminality to a set of ritual participants.[908] These implements were the means by which the Decalogue was utilized and activated by its associated community within the narrative world of the book of Exodus.

The Performative Dimension

The Decalogue in Exodus is closely associated with two rituals: one preserved in Ex 24:1-2, 9-11 and another interrupting it in Ex 24:3-8. Both ritual itineraries can be connected to materials from earlier chapters, but these must be approached with all due caution. The ritual actions depicted in these chapters are embedded within a highly composite text and should perhaps be understood as a ritual inventory rather than a strict itinerary. It is difficult if not impossible to say how exactly these activities were variously expanded or contracted during the transmission history of the text. Nevertheless, it may still be observed that the actions juxtaposed to the Decalogue are ultimately all closely associated with monument inauguration and activation, and so a tentative reconstruction of the itineraries will provide some broad information about the monumental traditions with which the text was attempting to converse.

It is generally accepted that vv. 3-8 and vv. 1-2, 9-11 form two distinct sections in Exodus 24, though each section shows signs of further internal revision. There is some debate

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[908] In this regard, we should note the related passage in Isaiah 19:19 in which a *maṣṣebah* is erected on the border of Israel and Egypt to embody Yahweh's presence in that location, This seems to be a curtailed recapitulation of the Sinai installation as a peripheral monumental complex. Herring, 61; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 107.

regarding which text is older. If we maintain the traditional assignment of vv. 3-8 to a pre-priestly writer – usually the E source – then at least some of this material could be said to be pre-exilic and quite possibly Israelite.[909] Nevertheless, Schniedewind has correctly noted a Deuteronomistic insertion within these verses that points to later editing by a southern and quite possibly post-monarchic hand.[910] Vv. 1-2, 9-11 are also typically considered pre-priestly, but some have argued that they are a later bracket added as a frame to vv. 3-8.[911] As I argued above, these verses appear to follow from earlier insertions rather than the primary narrative thread of Ex 19-24:11, so they are probably later insertions as previously assumed. However, like the material in vv. 3-8, vv. 1-2, 9-11 cannot be assigned to a single hand and show evidence of postmonarchic revision. Despite these caveats, we can tentatively assume that some of the material in vv. 3-8 reflects a pre-exilic stratum and probably one older than the pre-exilic material in vv. 1-2, 9-11 that was added to revise it with new ritual details.

Both rituals have previously been connected with the Decalogue, while their relationship to the Covenant Code is assumed to be secondary – perhaps complementary given that both represent monumental texts.[912] It is clear why this was the case for the ritual in vv. 3-8, which

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[909] Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, 154; Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions*, 36–48; Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1965), 212–19; Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, 91–92, 99; Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 120; Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 117; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 192.

[910] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 124–26.

[911] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 502; Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus* (Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 255.

[912] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 505–7. On the relation to the Covenant Code, see note 150.

has in the past been labeled a "covenant renewal ceremony."[913] The ritual it describes is actually a monumentalization sequence, which matches well-known models from across West Asia for the creation of a monument and its later reactivation. The Decalogue was ritually inaugurated by its initial performance by Yahweh and the people's response in chap. 20, and it was formally monumentalized in chap. 24 by the act of inscription, erection of associated monuments, sacrifice, recitation, and oral response to the recitation. These verses possess some peculiarities but they are for the most part exactly what would be expected of a monumentalization sequence in ancient West Asia during the Age of Civic Ritual.

The second ritual connected to the Decalogue in vv. 1-2, 9-11 involves the gathering of Israel's elite and their communal feasting with Yahweh himself. The redactional layers here are perhaps even more complicated than those of vv. 3-8 and a fuller treatment of them will go beyond the scope of this study.[914] There are two important things to note about this ritual, however. First, the act of communal feasting is implied by the offering of sacrifices in vv. 3-8, so the second ritual may have been juxtaposed to the first in order to fulfill that expectation. In fact, some scholars assign the feasting of v. 11b to the ritual in vv. 3-8 and argue that this sequence is interrupted by the material in vv. 9-11a.[915] If this is the case, then the second difference is really the main focus of the second ritual. That is, the key difference between the two rituals is less in the actions involved and more in their scope. In vv. 3-8, the ritual participants are all the people,

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[913] Childs, 359.

[914] For a brief overview of the issues, see Childs, 499–502.

[915] Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 117; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 192.

while in vv. 1-2 and 9-11, the participants are only certain elite figures from among the people. The segregation of the second ritual thus reflects more clearly the age of court ceremony, and it is likely a later addition indicative of a change in the Decalogue's monumentality.[916]

The Decalogue Embedded in Civic Ritual

Monumentalization sequences in the eastern Mediterranean were relatively formulaic though not identical across all sites and times. In general, these involved the production of the monument or a sequence of monuments, acts of inscription, the emplacement of the monuments, and an associated performance, which may have involved recitation, oral response, community assembly, and feasting.[917] All of these actions have been juxtaposed to the Decalogue and the Covenant Code in the book of Exodus. Some of these actions admittedly appear within the book in a somewhat haphazard fashion, but this is a tension that the text itself appears to acknowledge and attempts to resolve. With this in mind we turn to a cautious reconstruction of the monumentalization sequence for the Decalogue in Exodus.

The inauguration of the Decalogue in Exodus begins with an oral recitation of the text and collective response to it. The Decalogue first appears in Exodus 20 as a speech. It is spoken by Yahweh to the people at large – the only such address described in the Hebrew Bible. This presentation as speech undoubtedly is prompted by the understanding that all monumental texts were quoted discourse in the Iron Age Levant, but it may also be prompted by a tradition of

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[916] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128 ff. The primary shift during this period was the production of new monumental installations with restricted audiences in mind. Older installations may have continued to be used by larger gatherings, but such installations were no longer being actively erected.

[917] Gilibert, 112; Hogue, "Abracadabra or I Create as I Speak: A Reanalysis of the First Verb in the Katumuwa Inscription in Light of Northwest Semitic and Hieroglyphic Luwian Parallels."

reciting the texts. Though only one monumental text of the Levant has been found that explicitly demands this recitation, similar texts from Anatolia and Mesopotamia do make such a practice explicit.[918] Furthermore, the setting of these texts within cultic and civic gathering places would appear to presuppose a sort of collective address which may have consisted of the recitation of the monumental text.[919] Finally, as there is no evidence for silent reading during this period of history, if these texts were to be experienced at all it would have to be aurally. Exodus 20 then seems to present the initial performance of the Decalogue by Yahweh himself to begin the text's monumentalization.

The response to the first performance is more difficult to pin down. Ex 20 vv. 18 and following narrate a reaction to the Decalogue, but this is quickly interrupted by the altar law and the Covenant Code. It is not until Ex 24 that a more regimented response appears, and this seems to connect better to the material in Ex 19 as already discussed above. Some have even proposed that the Decalogue appears out of sequence in this complex of texts.[920] However, as already discussed in regards to the literary-spatial dimension of the Decalogue, its placement makes

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[918] See the discussion of the Sefire Stelae in chapter 2 for the Levantine example. On the others, see Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag Zu Ihrer Juristischen Vertrag*, 100–102; Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," 17–18; Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 96–104; Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, ed. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., Writings from the Ancient World - Society of Biblical Literature 7 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996), 3; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 147.

[919] Simon B. Parker, "Appeals for Military Intervention: Stories from Zinjirli and the Bible," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 4 (1996): 216, https://doi.org/10.2307/3210563; Simon B. Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions: Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 135; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 83.

[920] Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions*, 36–48; Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 212–19.

more sense in light of the typical ritual motion of Levantine monument engagement. The appearance of elements of the Sinai installation and ritual interact with them is perhaps haphazard, but this is not unusual for Levantine monumental installations. Furthermore, redactional notes within the text clearly tie the disparate elements together, appearing to simultaneously acknowledge and harmonize the difficulties of the composite.

The ritual itineraries of Ex 24 are generally clearer and more concise than those of Ex 19 and 20. Moses recites the Decalogue and the Covenant Code to the people in v. 3, and the people respond with the aforementioned formula *kl-hdbrym ʾšr-dbr yhwh nʿśh* "all the words Yahweh has said, we will do." Moses then inscribes these texts and erects the 12 *maṣṣebot* and the altar.[921] Representatives of the people then perform sacrifices in v. 5, followed by a ritual sprinkling of blood in v. 6. Notably, these representatives are not ritual specialists but rather "youths" chosen from among the people, highlighting the openness of this ritual.[922] In a probably insertion, Moses reads the contents of his inscriptions, and the people respond again as before: *kl ʾšr-dbr yhwh nʿśh wnšmʿ* "all that Yahweh has said, we will do and we will listen." In a repetitive resumption, Moses again sprinkles the blood, this time on the people. He also draws their attention to it as a symbol of the covenant inaugurated through the monument sequence at Sinai. The repetitiveness of this short section may indeed signify a complicated transmission history that conflated and repeated sections from multiple sources. What is most striking about the text's present form, however, is that we are left with a clear ritual itinerary involving the

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[921] This act of inscription appears out of order if the recitation has already occurred. Given this clause's easy connection to the Deuteronom(ist)ic material later in the passage, this may indicate that the depiction of inscription is a later insertion as well.

[922] Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 192.

recitation of the monumental text, ritualized inscription, erection of associated monumental objects, acts of sacrifice, and communal oral response. All of these actions are familiar to the monument activation itineraries of ancient West Asia.[923]

Most significantly, the ritual described in vv. 3-8 involves the people as collective participants. While it is true that the *maṣṣebot* may symbolically represent the people and that the youths certainly mediate for them in the sacrifices, the people are nevertheless the primary participants.[924] Even the mediation of the youths rather than professional priests points to the openness of this ritual.[925] They gather as a collective to hear the two recitations of the text – first as reported speech and then as a read inscription. They also collectively respond with formulaic language after each recitation. They are collective witnesses to the sacrifices and collective recipients of the blood sprinkling, even if they do not all perform the sacrifices. Lying behind all of this is the assumption of an assembly at the base of Sinai in order to engage the monumental installation in regimented collective ritual. This is remarkably similar to the civic rituals identified by Alessandra Gilibert in connection to monument installations in the northern Levant – Carchemish, in particular – and the related deployment of monuments elsewhere in the Levant

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[923] Accounts of monument erection are ubiquitous. Sacrifices and ritualized oral responses to monuments – which may imply earlier recitation – are demanded in Hadad (KAI 214:15-17), Katumuwa Inscriptions lines 6-13, and KARKAMIŠ A6 §21-22. Ritualized acts of inscription are recorded in Zakkur (KAI 202:B14-15) and CEKKE §3. The offering of a blood sacrifice is somewhat unusual, but this is elsewhere attested in KÖRKÜN §7, which reads: |*á-pa-sa-pa-wa/i za-ti* |DEUS-*ni* |X+*RA/I-sa* |*á-sa-ha-na-ti-sa-za* |*pi-ia-tu* "May he give a … *blood-offering* to this god!" Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:173–74.

[924] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110.

[925] Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 192. Blum suggests that this may serve as a concrete example of the "kingdom of priests" from Ex 19:6. Blum, *Studien Zur Komposition Des Pentateuch*, 51–52.

may suggest that these civic rituals were widely practiced.[926] This was the ritual discourse in mind when Ex. 24:3-8 were strategically juxtaposed to the Decalogue.

The Decalogue Embedded in Court Ceremony

Following the monumentalization ritual, the text describes a very different ritual in terms of activities and scope. It turns out that the real party is going on further up the mountain and the only people invited are the elders and the priests. In vv. 9-11, Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders behold Yahweh and eat and drink with him. This recalls the feasting of Panamuwa and his sons with Hadad prescribed in the Hadad Inscription (KAI 214)[927] as well as that of Katumuwa and his monument's users with Hadad of the Vineyards in the Katumuwa Stele.[928] From an archaeological perspective, this ritual feasting may resemble similar rituals held at Tel Dan, revealing yet another connection between the monumental installation at Sinai and the attested installations and practices at the Israelite cult site.[929] With this feast, the inauguration of the Decalogue and its associated installation is completed and the book transitions into a new set of monuments centered on the Tabernacle.

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[926] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 117 ff.

[927] See especially lines 15-17. Sanders, "Naming the Dead: Funerary Writing and Historical Change in the Iron Age Levant," 19–20.

[928] See lines 6-13. Struble and Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context"; Sanders, "The Appetites of the Dead: West Semitic Linguistic and Ritual Aspects of the Katumuwa Stele."

[929] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*.

As above, what is most important to note about the feast in vv. 1-2, 9-11 is its scope. Unlike the ritual described in vv. 3-8, the feast does not involve all the people as participants. Rather, only elite members of the community are invited. The parallels mentioned above between this ritual and the one described in the Hadad Inscription and the Katumuwa Inscription suggest a closer alignment between this ritual and what Gilibert labeled the Age of Court Ceremony that followed the Age of Civic Ritual. During this period, monuments in the eastern Mediterranean were deployed in increasingly exclusive contexts and their ritual activation was more limited in scope. In particular, when this transition in monumentality occurred, participation in rituals was limited to elites.[930] Such a transition in monumentality may lie behind the attachment of a second ritual to the Decalogue, a ritual which would better reflect the deployment of such monumental texts in a later period of the text's transmission. The Decalogue is embedded in both an account of civic ritual and an account of restrictive ritual that reveal a tension in the text's depiction of monuments. This shines out in ever brighter contrast if source critics are correct in assigning the feast of v. 11 to the same strand as vv. 3-8.[931] If this is the case, the only revision introduced by vv. 1-2, 9-11a is the segregation of the ritual.

The Affordance of the Rituals and Their Occasion

Whether applied to the people as a whole or only to elites as their representatives, the purpose of the rituals in Ex. 24 is clearly to move the people through the liminal zone proposed by the placement of the Decalogue and its poetic structure. The spatial dimensions of the

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[930] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 130–31.

[931] Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 117; Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19-24," 192.

Decalogue suggested a liminal zone for effecting a change in identity and the poetic dimension implied a motion through the text and its space that resulted in a reoriented, Yahweh-centered perspective. The performative dimension of the text actually activates the monument and actualizes this transformation in its participants. Previous scholarship was correct to note that this ritual had in mind the solidifying of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, but it is more complicated than that.[932] Through their oral response to the text, the people give their assent to the ideology and identity proposed. Through their gathering and processional through the installation at the base of Sinai, the people move into the liminal zone created by the Decalogue and its associated monuments. By processing as directed, they accept and perform a new social role as Yahweh's subjects.[933] Through the offering of sacrifices and the sprinkling of blood, the people activate the ritual implements of the text and accept its definition of them as a collective. In other words, their identity is reshaped as they enter and move through the space created by the text in the ways implied and prescribed by the text and its accoutrements.

Are there any parallels for the performance of Ex 24 to be found in ancient Israel or its neighbors? The use of blood to activate the monumental implements is of course reminiscent of the blood rituals of Bronze Age Emar and Iron Age Carchemish discussed in the previous chapters as well as the feasts between divine and human participants these entailed.[934] H. L.

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[932] These rituals have previously been labeled the covenant renewal ceremony. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 359.

[933] Hodder, "The Spectacle of Daily Performance at Çatalhöyük," 436.

[934] Fleming, *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive*, 78–93; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:106–7; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 110–12.

Ginsberg has even proposed that the original tradition of the blood ritual in Ex 24 involved sprinkling blood on the aniconic stelae rather than the people, making the ritual an exact parallel with those of Emar and Carchemish.[935] Though Ex 24 is the only textual witness to a possible parallel practice in ancient Israel, there is archaeological evidence that such a practice may have been carried out in the temple at Tel Dan.[936] What was the occasion for such ritual practice? Greer suggests that while other ceremonial festivals may have been carried out at Dan, one of the primary feasts was probably Sukkot or its precursor – the Israelite Autumnal New Year or $ḥg$.[937] As already discussed, this festival had important connections to the new moon, the new year, and the Sabbath. This was also the occasion upon which the historian of 1 Kgs 12 saw fit to place the Decalogue in the mouth of Jeroboam as he established the northern kingdom. Nor is this connection to northern festivals limited to this single reference. The first line of the Decalogue was also quoted in Psalms 50 and 81, Asaphite psalms of northern origin believed to have originally been connected to a recurrent autumnal festival.[938] Even the appended segregation of the ritual has a parallel in this feast, which was itself segregated between elite and common

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[935] Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*, 45–46.

[936] Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?"

[937] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 39–40.

[938] Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 120–21. Michael Goulder even suggests that the *Selah* pauses in these psalms may have been liturgical pauses to allow for the reading of the Decalogue. Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch: Studies in the Psalter, III* (A&C Black, 1996), 38–43, 147–57.

participants during the Nimshide period.[939] Though the occasion is never named outside of Ex 19:1's reference to the *ḥdš* "new moon" and the Decalogue's own reference to the Sabbath, the ceremonial complex enacted in Ex 24 is perhaps best explained as a literary depiction monument activation rituals such as would be carried out on a semi-regular basis as part of the Israelite New Year.[940] This was the festival during which Israel ritually performed the enthronement of Yahweh as well as their own social stratification in order to consolidate their social formation.

Conclusions: The Monumentality of the Decalogue in Exodus

As was previously discerned, the Decalogue developed Yahweh's kingship by borrowing language from ancient royal inscriptions in its "I am" formula.[941] The connection between royal monuments and the text of the Decalogue ran far deeper than its opening line, however. The phraseology of the image and name commandments, the blessing of long life, and some of the social commandments have direct parallels in monumental inscriptions as well. The remaining material of the Decalogue closely matches the themes and tropes of monumental inscriptions. It may be that this material pre-existed the Decalogue in another form, but the thematic connections and direct semantic borrowings suggest that the text was compiled and composed to look like a monumental inscription, albeit a highly inventive one. In its final form, the text in Exodus affords the same sorts of meanings expected of ancient monumental inscriptions: it gives

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[939] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 133–36.

[940] Within the Covenant Code, however, there is a clear reference to *ḥg hʾsyp* "the festival of Ingathering," which is probably an older designation for this Autumnal New Year. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 149–50.

[941] Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 76, 241; Sarna, *Exodus Commentary*, 15, 109.

a brief narrative of Israel's collective past centered on Yahweh's interaction with them and it propounds a social order both in terms of Yahweh's supremacy and in terms of demanded practice meant to acknowledge that supremacy. The result is that the text promotes social formation in light of the agent's proposed social relations.

The Decalogue's embedding in monumental discourse extends well beyond its semantic content, however. The poetics of the text also attest to this exchange. The Decalogue was structured according to deictic categories as were other monuments of the Iron Age Levant. The text opened with an "I am" formula in order to initiate deictic projection in the minds of the text's users.[942] That is, they were provoked to imagine Yahweh present with them and speaking with them. The remaining organization of the text orients those users in an evaluative space relative to Yahweh and his ideology. Various deictic shifts in the text express the distancing consequences of failing to orient oneself according to the structures proposed by the layout of the text. Cumulatively, the rhetorical structure of the Decalogue serves to reorient its users relative to Yahweh. In other words, the text is poetically designed to actually draw its users into the perspective it proposes. The deictic elements of the text actually embody the perspective of Yahweh and further invite the text's users to embody its imagined ideal reader.

The perspectival change and embodiment are further emphasized by the literary-spatial dimension of the Decalogue. In the book of Exodus, the Decalogue is set at Sinai to act as a bridge between the exodus narrative and the Sinai pericope. Its setting at the end of a campaign mirrors the erection of monumental texts in royal annals to signal the successful cessation of

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[942] Hogue, "I Am: The Function, History, and Diffusion of the Fronted First-Person Pronoun in Syro-Anatolian Monumental Discourse."

hostilities. Its setting at the point at which the Israelites have left Egypt and entered a new region reflects the territorial deployment of monuments in the ancient Levant. That is, the text was deployed in a peripheral zone to spread a new ideology to those being drawn out of another territory. Just as ancient Levantine kings would need to provide a reoriented identity to conquered populaces, Yahweh proposes a new identity in Sinai to the people he brought out of Egypt. This potentiality is afforded by the Decalogue's setting in such a peripheral zone.

The aesthetic amplifications of the Decalogue provide a physical means for the people to participate in the transformation it affords. The altar and the *maṣṣebot* recall both objects that would typically be inscribed with texts such as the Decalogue in the ancient Levant as well as attendant uninscribed objects meant to interact with or in place of such texts as part of a larger monumental installation. Whether the Decalogue is understood to be inscribed on these objects in the text of Exodus 24 or not, at the very least the Decalogue does interact with these objects in a significant way within the text. These objects suggest physical embodiments of the Decalogue's participants – the altar provides a means of encountering and interacting with the deity while the *maṣṣebot* provide a permanent means for the Israelites to be present before the text and the altar. These are suggestive of ritual implements for carrying out the transformation proposed by the text and its location as well as iconic representations of the intimacy otherwise afforded by the text's semantic and poetic dimensions.

Finally, the rituals attached to the Decalogue reveal how the associated implements are to be used in order to actually effect the proposed transformation. In the first ritual, the text is to be ritually inscribed and recited and the people are given a regimented collective response in order to assent to it. This all occurs as they gather before the *maṣṣebot* at the base of Sinai and receive blood-markings from the sacrifices performed on the altar to signify that the transformation has

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actually taken place. In the second ritual, the leaders of the people partake of an intimate feast with Yahweh. Such a feast was implied by the sacrifice in the earlier ritual, but here it is made explicit. Also explicit in this section is the fact that the leaders of the Israelites really see Yahweh and eat and drink with him. Such an intimate encounter would never be repeated in the Hebrew Bible, and later interpreters seem in fact to have been quite uncomfortable with this first occurrence.[943] Cumulatively, these rituals suggest that the message of the monument has been engaged and social formation has taken place. The people thus pass through the liminal zone created in the spatial affordance of the text and emerge with the new perspective proposed by the poetic dimension. The performative dimension of the Decalogue thus involved the activation and actualization of the text's monumentality.

Taken together, these five dimensions of the Decalogue's monumentality highlight the text's primary functions. The text reembodied Yahweh and his ideal subjects. It afforded social formation to its users and actually guided them into the proposed social relations. It restructured space and guided its users through it in order to reshape them. It was depicted alongside accounts of material and performative means for actualizing this embodiment and social formation. Cumulatively, the monumentality of the Decalogue consisted of embodying Yahweh and constituting Israel.

The Historical Context of the Decalogue's Monumentality in Exodus

In attempting to date biblical texts, we must carefully disambiguate the setting within the literary world and the setting for composition implied by the depicted cultural elements. Furthermore, only some of these elements will be dateable using art historical methods, but not

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[943] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128.

all of them are. In its larger narrative frame, the Decalogue has been set in the periphery of

Bronze Age Egypt and seems to attempt to recall some of the West Semitic monument-making

practices in that region at that time. The specific monumental discourse of the Decalogue cannot

maintain this setting, however, and we see the discourse of the Iron Age creep in and take over.

In particular, the various dimensions of the Decalogue's monumentality attest to

monumentalities known from the eastern Mediterranean from the 10th to the 8th centuries BCE.

The semantic content of the text proclaims Yahweh's supremacy over rivals without any

reservation; the hedging language of such self-praise that emerged in the context of Neo-

Assyrian hegemony is completely absent.[944] The lack of a battle narrative and relatively simple

poetic structure, however, may attest to either conversation with traditions extant prior to the

incursions of Shalmaneser III or to later inscriptions which greatly simplified their content. The

aesthetic dimension of the text would seem to especially align the Decalogue with iconic

traditions dating to before the Deuteronomic reforms of Josiah and perhaps even to a cultic

context prior to the proposed reforms of Hezekiah.[945] This may be further buttressed by the

aesthetic dimension's many correspondences with the cultic installation at the gateway of Dan,

which also suggest a northern context for the text and would demand a date before the fall of the

Northern Kingdom. Nevertheless, as the primary aesthetic amplification of the Decalogue are

aniconic stelae and these are attested throughout the history of "I Am" inscriptions, this

dimension – like the semantic and poetic dimensions – does not provide a definitive date.

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[944] Green, *I Undertook Great Works*, 297.

[945] Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 36.

The spatial dimension of the Decalogue is somewhat more specific, however. While the microscale deployment of the Decalogue at Sinai is attested throughout the history of "I Am" inscriptions, the territorial deployment of the text imagined in Exodus was only attested in the Levant during a limited historical window. The territorial deployment of the Decalogue matches a practice known in the eastern Mediterranean primarily between the incursions of Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-Pileser III. That is, inscriptions like this were deployed in peripheral contexts especially after the model of Assyria but also especially when Assyria was not directly present in the region to restrict that competitive emulation. This points to a compiler's experience of the Age of Territorialization.

Finally, the first ritual attached to the Decalogue is clearly civic ritual – a practice that disappeared from the eastern Mediterranean at least in the case of new monumental installations during the 8th century, especially after the resurgence of Assyria.[946] This suggests that the context may be relying on monumental rhetoric from the Age of Civic Ritual or the Age of Territorialization. However, the second ritual attached to the Decalogue shows the most tell-tale sign of the Age of Court Ceremony – segregation. This demonstrates not only that the text continued to be edited, a conclusion which has already been reached by other means. It also demonstrates that some of this editorial activity was carried out so as to update the Decalogue with more current monumental discourse. The performative dimension in particular changed more radically than perhaps any other dimension of meaning affordance for Levantine "I Am" monuments, so this was in particular need of revision.

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[946] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–31.

Cumulatively, these correspondences suggest that the Decalogue was produced and then set in Exodus at some point in its transmission history to reflect monumentalities of the 10th-8th centuries BC. The general increase in textualization in ancient Israel during the 8th century makes this an especially attractive period to date an early edition the text and some of its context.[947] However, as mentioned above some of the editorial stands evident in the Decalogue and its contexts reveal attempts to revise the account to better fit with 8th century monumentalities, suggesting a potentially even earlier date. Furthermore, much of the Decalogue's monumental discourse is clearly conversant with monumentalities limited to the Age of Territorialization if not the Age of Civic Ritual as well. This is especially evident in the context of Ex 19. Here we should remember that neighboring Moab produced at least two "I Am" inscriptions of considerable length and sophistication during the Age of Territorialization and successfully deployed on a territorial scale. Also, apart from these "I Am" incriptions, Moab preserves even less evidence of literary activity during this time than does ancient Israel. So it is certainly possible – if unfortunately not entirely provable – that Israel's "I Am" inscription is to be dated to this period as well, and once it was set in literature it continued to be revised during the Age of Court Ceremony.

Nevertheless, the material juxtaposed with the Decalogue in Exodus already betrays attempts to align it with even later monumentalities and social pressures. As already mentioned, some of the content and structure of the text may point to a later edition of the Decalogue that restricted some of its content to align it with the simpler inscriptions of the late 8th century and

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[947] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 58–90; Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 113–33.

even later. This reframing is especially limited to Ex 24, which also attests later

Deuteronom(ist)ic and otherwise post-monarchic reworking as well. The association of the

Decalogue with the two tablets in Exodus 34 may attest to a later move away from the *maṣṣebot*

as well.[948] Most significantly, the context in which the Decalogue was embedded in Ex 19-24:11

shows evidence of editorial activity stretching all the way into the Persian Period. However, most

of these changes seem unmotivated by shifts in monumentality and so go beyond the scope of

this study. Transformations along these lines in the book of Deuteronomy, however, do appear

motivated by monumentality and warrant a closer look.

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[948] *Maṣṣebot* seem to have ceased to be used in Judah at the end of the 8th century or beginning of the 7th. Bloch-Smith explains this partially on the basis of their disavowal by the Deuteronomic school. Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 114–15.

CHAPTER 4

THE RECEPTION OF THE DECALOGUE'S MONUMENTALITY IN
DEUTERONOMY

Deuteronomy at first appears to duplicate many of the aspects of the Decalogue's

monumentality in Exodus, but it actually develops them in some significant ways. This is in part

because the book of Deuteronomy is uniquely concerned with its own materiality, a feature that

sets it apart even from Exodus with its many depictions of material culture.[949] The materiality

addressed in Deuteronomy is by no means singular, however. Rather, the book depicts a number

of textualized objects, and it is debatable as to which texts are to be connected to which objects.

Many of these various textual objects can be shown to relate to different kinds of textual

monuments from the greater Levant and ancient Near East. Depictions of certain kinds of texts

have even been used to date the book previously, an approach that will inspire much of the

present chapter in its approach to a history of the Decalogue's monumentality in Deuteronomy.

The material in the book of Deuteronomy is not as simple as a further example of

depictions of monuments in the Hebrew Bible, however. It is actually far more significant. This

is because Deuteronomy derives much of its content from other sources in the Pentateuch,

expands them, and reframes them. The book frequently adapts older materials, alludes to other

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[949] Jean-Pierre Sonnet, *The Book Within the Book: Writing in Deuteronomy*, Biblical Interpretation 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Joachim Schaper, "A Theology of Writing: Deuteronomy, the Oral and the Written, and God as Scribe," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach*, ed. Louise Joy Lawrence and Mario I. Aguilar (Leiden: Deo, 2004), 97–110; Joachim Schaper, "The Living Word Engraved in Stone: The Interrelationship of the Oral and Hte Written and the Culture of Memory in the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua," in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)*, ed. Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin Wold (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 9–23; Francesca Stavrakopoulou, "Materialism, Materiality, and Biblical Cults of Writing," in *Biblical Interpretation and Method: Essays in Honour of John Barton*, ed. Katharine J. Dell and Paul M. Joyce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 223–42; Mark Lester, "Textual Iconicity in Deuteronomy," Forthcoming.

texts both within and outside of the Hebrew Bible, or makes use of inner-biblical exegesis. The appearance of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy is thus not another example of textualized monument production as was the case in Exodus. We should instead treat it as an example of monument reception. The reproduction, revision, and reframing of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy reveals that the text was not just composed to look like a monument. It actually successfully functioned as a monument in its original context and was received as one. With few exceptions, the data available for analyzing the Decalogue's monumentality actually surpasses that of most Levantine "I Am" inscriptions, because we actually have evidence of its reception in addition to its production as a monument. Before addressing the monumentality of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy, though, we must first address the problem of discursive strata in Deuteronomy and the Decalogue's place among them.

Before addressing the monumentality of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy, we must first address the problem of discursive strata in Deuteronomy and the Decalogue's place among them. Next, this chapter will explore shifts in the Decalogue's semantic, poetic, spatial, aesthetic, and performative dimensions that suggest the text's monumentality was updated in response to broader shifts in monument-making practices in the Levant. The Decalogue was still a reembodiment of Yahweh promoting social formation in the book of Deuteronomy, but it accomplished these functions by different means than it did in Exodus. Combining my discussion of discursive strata in Deuteronomy with my periodization of Levantine "I Am" monuments, I suggest three major receptions of the Decalogue as a monument in the book. First, the Proto-Deuteronomic discourse in the book appears to recast the Decalogue firmly as an "I Am" monument of the Age of Court Ceremony: a shift that was only beginning in Exodus. Second, the Deuteronomic discourse in the book recasts the Decalogue in the context of

Deuteronomy as the text of a tablet hidden in a foundation deposit, which better matched the more prestigious Assyrian and Egyptian monuments known in Judah during the 7th century. Finally, Deuteronomistic discourse transformed the Decalogue into something entirely unique and personal: a text that could be observed by anyone anywhere during the post-monarchic period.

Introduction: The Discursive Strata of Deuteronomy

The book of Deuteronomy has attracted enough scholarly attention to almost be considered a field of study unto itself. Analyses and reconstructions of the book and its various literary strata have become increasingly numerous and complex, and scholarly consensus regarding the history of the text remains elusive. The method utilized in this study does not allow for the production of a particularly high-resolution history of the book.[950] Nevertheless, the few points of agreement among different approaches to Deuteronomy do generally line up with significant moments in the history of Israel and Judah during which monumentalization practices were shifting. An analysis of the monumentality of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy and especially its changes relative to shifts in monumentalization practices in the wider Levant will allow us to add new evidence for some previous conclusions regarding the shape and history of Deuteronomy. With all due caution, we can also expand on some of these.

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[950] Some proposed editions of Deuteronomy have been dated to specific decades and even years. For an example, see the work of Jacques Vermeylen, who dates specific editions of Deuteronomy to 575, 560, and 525 BCE, or more recently the work of Karel van der Toorn, who suggests editions from 620, 580, 540, and 500. Such specificity is unfortunately impossible when utilizing a history of monumentality. Jacques Vermeylen, *Le Dieu de La Promesse et Le Dieu de L'alliance: Le Dialogue Des Grandes Intuitions Théologiques de l'Ancien Testament*, LD 126 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 123–27; Karel Van Der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 149.

I will generally follow Bernard Levinson in observing Proto-Deuteronomic (Proto-Dtn), Deuteronomic (Dtn), and Deuteronomistic (Dtr) material in the book of Deuteronomy. Like Levinson and somewhat unlike most text critics, I will not attempt to delineate these editorial strata in great detail.[951] Instead, I will comment on these as strands of discourse, and I will attempt to broadly periodize them based on their interaction with attested extrabiblical monumental discourse.[952] Especially following Eckart Otto, I will use the term Deuteronomic to refer to pre-exilic Judahite discourse in the book, while I will limit my use of Deuteronomistic to refer to subsequent editorial activity.[953] Unlike Otto, I will follow Lauren Monroe and most often label this Deuteronomistic discourse post-monarchic rather than specifically exilic or post-exilic.[954] Though these periods undoubtedly influenced different generations of Deuteronomists in specific ways, the interaction of Dtr with monumental discourse does not readily provide enough evidence to periodize it more specifically than post-monarchic in most cases. This is because the primary relationship between Dtr and monumental discourse is grounded on an impulse to categorize foreign monumentalities as illegitimate rather than to depict or adapt them

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[951] Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 13.

[952] This follows a proposal by Seth Sanders to focus on the cultural moments out of which certain discourses emerged rather than attempting to provide precise dates for overly specific literary strata. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 167.

[953] Eckart Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," in *From Antiquity to Early Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 214 N. 10; Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, vol. 1, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2012), 231–57.

[954] Lauren A. S. Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 133–34.

accurately. At the same time, Dtr will be seen to be driven by a need to adapt older materials to a social context in which friendly monuments were lacking and as a result largely irrelevant.[955] Finally, though Proto-Deuteronomic has sometimes been used to refer to earlier Judahite material in the book, I will follow the usage of Foster McCurley and William Holladay among others in applying Proto-Deuteronomic to the Israelite discourse in the book.[956] I will briefly touch on broader scholarly arguments concerning these discursive strands below.

The most widely accepted conclusion in histories of Deuteronomy is that an edition of the book was produced sometime during the seventh century under the patronage of the Judahite monarchy.[957] In fact, the seventh century discourse in the book has been referred to as an

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[955] Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:147–53.

[956] McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory"; William L. Holladay, "Elusive Deuteronomists, Jeremiah, and Proto-Deuteronomy," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (January 2004): 55–77.

[957] This date originally derived from a theory proposed by Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette and very influentially expanded upon by Julius Wellhausen that saw Josiah's law book in 2 Kings 23 as an edition of Deuteronomy. Though the direct connection to Josiah's law book has come under scrutiny, other evidence to be discussed below has essentially cinched a 7th century date for significant portions of the Deuteronomy's discourse. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, *Beiträge Yur Einleitung in Das Alte Testament*, 2 vols. (Hildensheim: Olms, 1806); de Wette, 170 ff. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (Frankfurt am Main: Outlook Verlag GmbH, 2018 [1878]), 259.

For works questioning the identification of Josiah's law book with Deuteronomy, see Rich Lowery, *The Reforming Kings: Cults and Society in First Temple Judah*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 210 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Ehud Ben Zvi, "Prelude to a Reconstruction of Historical Manassic Judah," *Biblische Notizen* 81 (1996): 31–44; Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 338 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004); Ernst Axel Knauf, "The Glorious Days of Manasseh," in *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century B.C.E.*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 393 (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 164–88; Philip R. Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book," in *Good Kings and Bad Kings: The Kingdom of Judah in the Seventh Century B.C.E.*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 393 (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 65–77; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*; Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*.

"Archimedian point" against which other biblical texts ought to be relatively dated.[958] Many

scholars assign a pre-exilic edition of Deuteronomy more specifically to the reign of Josiah,

while others suggest an earlier edition produced during the reign of Hezekiah that Josiah

edited.[959] Here, we may only note that the seventh century did indeed see a change in

monumentalization practices and in objects monumentalized, and some of these do appear in

Deuteronomy.[960] I will therefore leave aside the question of multiple Judahite editions of the

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[958] Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 4 (2013): 310.

[959] Studies suggesting a Hezekian edition include Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*; Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*.

[960] This is especially evident in Deuteronomy's use of discourse derived from Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty. For representative studies in favor of this connection, see Moshe Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," *Biblica* 46 (1965): 417–27; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976): 379–414; R. Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965): 122–54; P. E. Dion, "Deuteronomy 13: THe Supression of Alien Religious Propaganda in Israel during the Late Monarchical Era," in *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel*, ed. Baruch Halpern and Deborah W. Hobson, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 124 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 147–216; Baruch Halpern, "Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century BCE: Kinship and the Rise of Individual Moral Liability," in *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel*, ed. Baruch Halpern and Deborah W. Hobson, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 124 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 28 N. 20; Hans U. Steymans, "Eine Assyrische Vorlage Für Deuteronomium 28:20-44," in *Bundesdokument Und Gesetz: Studien Zum Deuteronomium*, ed. Georg Braulik, Herders Biblische Studien 4 (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 119–41; Hans U. Steymans, *Deuteronomium 28 Und Die Adê Zur Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons: Segen Und Fluch Im Alten Orient Und in Israel*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 145 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Hans U. Steymans, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34, no. 2 (2013): 1–13; Eckart Otto, "Treueid Und Gesetz: Die Ursprünge Des Deuteronomiums Im Horizont Neuassyrischen Vertragsrechts," *Zeitschrift Für Altorientalische Und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (1996): 1–52; Eckart Otto, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie Und Rechtsreform in Juda Und Assyrien*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 284 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:540 ff. R. D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, Old Testament Library (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004); Levinson, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters"; Bernard M. Levinson, *"The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 3 (2012): 133–36; Levinson and Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method."

A more recent though not uncontroversial wave of scholarship has questioned the direct connections to EST. For representative work along these lines, see J. Pakkala, "Der Literar- Und Religionsgeschichtliche Ort von

book for other scholars to tackle, and instead treat the Judahite editing of the book singularly as Deuteronomic discourse (henceforth Dtn). If we can conclude that the Decalogue was a part of Dtn – and I will below – then its monumentality necessarily changed by association and due to the new historical circumstances of this setting.

It is also widely accepted that Deuteronomy continued to be edited in the exilic and post-exilic periods. Some of this editing is generally assigned to the same redactors as the Deuteronomistic History. Additions and revisions to the book during this period are thus sometimes labeled Deuteronomistic as opposed to Deuteronomic to differentiate this process from the earlier production of the book.[961] Multiple Deuteronomistic strata of Deuteronomy have

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Deuteronomium 13," in *Die Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- Und Religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-DIskussion in Tora Und Vorderen Propheten*, ed. M. Witte, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 365 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 125–37; Christoph Koch, *Vertrag, Treueid Und Bund: Studien Zur Rezeption Des Altorientalischen Vertragsrechts in Deuteronomium Und Zur Ausbildung Der Bundestheologie Im Alten Testament*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 383 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 108–70; Markus P. Zehnder, "Building on Stone? Deuteronomy and Esarhaddon's Loyalty Oaths (Part 1): Some Preliminary Observations," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 19 (2009): 341–74; Markus P. Zehnder, "Building on Stone? Deuteronomy and Esarhaddon's Loyalty Oaths (Part 2): Some Additional Observations," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 19 (2009): 511–35; Joshua Berman, "CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131 (2011): 25–44; Joshua Berman, "Historicism and Its Limits: A Response to Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 4 (2013): 297–309; Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite Išḫiul Reexamined," *Vetus Testamentum* 61 (2011): 461–68; C. L. Crouch, *Israel & the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, & the Nature of Subversion*, Ancient Near East Monographs 8 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

[961] This differentiation of the terms "Deuteronomic" and "Deuteronomistic" is by no means standardized. On the lack of consistency in scholarly use of these terms, see Richard Coggins, "What Does 'Deuteronomistic' Mean?," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 268 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1999), 22–35.

My usage of "Deuteronomistic" to refer to post-monarchic discourse is especially derived from the work of Eckart Otto, who differentiates them chronologically. Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 214 N. 10; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–57.

Otto's distinction between pre-exilic, Judahite Deuteronomic strata and post-monarchic Deuteronomistic strata accords nicely with some recent work on the Deuteronomistic History more broadly. See, for example, Lauren Monroe's study on Josiah's reforms in which she argues that the descriptions of cult reforms in 2 Kings 23 are largely non-Deuteronomistic. She accordingly argues for a non-Deuteronomistic, pre-exilic version of the history

been proposed for various text-critical reasons, but an in-depth review of these would exceed the

scope of this study.[962] A history of monumentality in the post-monarchic Judean community will

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that was followed by a post-monarchic, Deuteronomistic reaction. Though her assignment of the pre-exilic history to the Holiness School is perhaps too specific, her suggestion of a non-Deuteronomistic redaction of the former prophets in the pre-exilic period is compelling. Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*; Julia Rhyder, "Holiness Language in II Kings 23? A Note on a Recent Proposal," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 127, no. 3 (2015): 497–501.

For further examples of work problematizing the relationship between the Deuteronomistic history and Deuteronomy, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic HIstory: The Case of Kings," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63 (2001): 393–415; Bernard M. Levinson, "The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History's Transformation of Torah," *Vetus Testamentum* 51 (2001): 511–34; Konrad Schmid, "Das Deuteronomium Innerhalb Der 'Deuteronomistischen Geschictswerke' in Gen-2 Kön," in *Das Deuteronomium Zwischen Pentateuch Und Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*, ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, Forschungen Zur Religion Und Literatur Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments 206 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 193–211.

[962] Scholarship on Deuteronomistic redaction is mostly divided between the followers of the so-called "double redaction" theory of Frank M. Cross and the Göttingen school. Both groups develop Martin Noth's proposal of a Deuteronomistic History (DtrG) as the product of a single Deuteronomist. Cross expanded on this by proposing a pre-exilic version of the history and an exilic redaction of it. Cross' views have been expanded in the work of Richard Nelson, A. D. H. Mayes, and Iain Provan. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Schriften Der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, 18.2 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1943); Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, ET, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*; Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); Nelson, *Deuteronomy*; A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1981); A. D. H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel Between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (London: SCM Press, 1983); Iain W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings: A Contribution to the Debate about the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 172 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1988).

In contrast to this theory, Rudolf Smend initiated what has become known as the Göttingen school by proposing two Deuteronomistic strata, both of which were exilic. Walter Dietrich proposed a third exilic redaction shortly thereafter. This approach has been most fleshed out by Timo Veijola. Veijola proposes a pre-exilic version of DtrH that he labels *Urdeuteronomium* (Ur-Dtn). This was followed by an initial exilic redaction (DtrG), a prophetically oriented redaction (DtrP), and a legally oriented redaction (DtrN, in which N stands for "nomist"). Following Christoph Levin, Veijola proposes a final post-exilic Deuteronomistic redaction focused on covenant or *bundestheologie* (DtrB). Rudolf Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: G. von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff, Die Mitte des Alten Testaments. Gesammelte Studien., Band 1 (Munich: Kaiser, 1971), 494–509; Walter Dietrich, *Prophetie Und Geschichte. Eine Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung Zum Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk*, Forschungen Zur Religion Und Literatur Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments 108 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); Timo Veijola, *Das 5. Buch Mose. Deuteronomium. Kapitel 1,1-16,17*, Alte Testament Deutsch, 8,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Christoph Levin, *Die Verheißung Des Neuen Bundes in Ihrem Theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang Ausgelegt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985).

primarily point to shifts in practices relative to monuments due to the absence of a centralized state as well as exposure to new traditions abroad.[963] I will thus refer singularly to the post-monarchic Deuteronomistic discourse of Deuteronomy (Dtr), fully aware that editorial activity during this broad period was likely more complex and could be periodized more minutely by other methods, albeit with little consensus.

Somewhat less widely accepted is the possibility that an older edition of Deuteronomy existed. A number of scholars argue that the book of Deuteronomy in fact originated in the northern kingdom of Israel before its destruction in 722 BCE.[964] Even scholars who do not accept that an edition of the book was produced in Israel will acknowledge that the book does in fact preserve some Israelite traditions.[965] The earliest edition of Deuteronomy is sometimes

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For a recent alternative proposal to either the double redaction theory or the Göttingen school, see Otto's proposal of a pre-exilic Deuteronomic work followed by two Deuteronomistic redactions – the exilic *Horebredaktion* and the post-exilic *Moabredaktion*. Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period"; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–57.

For more extensive summaries of different views of Deuteronomistic redaction, see Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings: A Contribution to the Debate about the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History*, 2–31; J. G. McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope," *Vetus Testamentum* 42, no. 1 (1992): 67–69; Kari Latvus, *God, Anger and Ideology: The Anger of God in Joshua and Judges in Relation to Deuteronomy and the Priestly Writings*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 279 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd, 1998), 1–20.

[963] Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:147–53.

[964] E.g. Albrecht Alt, "Die Heimat Des Deuteronomiums," *KS* II (1953): 250–75; N. W. Porteous, "Actualization and the Prophetic Criticism of the Cult," in *Tradition Und Situation. Studien Zur Alttestamentlichen Prophetie*, ed. Ernst Würthwein and Otto Kaiser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*.

[965] E.g. Gerhard von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, trans. David Stalker, Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1953), 60ff.; Gerhard von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 26–40; Artur Weiser, *The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development*, trans. Dorothea M. Barton (New York: Association Press, 1961), 133 f. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 223; Ernest Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967); Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 57; Alexander Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2002), 7–8.

labeled Proto-Deuteronomy (Proto-Dtn) or *Urdeuteronomium*. I will adapt the former in this

study.[966] While some traditions may be even older, previous scholarship in combination with the

conclusions of the previous chapter will generally point to an eighth century date for Proto-Dtn

discourse in the book.[967] The history of monuments in the wider region will further support this.

The Israelite Discourse of Proto-Deuteronomy

Most scholars – including those who posit Israelite strata within Deuteronomy – accept

that Proto-Deuteronomy consisted of the Deuteronomic Code in chapters 12-26 and some

framing material.[968] While these sections reuse and expand older materials, the discourse itself

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Note also that some scholars – such as Nicholson and Rofé – argue that Deuteronomy was composed in the south by Israelite refugees.

[966] Note that some scholars use these terms to refer to a seventh century Judahite edition of the book. I accept on the contrary that any Judahite editions were secondary.

[967] Some few scholars maintain an even older traditional date for the book of Deuteronomy in the Late Bronze Age based on comparative study with Hittite texts. This theory originated in the work of George Mendenhall and has recently been revived by Joshua Berman and Ada Taggar-Cohen. In addition to Levinson and Stackert's cogent refutation of Berman's theories, the connections to Levantine treaties discussed later in this chapter will further demonstrate that the link to Hittite treaties is neither necessary nor tenable. Berman, "CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13"; Berman, "Historicism and Its Limits: A Response to Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert"; Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite Išḫiul Reexamined." For the other side of the debate with Berman, see Levinson and Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method."

[968] E.g. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 27–40; Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, trans. Dorothea M. Barton, vol. 5, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1966), 11 f. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition*, 18–36; Georg Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, trans. David E. Green (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), 165–78; Hartmut Gese, "Bemerkungen Zur Sinaitradition," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 79 (1967): 137–54; McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory," 295–97; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 213–14.

In contrast, Wellhausen originally proposed that Proto-Deuteronomy consisted of nothing but the law code in chapters 12-26. He is followed by Otto Eissfeldt. In the other extreme, John Cullen argued that Proto-Deuteronomy lacked the Deuteronomic Code and consisted only of some of the framing materials. Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition Des Hexateuchs Und Der Historischen Bücher Des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von

appears to reflect 8th century traditions.[969] One of the chief concerns of Proto-Deuteronomy was

the reconfiguration of Israelite identity in the face of increasing internationalism, likely in

response to interactions with Assyria.[970] The 8th century is arguably the best historical context for

such a reconfiguration of identity in Israel.[971] It is during this time that the Nimshides were

carrying out religious reforms, some of which reflect broader changes in monumentality in the

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Georg Reimer, 1899); Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 231 f. John Cullen, *The Book of the Covenant in Moab: A Critical Inqiry into the Original Form of Deuteronomy* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903).

[969] This date is mostly apparent from Deuteronomy's depiction of lapidary treaties, which are for the most part limited to the 8th century Levant. This connection has previously been most extensively analyzed by Melissa Ramos, and I will expand on it below. Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28"; Melissa Ramos (London: Routledge, Forthcoming).

For an alternative proposal, see Sandra Richter's arguments that the economic data preserved in Deuteronomy point to a tenth century date. Her arguments may suggest evidence for multiple Israelite strata in the book, but such a proposal cannot be fully explored here. Sandra L. Richter, "The Question of Provenance and the Economics of Deuteronomy," *Journal For the Study of the Old Testament* 42, no. 1 (2017): 23–50.

[970] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 114.

[971] Crouch specifically connects Deuteronomy to identity shifts in the southern Levant during the "long seventh century," by which she refers to a period stretching from the late eighth to the early sixth century. Her work cogently connects identity configuration in Deuteronomy to other such identity formation programs in the southern Levant during this period, but it is hindered by assuming a Judahite origin for Deuteronomy and ignoring northern Levantine evidence. The kind of identity reconfiguration she describes actually began in the northern Levant as early as 790 BCE and is represented by the shift to court ceremony, which Alessandra Gilibert notes is related to the reconfiguration of polity identities in Zincirli and Carchemish in particular. Jonathan Greer has noted the same shifts in monumentality and resultant identity formation in Israel during the Nimshide period. Shawn Aster has even suggested that the possible influence of Neo-Assyrian ritual on these shifts in monumentality also point to an 8th century date, when Samarian emissaries and possibly Danites as well were known to participate in Neo-Assyrian court ceremonies in Nimrud. Furthermore, Deuteronomy itself depicts this type of 8th century monumentality. This is especially evident in its depiction of 8th century Levantine lapidary treaties in chapter 27, which has been most extensively adduced in the recent work of Melissa Ramos. Thus, when pairing Crouch's arguments with an exploration of identity configuration through monuments, an 8th century date for Proto-Deuteronomy appears more likely. Crouch, 8–82; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–37; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 133–38; Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28"; Ramos.

Levant.[972] These reforms may have in part been motivated by Israelite participation in Assyrian court ceremonies in Nimrud.[973] Moreover, in the last quarter of the 8th century, Assyria became an existential threat to Israel, conquering Dan in addition to other territories in 732 BCE and finally Samaria in 722 BCE.[974] Though the depictions of monumentalization practices in Proto-Deuteronomy cannot suggest so narrow a frame, the years surrounding these two events are an attractive period to imagine the movement of Danite and other northern Israelite literary traditions south and their combination with southern Israelite traditions at Shechem or Bethel. Israelite refugees brought these traditions south to Jerusalem shortly thereafter.[975] Apart from these brief considerations of historical context, it is important to note that the sort of identity configuration project proposed for Deuteronomy was a goal often accomplished by the strategic

[972] Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 133–38.

[973] It is worth noting that Zincirlians and Karkamišeans are attested at these same ceremonies. The interaction of these groups as well as Israelite emissaries in the Neo-Assyrian court ceremonies at Nimrud may suggest an explanation for the shifts in monumentality attested at Zincirli, Carchemish, and Dan during the same period. Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century."

[974] Nadav Na'aman, "Tiglath-Pileser III's Campaigns against Tyre and Israel (734-732 B.C.E.)," *Tel Aviv* 22 (1995): 268–78.

[975] Already Bethel appears in the proto-Deuteronomic prophets Amos and Hosea, where it ties together Israel's Jacob and exodus traditions. These also suggest a generally southern Israelite orientation for the proto-Deuteronomic movement in 8th century Israel – an orientation already suggested by Deuteronomy's fixation on Shechem. Daniel Fleming suggests that this among other pieces of evidence suggests Bethel may have been a site for the transmission of Israelite traditions and especially for the transferal of Israelite traditions to Judah after the end of the northern kingdom. Alexander Rofé instead points to Shechem as a site of transmission. Both of these theories are plausible, but they should be considered in concert with recent work pointing to Tel Dan as an important site for the creation of earlier Israelite literature. Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity*, 181–84; Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 314–21; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 8; Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?"; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P."

deployment of monuments in the ancient Levant. As in Exodus, an analysis of the kinds of monuments depicted in Deuteronomy and their relationship to previous ones will provide further contextual information.

The primary textual monument recapitulated in Proto-Deuteronomy is the Covenant Code. Not only is its content expanded and revised in the Deuteronomic Code, but its structure as well is used to inform the layout of the revision.[976] This implicit acknowledgement of the model for the Deuteronomic Code allowed the Proto-Deuteronomic composer to cast his work as an authoritative duplication, expansion, and revision of the earlier work.[977] Speaking in terms of the Covenant Code's monumentality, the Deuteronomic Code may derive its own monumentality – and thus authority – in part from its close association with the Covenant Code.[978] However, the

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[976] On the Covenant Code as the Vorlage of the Deuteronomic Code, see, for example, the work of Lohfink, Levinson, Stackert, and Otto. See especially the work of Otto for structural parallels in addition to semantic ones. von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:13; Norbert Lohfink, "Zur deuteronomischen Zentralisationsformel," *Biblica* 65 (1984): 297–328; Norbert Lohfink, "Fortschreibung? Zur Technik von Rechtsrevisionen im deuteronomischen Bereich, erörtert an Deuteronomium 12, Ex 21, 2-11 und Dtn 15, 12-18," in *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen*, ed. Timo Veijola, Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 133–81; Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*; Levinson and Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy"; Jeffrey Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah*, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 6–113; Eckart Otto, "Vom Bundesbuch Zum Deuteronomium. Die Deuteronomische Redaktion in Dtn 12-26*," in *Biblische Theologie Und Gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Festschrift N. Lohfink*, ed. Georg Braulik, W. Groß, and S. McEvenue (Freiburg Breisgau: Herder, 1993), 260–78; Otto, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie Und Rechtsreform in Juda Und Assyrien*; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 213–21; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–38; Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1-23,15*, vol. 3, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2016), 1093–1108.

[977] C.f. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 77 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003); Otto, "Vom Bundesbuch Zum Deuteronomium. Die Deuteronomische Redaktion in Dtn 12-26*"; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–38; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 213–21.

[978] In making this argument, I combine Otto's observation that the Deuteronomic Code derived its authority from an authoritative Covenant Code with the observation of Kahn and Kirch that newer monuments aggregate around older ones in order to derive legitimacy from them. G. J. Venema has made a similar observation about the organization of materials in Deuteronomy. Their orientation allows newer insertions to derive authority from older constituents. This suggestion contrasts somewhat with the view of scholars such as Levinson and Stackert, who maintain that the

Proto-Deuteronomic work also revised the laws of the Covenant Code in order to harmonize

them with the monumentalities of the 8th and perhaps 7th centuries. For example, the

Deuteronomic Code introduces a tendency towards centralizing ritual.[979] While this has

previously been connected to religious reforms in Judah, it may have originally reflected political

reform in the broader Levant. As discussed earlier, the 8th century saw a shift towards more court

ceremony in monumentalization rituals.[980] This practice appears to have continued into the 7th

century in some contexts in the southern Levant.[981] As a result, monuments were deployed and

engaged closer to the center of a king's domain, and peripheral monuments largely disappeared

from the Levant. Some of this shift may have been in response to Assyrian pressure on

monumental rhetoric, but it was also likely competitive emulation of Assyria's own court

ceremonies in Nimrud during the 8th and 7th centuries.[982] During this period, Assyria

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Deuteronomic Code was intended to subvert the covenant code. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–38; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 220–21; Kahn and Kirch, *Monumentality and Ritual Materialization in the Society Islands*, 214–19; G. J. Venema, *Reading Scripture in the Old Testament: Deuteronomy 9-10; 31 - 2 Kings 22-23 - Jeremiah 36 - Nehemiah 8*, Old Testament Studies (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 217; Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 149–50; Levinson and Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy."

[979] Especially Deut 12.

[980] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–37; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 133–38.

[981] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 68–69, 132ff.

[982] Douglas J. Green, *"I Undertook Great Works": The Ideology of Domestic Achievements in West Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 154–56, 211–19, 229–31.

reconfigured its hierarchical ideology by inviting foreign dignitaries – including emissaries from Levantine states such as Zincirli, Carchemish, and Israel – to Nimrud to participate in ritual feasts with Assyrian courtiers and the king.[983] In light of the Israelite "God is king" metaphor,[984] it is possible that such practices may be part of the motivation for restricting the location of Yahwistic worship.[985] Rather than playing the part of a 10th-9th century Levantine king setting up a peripheral monument as in Exodus, in Deuteronomy Yahweh takes on the role of an emperor consolidating his power by forcing his followers to congregate in a centralized locale. This will be discussed further in the section on literary-spatial shifts below, but serves as one indication that some of the revisions present in the Deuteronomic Code served to update the Covenant Code with 8th-7th century monumental discourse.

The second textual monument duplicated in Deuteronomy is of course the Decalogue itself. While some scholars argue that this was a later addition,[986] many have suggested that it

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[983] Barjamovic, "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879-612 BCE," 42–45; Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century."

[984] Brettler, *God Is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*.

[985] Halpern has helpfully argued that Deuteronomy's centralization laws only clearly restrict places of worship and do not necessarily point to only one. In a similar vein, Von Rad argued that the presence of Shechem in Deuteronomy was evidence against centralization being a concern of Proto-Deuteronomy. In contrast, Rofé suggests that centralization was originally an 8th century Shechemite tradition, and Sandra Richter argues that Shechem was the original chosen place for Yahweh's name but that the book implies that the name could move. Baruch Halpern, "The Centralization Formula in Deuteronomy," *Vetus Testamentum* 31, no. 1 (January 1981): 20–38; von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 68; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 6–7; Sandra L. Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," *Vetus Testamentum* 57, no. 3 (2007): 366.

[986] E.g. Norbert Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung Literarischer Einleitungsfragen Zu Dtn 5-11*, Analecta Biblica 20 (Rome: E Pontifico Instituto Biblico, 1963), 143–52; Chris Brekelmans, "Deuteronomy 5: Its Place and Function," in *Das Deuteronomium: Enstehung, Gestalt Und Botschaft*, ed. Norbert Lohfink, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 68 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 164–73; Eckart Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," in *Das Deuteronomium Und Seine Querbeziehungen*, ed. Timo Veijola, Schriften Der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 62 (Helsinki, Göttingen: Finnische Exegetische Gesellschaft und Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 197–99; Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium*

was part of the introduction for the original edition of Deuteronomy.[987] On the one hand, it has been noted that Hosea – arguably the most significant of the Proto-Deuteronomic prophets – makes use of language from both Deuteronomy and the Decalogue and so may in fact know a Proto-Deuteronomic edition of the Decalogue.[988] Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Decalogue was made part of the introduction of Proto-Deuteronomy by analogy to its appearance before the Covenant Code in Exodus.[989] If this is so, it may suggest that more than just the structure of Exodus 21-23 informed the compilation of Deuteronomy but perhaps Exodus 20 as well. Finally, given the conclusions of the previous chapter, the Decalogue not only functioned toward the end of identity formation like Proto-Deuteronomy, it was also of originally northern provenance. The preservation of Israelite discourse in Deuteronomy could thus have easily included the Decalogue as an Israelite text designed with the same function in mind.

4,44-11,32, vol. 2, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2012), 684–715; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 298.

[987] E.g. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 27–40; von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:11 f. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition*, 18–36; Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 165–78.

Alternatively, some argue that the Exodus Decalogue was known to Proto-Deuteronomy but not necessarily included. Weiser, *The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development*, 119–25, 127, 130 ff. McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory," 303.

[988] Holladay, "Elusive Deuteronomists, Jeremiah, and Proto-Deuteronomy," 73.

Holladay also suggests that parallels between the Decalogue and Jeremiah 7 suggest that the Decalogue was a part of Proto-Deuteronomy, but this depends on how one dates Jeremiah and whether chapter 7 is interacting with Proto-Deuteronomy or a later version of the book. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary On the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah (Chapters 1-25)*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1986), 245.

[989] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 116.

In addition to recapitulating monumental texts, Proto-Deuteronomy likely also imagined the erection of these monuments based on earlier materials. In particular, Deuteronomy 27:1-8 duplicates the monumental installation of the Decalogue and Covenant Code from Exodus 24:3-8. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 27:5-7 alludes to the altar command from Exodus 20:25, strengthening the schematic connection between Proto-Deuteronomy and Exodus 20-24.[990] Given that the duplication of the Sinai monumental installation is in Deuteronomy set on Mount Ebal in the environs of Shechem, Sandra Richter has argued that this part of the chapter was likely a part of the Israelite discourse of Proto-Deuteronomy.[991] Its alignment with Exodus 20 and 24 further points to a structural analogy between the revelation at Sinai in Exodus and the recapitulation of the revelation from Horeb in Deuteronomy.

Finally, based on the structural analogy proposed above, it is likely that some of the Horeb material in the introduction to Deuteronomy was original to Proto-Deuteronomy.[992] It has

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[990] Saul M. Olyan, "Why an Altar of Unfinished Stones? Some Thoughts on Ex 20,25 and Dtn 27,5-6," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 108, no. 2 (1996): 161–71; Jack R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013), 741; Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 347.

[991] Richter also uses archaeological evidence to strengthen this argument. I will discuss her broader connections below, but here it is worth noting that a cultic installation possibly of the description in Deut 27 has been found on Mount Ebal itself. On this cult site and its connection to biblical traditions, see the recent treatment by Antti Laato as well as the original publication by Adam Zertal, with the caveat that Zertal's precise reconstruction has been rejected by most scholars. Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 351; Antti Laato, "The Cult Site on Mount Ebal: A Biblical Tradition Rewritten and Reinterpreted," in *Holy Places and Cult*, ed. Erkki Koskenniemi and J. Cornelis de Vos, Studies in the Reception History of the Bible 5 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 51–84; Adam Zertal, "An Early Iron Age Cultic Site on Mount Ebal: Excavation Seasons 1982-1987," *Tel Aviv* 13–14 (1987 1986): 105–65.

[992] E.g. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 27–40; von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:11 f. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition*, 18–36; Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 165–78. Contra Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 214.

been suggested that Horeb was a uniquely Israelite designation for the location of Yahweh's self-revelation.[993] Horeb has been identified as the place of revelation mostly in Elohistic – and therefore Israelite – texts, which Deuteronomy develops perhaps more than any other proposed non-priestly source in the Pentateuch.[994] In addition, Horeb is the mountain of God in the Elijah-Elisha cycle in the book of Kings, which may be an original Israelite composition.[995] The tradition of Horeb was likely known in the north – perhaps exclusively in the north – and could have been easily connected to the tradition of the monumental installation at Sinai.[996] Its place in the book will be discussed in more detail below, but for now it is another important indication that Proto-Deuteronomic discourse consisted of mostly Israelite traditions.

In addition, an explicit connection is made between Deut 27:8 and Deut 1:5, which form a sort of inclusio around the book. In Deut 1:5, Moses *bʾr ʾt-htwrh hzʾt* "clarified this instruction," and in Deut 27:8 the people are commanded to write *ʾt-kl-dbry htwrh hzʾt bʾr* "all

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[993] Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*, 45; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 83; Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 116 N. 4.

[994] McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory," 302–6; Jenks, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions*; Coote, *In Defense of Revolution: The Elohist History*; Jeffrey Stackert, "Mosaic Prophecy and the Deuteronomic Source of the Torah," in *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Konrad Schmid and Raymond Person (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 47–63; Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 128 ff. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 128.

[995] Antony F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Samuel 1-2Kings 10)*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 17 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1986), 106 ff. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 78; Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 112.

[996] Yair Hoffman takes this a step further in arguing that the Sinai/Horeb revelation and exodus tradition as a whole were limited to the north before the seventh century. Hoffman, "A North Israelite Typological Myth and a Judean Historical Tradition: The Exodus in Hosea and Amos."

the words of this instruction very clearly." The root *bʾr* is exceptionally rare in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only three times including these two instances. Thus, if Deuteronomy 27 is Proto-Deuteronomic, so too must part of Deuteronomy 1 be. This likely includes the introductory material drawing upon Exodus 19 and retelling the arrival at Horeb.[997]

Nevertheless, key aspects of the Sinai installation were reimagined in its recapitulation on Mount Ebal. First, the stelae set up appear to be part of a conquest monument installation rather than a cosmic boundary marker,[998] and this sort of monumentality first appeared in the Levant during the 8th century.[999] Second, the stelae were explicitly inscribed, and this inscription was apparently construed as a covenant.[1000] Third, the ritual performance connected to the stelae was updated with elements of loyalty oath rituals known to be connected to lapidary treaties and contracts in the 8th century Levant.[1001] All of these aspects of the installation's monumentality

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[997] William M. Schniedewind, "Diversity and Development of Tôrāh in the Hebrew Bible," in *Torah: Functions, Meanings, and Diverse Manifestations in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. William M. Schniedewind, J. Zurawski, and G. Boccacini (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature Press, Forthcoming).

[998] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 362–63.

[999] This shift in monumentality is most notable in Assyrian peripheral monuments, which transformed from markers of cosmic boundaries into markers of territorial acquisitions during this period. "Frontier stelae" that explicitly functioned in connection to lapidary treaties and contracts in the Levant may have served a similar purpose. These are specifically attested to in CEKKE. Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135; Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:143 ff.

[1000] Though the term "covenant" does carry some connotations that are not entirely applicable here, it still appears in scholarly literature as a means of labeling ritualized and especially monumentalized treaties, contracts, and other such agreements. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 126; Simo Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 39, no. 2 (1987): 182.

[1001] See especially Ramos' treatment of Deuteronomy 27's connections to the Sefire treaties. This connection to the monumentality of eighth century lapidary treaties and contracts will be strengthened below by previously

will be discussed in greater detail below, but for now they serve to demonstrate the proto-Deuteronomic co-option of 8th century monumental discourse.

In short, Proto-Deuteronomic discourse consists of material connected to Israelite traditions and 8th century monumentalities. It consisted at least of some form of Horeb frame, a form of the Decalogue, most of the Deuteronomic Code in chapters 12-26, and a concluding frame concerning the erection of monumental texts at Mount Ebal in 27:1-8 and perhaps some of the associated curses. These texts were included based on the structural analogy of Exodus 19-24 and the framing of monuments and monumental inscriptions there. These may not have been the only pieces of Proto-Deuteronomic discourse, and this structural analogy and focus on monuments was likely not the only motivation for the book's early production. Nevertheless, monumentality appears to have been a key motivation for the production of Proto-Deuteronomy, and such a focus allows us to conclude that at least these texts were included in order to transform Proto-Deuteronomy into a duplication of the Sinai monumental installation within the territory of Israel itself.

Deuteronomic Discourse and Seventh Century Judah

An edition of Deuteronomy was previously located in 7th century Judah on the basis of the account in 2 Kings 23 of the discovery of a law book in the Jerusalem temple during the reign of Josiah. This law book was thought to be some version of Deuteronomy based on

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unexplored parallels with other examples such as KARABURUN, CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A4a, BULGARMADEN, and TÜNP 1. Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28"; Ramos.

Josiah's subsequent religious reforms, which seemed to accord with Deuteronomic theology.[1002] However, several recent studies have called the identification of Josiah's law book with Deuteronomy into question, and some have even noted that his reforms were not precisely Deuteronomic.[1003] Deuteronomy has thus been mostly untethered from Josiah's law book, but the account in 2 Kings 23 is still informative. Whether or not the book discovered in the temple was in fact an earlier version of Deuteronomy, the story suggests that textual authority was being rethought and reconfigured in late 7th century Judah and that Judahite scribes were ready to reapply and likely revise older texts in order to accomplish this reconfiguration.[1004]

There is an important piece of data that points to Judahite reconfiguration of earlier textual traditions. This is the interaction between the Deuteronomic and the Holiness Schools. We will see below that a number of revisions and explanations of northern material – such as the Decalogue and the Covenant Code – were carried out with reference to the Holiness Code. Other scholars have noted some of these parallels and even connections in the other direction,[1005] but I

[1002] E.g. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, *Beiträge Yur Einleitung in Das Alte Testament*, 2 vols. (Hildensheim: Olms, 1806); de Wette, 170 ff. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (Frankfurt am Main: Outlook Verlag GmbH, 2018 [1878]), 259.

[1003] E.g. Lowery, *The Reforming Kings: Cults and Society in First Temple Judah*; Ben Zvi, "Prelude to a Reconstruction of Historical Manassic Judah"; Stavrakopoulou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities*; Knauf, "The Glorious Days of Manasseh"; Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book"; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*; Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*.

[1004] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 91–117.

[1005] For examples, see Rolf Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 62 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 45 N. 34; Klaus Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 71 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 74–77; Karl Elliger, *Leviticus*, Handbuch Zum Alten Testament 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 143–45; William L. Moran, "The Literary Connection between Lv. 11, 13-19 and Dt. 14,12-18," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966): 271–77; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the*

will focus on the dependence of D on H in this cross-pollination. There is some debate as to the date of the Holiness compositions, but a number of scholars have proposed that they originate in pre-exilic Judah.[1006] The Holiness Code itself – or some version of it – has even been dated to the reign of Hezekiah. When the Proto-Deuteronomic Israelite traditions came south during the same period, they were brought into conversation with the Holiness School. As the Deuteronomic School revised these Israelite traditions into one version of the book of Deuteronomy, they did so in part by reinterpreting some elements in light of the Holiness Code.[1007] Lauren Monroe has suggested a similar reconstruction for the presence of Holiness and Deuteronomic traditions in the Deuteronomistic History.[1008] I propose that the same cross-pollination occurred in the course of the Judahite production of the book of Deuteronomy, including the reframing of the Decalogue. Among other things, this served to Judahitize the Israelite traditions of Proto-Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomistic School, 180–83; Alfred Cholewinski, *Heiligkeitsgesetz Und Deuteronomium: Eine Vergleichende Studie*, Analecta Biblica 66 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1976); Giuseppe Bettenzoli, "Deuteronomium Und Heiligkeitsgesetz," *Vetus Testamentum* 34, no. 4 (1984): 385–98; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 16; Bernard M. Levinson, "The Birth of the Lemma: The Restrictive Reinterpretation of the Covenant Code's Manumission Law by the Holiness Code (Leviticus 25:44-46)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 630–33, https://doi.org/10.2307/30041061; Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah*, 9 ff. (with references); Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:786.

[1006] Israel Knohl argues that the activity of the Holiness School continued into the post-exilic period, but other scholars who accept its beginnings in the pre-exilic period restrict it to that time. Mehahem Haran, "Holiness Code," in *Encyclopedia Miqrait 5* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1968), 1098; Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History," 329 N. 12; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*, 201–9; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, Anchor Bible 3a (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1510.

[1007] The dependence of D on H is also proposed in Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 180–83; Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History," 329 N. 12; Bettenzoli, "Deuteronomium Und Heiligkeitsgesetz"; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 16.

[1008] Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 130–33.

As will be argued in more detail below, another key way textual authority was reconfigured in 7th century Judah was the introduction of new kinds of monumental texts to the frame of Deuteronomy. Though not often labeled as such, the monumental texts most often brought into conversation with the book of Deuteronomy have been ancient Near Eastern treaties or loyalty oaths.[1009] Initially, this involved the comparison to and a suggested dependence on Hittite *išḫiul* – which, though still maintained by some scholars, is ultimately untenable.[1010] Many scholars maintain instead that the treaty influence on Deuteronomy is to be traced to the Neo-Assyrian period, but this too has come under attack in recent years.[1011] As discussed above, the monumentality of the covenant in Deuteronomy 27 – specifically its inscription on stelae – points to an 8th century Levantine tradition rather than a 7th century Assyrian one.[1012] The connection to treaties thus may in fact be an additional motivation behind the compilation of Proto-Deuteronomy that was inherited rather than introduced by the Judahites.

[1009] For a brief discussion of Near Eastern treaties as monuments, see Hogue, "The Monumentality of the Sinaitic Decalogue: Reading Exodus 20 in Light of Northwest Semitic Monument-Making Practices," 83–84.

[1010] In favor of the Hittite connection, see especially the original proposal of Mendenhall and the more recent arguments of Berman and Taggar-Cohen. For a recent rebuttal of this theory, see Stackert and Levinson. George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 17, no. 3 (1954): 50–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/3209151; Berman, "CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13"; Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite Išḫiul Reexamined"; Levinson and Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method."

[1011] See most recently Crouch's arguments against Deuteronomy's dependence on EST and Steymans' rebuttal of them. Crouch, *Israel & the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, & the Nature of Subversion*; Hans U. Steymans, "Review of 'Israel and the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, and the Nature of Subversion' by C. L. Crouch," *Review of Biblical Literature*, 2016.

[1012] Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28"; Ramos.

What then remains to anchor discourse within Deuteronomy to 7th century Judah? In fact, a significant set of evidence does still support this conclusion, but it can be brought into greater focus than before when viewed through the lens of a history of monuments. Specifically, it is not the connection to treaties in general that suggests a 7th century Judahite edition of Deuteronomy, but changes in the frame around the Deuteronomic code that interact with peculiarities of the monumentality of Assyrian *tuppi adê*.[1013] Most obviously, key passages in Deuteronomy 13, 28, and 29 appear to reuse specific language from the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty (henceforth EST) of 672 BCE.[1014] Most significantly, the addition of these materials to surround the revision of the Covenant Code in Deuteronomy 12-26 and the monument installation scene in Deuteronomy 27 suggests that passages referencing EST were added intentionally in order to update the monumentality of Deuteronomy to match the norms of the 7th century.[1015] These

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[1013] Note that the Assyrian term *adê* is used to refer to the content of these monumental texts. The native term for their materialization is *tuppi adê*.

[1014] See note 960 above for sample studies of parallels between Deuteronomy and EST. Among other parallels, note the citation of EST §4 in Deut 13:1, the allusion to the Assyrian pantheon and their associated curses from EST §39-42 in Deut 28:26-33, and the similarities in ritual scope in EST §4-7 and Deut 29:9-14 – a scope that is otherwise unique to Assyrian *adê* and unknown in Levantine treaty traditions. Levinson, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as the Source for the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1"; Jeffrey H Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 496–97; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 135.

[1015] I will adduce this below based on Deuteronomy's depiction of seventh century monumentalities, though it is already generally accepted that the language derived from EST is best explained as evidence of seventh century Judahite literary activity. David Carr has similarly argued for a northern origin for Proto-Deuteronomy that was later reframed by Deut 13 and 28 and their incorporation of Assyrian-inspired material. In contrast, Koch holds that the incorporation of Assyrian rhetoric should be dated to the post-monarchic period, but this seems unlikely. Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 222; Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, 479; Koch, *Vertrag, Treueid Und Bund: Studien Zur Rezeption Des Altorientalischen Vertragsrechts in Deuteronomium Und Zur Ausbildung Der Bundestheologie Im Alten Testament*.

As for the material from EST acting as a framing device for the Judahite revisions to Deuteronomy, this argument can be strengthened by reference to Sara Milstein's observation that both Mesopotamian and biblical scribes transformed their works through the addition or revision of introductions and conclusions. She even suggests that this process was used to revise Deuteronomy multiple times. More specifically, Karel van der Toorn argues that the

additions serve as an example of revision through introduction and conclusion, an editorial

method regularly encountered in the Hebrew Bible and the texts of Mesopotamia.[1016] Though

some have questioned the directness of the relationship between these passages and EST, the

evidence that supports a connection at least between them and Assyrian *adê* more generally still

outweighs arguments to the contrary. Further remarks on the semantic connections between these

texts are unnecessary here, but a view toward EST's monumentality in relation to that of the

Judahite discourse of Deuteronomy can further support this conclusion.

Most significantly, the new ritual applied to the book in Deuteronomy 29:9-14 belies

reliance on a notion of monumentality that was quite possibly introduced by the Assyrian *tuppi*

adê of the 7th century. These verses specifically demand that all the people participate in the oath

ceremony, and they specify that the people even do so on behalf of future generations. This same

target for the text is encountered in EST §4-7.[1017] This is a marked departure from the emphasis

on court ceremony of the 8th century as well as from earlier treaties that tended to target specific

individuals as their audience or else the gods.[1018] Though the examples from Sefire suggest a

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Judahite edition of Deuteronomy opened with a rubric (Deut 4:45) and closed with a colophon (Deut 28:69) that oriented the whole book towards a treaty-perspective. His reconstruction assumes, however, that this was the first version of Deuteronomy, and he also misses that the colophon to his proposed second edition in Deut 29:28 is quite possibly a reference to treaty traditions as well. See Weinfeld on this last possibility. Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 1–6, 73–75; Van Der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, 135–55; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 64.

[1016] Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*.

[1017] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 135.

[1018] Gilibert's Age of Court Ceremony in her history of Levantine monumentality essentially ends with the increase of Assyrian pressure in the region in the seventh century. Especially with the discovery of a copy of EST at Tayinat, we can now propose that the more organized Assyrian presence in the region brought with it Assyrian civic rituals such as those attached to *adê*. Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*; Timothy P. Harrison and James F. Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," *Journal of*

transition to a larger intended audience, this is still limited to the household of the king and not

the entire populace as in Deuteronomy and EST. Even the cultic settings of Deuteronomy 29 and

EST suggest this. Contrary to previous suggestions, the placement of the treaty in cultic

sanctuaries was not a resurrection of the Hittite practice of placing treaty tablets before the gods.

Rather, it entailed the provision of a place for the populace to perform regular obeisance before

the treaty tablet.[1019] In short, the seventh century was a new age of civic ritual centered on tablet

monuments and this shift in monumentality is seen in Deuteronomy's specification of its

audience along the same lines as EST.

Another significant indication of conversation between Deuteronomy and 7th century

Assyrian textual monuments is the depicted material support for the text. Portions of

Deuteronomy 6-10 provide a new introduction that suggests the text was inscribed on tablets that

were placed in the Ark.[1020] On the one hand, the Ark was a fixture of Jerusalemite ritual so its

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Cuneiform Studies 64 (2012): 137–39, https://doi.org/10.5615/jcunestud.64.0125; Frederick Mario Fales, "After Ta'yinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's Adê for Assyrian Political History," *Revue d'Assyriologie et D'archéologie Orientale* 106 (2012): 152.

In contrast to the Assyrian treaties, the earlier Hittite treaties often brought into conversation with this material tended to target particular individuals (usually other kings) and their display in temples appears to have been targeting a divine audience. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 47; Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 3. Similarly, the 8th century Levantine treaties always specify individuals or groups of individuals as their target audiences.

[1019] Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 145; Hogue, "The Monumentality of the Sinaitic Decalogue: Reading Exodus 20 in Light of Northwest Semitic Monument-Making Practices."

[1020] The tablets are also mentioned in Deuteronomy 4, but this reference is likely Deuteronomistic. The ark on the other hand is conspicuously absent from chapter 4. While its absence is undoubtedly a reflection of the exilic and postexilic setting of Deuteronomistic discourse, the tablets are also mentioned without the ark in cc. 6-9 and some of those references may be Deuteronomic.

appearance in Deuteronomy points to a resetting of the text there.[1021] More generally, though,

this shift points to monumental forms and monumentalization processes known especially from

the 7th century. 7th century Assyrian *adê* were not inscribed on stelae as were 8th century

Levantine treaties and other monumental texts. They were inscribed on tablets that were installed

in cultic locations.[1022] The association of Deuteronomy – and by extension the Decalogue – with

tablets suggests an attempt to update the text's monumentality to reflect this new aesthetic

dimension of 7th century monuments. Its placement in the Ark points to a reconfiguration of the

text's spatial dimension for the same reasons.

Curiously, the monumentalization of otherwise literary texts in the fashion just discussed

is attested in the Neo-Assyrian period as well. Most famously, the Epic of Gilgamesh was given

a new introduction during this period that recast it as the text of a *narû* monument reinscribed on

tablets as a *temennu* monument and placed in a tablet box for the audience to imaginatively

rediscover and apply in a new period.[1023] While the reference to earlier stelae is maintained, the

new introduction to Deuteronomy similarly implies that all or part of the text was also inscribed

on tablets placed in a tablet box – the ark. In addition to the references to these tablets and the

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[1021] R. E. Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," *Vetus Testamentum* 15, no. 3 (1965): 301–3; Terence E. Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (1968): 1–14; Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 141–42; Daniel E. Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, ed. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 75–95.

[1022] Harrison and Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," 137; Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 145–50; Steymans, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," 9–11.

[1023] Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 140–46; Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 92, 106, 168–69; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 131.

ark in Deuteronomy 6-10, this may also be encountered in Deuteronomy 29:29's reference to hidden things that may possibly allude to *temennu* monuments.[1024] In other words, the Judahite reframing of Deuteronomy essentially turned it into *narû*-literature just as the Assyrians transformed their version of the Epic of Gilgamesh. Given other connections to Neo-Assyrian texts, it may perhaps be more appropriate to suggest that the Judahite frame of Deuteronomy transformed it into *adê*-literature,[1025] with Assyrian *narû*-literature as a potential model.

In sum, the Judahite discourse of Deuteronomy included the reframing of Proto-Deuteronomic discourse under the influence of the textual monuments of the 7th century. References to tablets and the ark in chapters 6-10 as well as allusions to discourse from Assyrian *adê* in chapters 13, 28, and 29 were added to recast Deuteronomy as a *tuppi adê*. The Israelite text is essentially redescribed as something inscribed on tablets hidden in Jerusalem. Though I accepted earlier that Josiah's law book may not have been Deuteronomy, this conclusion brings us full circle to accept that the account in 2 Kings 23 at the very least describes just this sort of creative literary activity. The Judahite Deuteronomic discourse in Deuteronomy transformed the book and by association the Decalogue into a 7th century monument.

Post-monarchic Deuteronomistic Discourse

Almost all scholars agree that Deuteronomy continued to be edited after the fall of the kingdom of Judah. As discussed above, there is some debate about whether this activity occurred

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[1024] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 63–64 N. 5.

[1025] This conclusion was anticipated by Seth Sanders, who opined: "The book of Deuteronomy, framed as the contents of such a collective loyalty oath, represents the transformation of the vassal ceremony into a new written genre." Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 163.

primarily in the exilic or post-exilic period and whether it occurred in one, two, or even more stages.[1026] Many cogent literary critical arguments have been offered to support one view or another. The method being developed in the present study cannot address the question of how many post-monarchic redactions occurred or even suggest with great specificity when they occurred. This is because many of the Deuteronomistic changes relevant to the present topic revolve around the absence of monument production in the post-monarchic Judean community rather than the further development of earlier practices. For this reason, I broadly refer to Deuteronomistic discourse as post-monarchic, following the lead of Lauren Monroe, rather than force my method to do more than it is capable of in suggesting an overly specific period for this literary activity.[1027] What a history of monumentality can suggest, however, is that the discourse developed by the Deuteronomists originated in exilic experience, especially as it related to the cessation of monument production in the Judean community and the question of proper monument reception regarding Babylonian monuments.[1028]

Deuteronomy 4 is the most significant update to the monumentality depicted in the book. This chapter – or at least significant strata within it – are nearly universally assigned to the exilic period or later.[1029] This period is especially indicated by the chapter's exegesis of the Decalogue

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[1026] See note 962 above.

[1027] Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 133–34.

[1028] Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:143 ff.

[1029] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*, 274–89; A. D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomy 4 and the Literary Criticism of Deuteronomy," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100, no. 1 (1981): 50–51; Christoph Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Enstehung Und Seine Entwicklung Im Alten Testament*,

as well as its implied utility for interpreting other texts within Deuteronomy. Georg Braulik even referred to chapter 4 as "Schibbolet der Literarkritik am Deuteronomium."[1030] Deuteronomy 4 presents a new understanding of the Decalogue's image commandment and was placed immediately before the Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5 in order to reshape how readers would experience that text. By extension, Deuteronomy 4 reframed the entire book by demonstrating a means of applying its laws to the social situations during the post-monarchic period. According to Eckart Otto, "Der vordere Rahmen des Dekalogs begründet die Aktualität des Horebbundes für jede Generation, der das deuteronomische Gesetz verkündet wird."[1031] Deuteronomy 4 therefore serves as a clear example of revision through introduction.[1032] By appending it to the front of Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomists allowed the broader work to speak into a new social situation.

In the Deuteronomistic exegesis of the image commandment, gone is any notion of regulated monument manipulation or even lighter parodies of competing monuments. Rather, monumental images are now categorically forbidden. This significant shift likely reflects the social situation of the Judean community in exile in Babylon. This community now lacked

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Bonner Biblische Beiträge 62 (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1987), 200–210; Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:150.

[1030] Georg Braulik, "Literarkritik Und Die Einrahmung von Gemälden. Zur Literarkritischen Und Redaktionsgeschichtlichen Analyse von Dtn 4,1-6,3 Und 29,1-30,10 Durch D. Knapp," *Revue Biblique* 96, no. 2 (n.d.): 266.

[1031] Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 198.

[1032] On this ancient method of revision, see the recent work of Sara Milstein. On its appearance in Deuteronomy in particular, see especially Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 58 N. 41.

monumental spaces for collective performances as well as the ability to produce new

monuments. What they had in their environment instead were the monumental images of Neo-

Babylonia. Remarkably, the Deuteronomists actually implicitly utilize these monuments towards

the end of social formation. Lacking any monuments of their own, the Deuteronomists utilized

earlier monumental texts in order to negatively categorize the monuments in their social

environment, allowing them to exercise some continued autonomy in monument reception if not

production and thereby to propose a new and distinct identity to the diaspora community.[1033]

Deuteronomy 4 also reconfigures the scope of performance attached to the Decalogue

and other textual monuments like it. Though the text can still be ritually engaged on a collective

level in some sense, this collective is now the product of individuals following the text on their

own in the exile.[1034] This speaks not to a development in practices attached to monuments in the

broader region but rather points to the exiles' inability to partake in such practices.[1035] Again,

this points to the lack of monumental space produced by the Judean community and the inability

to perform civic rituals or court ceremonies in relation to monumental texts. The Deuteronomists

thus reconfigure how to interact with texts previously depicted as monumental without any

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[1033] For more on this, see especially Nathaniel Levtow's discussion of classification as a means of identity formation and his analyses of this process in Deuteronomistic discourse. Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:19–39, 143–52.

[1034] Eduard Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, Handbuch Zum Alten Testament, 1/6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 63; Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 208; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 50–51.

[1035] It is important to note that the Deuteronomists did not invent personal religion in the post-monarchic period but rather emphasized it over collective religion in response to their sociohistorical circumstances. On this phenomenon in the post-monarchic period more broadly, see especially Susan Niditch, *The Responsive Self: Personal Religion of Biblical Literature of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015).

Judean monumental culture to inform that interaction. Such reconfigurations favoring personal religion over collective practice were typical in post-monarchic biblical literature. Susan Niditch suggests that "in this way, religious ideas were privatized and personalized, albeit always within the contours of traditional content, structures, and turns of phrase."[1036] Most significantly, this privatization and personalization of the Decalogue and by association Deuteronomy allowed these texts to maintain their relevance, even though the material theaters and platforms for collective engagement with them are absent. Deuteronomistic discourse is thus capable of addressing any generation precisely because it addressed the individual.[1037] The Judeans of the exile and any future generations are thus rendered capable of engaging with the Decalogue towards the end of identity formation without any need of collective performance or monumental theater.

The post-monarchic setting for the Deuteronomistic editing of Deuteronomy is further attested in Deuteronomy 29-30. As discussed above, some strata in these chapters likely belong to earlier editions. The focus on returning from exile in Deut 30:2-5, however, speaks to either an exilic or post-exilic setting. In terms of the monumentality depicted in these chapters, the most significant feature is the transplantation of the text to Moab. This setting in the Transjordan was likely motivated by a number of features. On the one hand, it reconfigures an understanding of what was included in the promised land.[1038] On the other, it better facilitated a connection

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[1036] Niditch, 135.

[1037] Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, 63; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 51 N. 18.

[1038] Angela Roskop Erisman, "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132, no. 4 (2013): 769–89.

between Deuteronomy and the wider Deuteronomistic History – especially the book of Joshua –
by depicting the Israelites entering the land from the east instead of the south.[1039] Perhaps most
significantly, however, these chapters were brought into conversation with the post-monarchic
conclusion to the Deuteronomistic History.[1040] Moab and the approach from the east were thus
made to symbolize the hope of return from Babylon.[1041] This setting within the Deuteronomistic
discourse of Deuteronomy again points to the social situations of the post-monarchic period.

In the absence of their own monumental spaces and objects to interact with, the
Deuteronomists creatively manipulated depicted monuments in the book of the Deuteronomy in
order to reconfigure Judean identity in the post-monarchic period. They emphasized the resetting
of the covenant in Moab in order to point to a return from exile. They also reinterpreted the
Decalogue in order to disavow the monumental images of Babylon with which they had been
brought into contact.[1042] They further reapplied the text to individual practice. Though these
practices were still understood as being undertaken by the community, the practices connected to
the Decalogue no longer required congregated performances. As a result, a totally new kind of

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[1039] Erisman, 784.

[1040] Dominik Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133, no. 4 (2014): 711–28.

[1041] McConville, "1 Kings VIII 46-53 and the Deuteronomic Hope," 67–71 with references; Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," 724–26.

[1042] The resetting of the text in Moab and the Deuteronomistic exegesis of the Decalogue may have even been accomplished by the same author. Eckart Otto argues that structural similarities between Deut 4 and Deut 29-30 suggests that the same composer was responsible for both. If he is correct, this is an example of revision through circumscription. The book of Deuteronomy was revised by simultaneous additions to both ends of the text. Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 201–9.

monumental text developed out of exilic literary activity. Previously authoritative texts were still interpreted by a community in order to make collective meaning, but this interpretation could occur on an individual level now. Furthermore, this practice was primarily situated in the reading and interpretation of literature in order to inform a response to the individual's and community's present situation.[1043] In other words, the Deuteronomists were initiating the transformation of monumental text into Scripture.

Now, this overview has been perhaps overly brief for the purpose of introduction, and even the cursory student of Deuteronomy will note that I have avoided addressing many contentious passages and reconstructions of compositional and redactional history. As already stated, this is because a history of monumentality does not have the analytical power to address most of these issues. This method instead allows me to note broad periods during which the discourse preserved in Deuteronomy emerged. These monumental discourses likely prompted editorial activity on the book's depictions of monuments and monumentality.[1044] As for the brief treatment of relevant passages in the book just presented, this will be expanded upon and more extensively argued as we move into the dimensions of meaning affordance for the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. We will now turn to the text itself and the apparent shifts in its semantic, poetic, literary-spatial, aesthetic, and ritual dimensions within the book of Deuteronomy. These shifts will further inform the historical sketch just presented.

[1043] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 164; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 50–61.

[1044] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 167.

Text and Translation

As in the previous chapter, I will begin with the text as preserved in Deut 5 and its

translation. Though different historical strata will become apparent as my analysis proceeds, I

will provide and translate the final Masoretic text to begin this process.

אָנֹכִי֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ אֲשֶׁ֧ר הוֹצֵאתִ֛יךָ מֵאֶ֥רֶץ מִצְרַ֖יִם מִבֵּ֥ית עֲבָדִֽים׃

לֹֽא־יִהְיֶ֣ה־לְךָ֩ אֱלֹהִ֨ים אֲחֵרִ֤ים עַל־פָּנָֽיַ׃ לֹֽא־תַעֲשֶֽׂה־לְךָ֥ פֶ֣סֶל ׀ כָּל־תְּמוּנָ֡ה אֲשֶׁ֣ר בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם ׀ מִמַּ֡עַל וַאֲשֶׁ֣ר בָּאָ֣רֶץ מִתַּ֣חַת וַאֲשֶׁ֣ר בַּמַּ֣יִם ׀ מִתַּ֣חַת לָאָֽרֶץ׃ לֹא־תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶ֥ה לָהֶ֖ם וְלֹ֣א תָֽעָבְדֵ֑ם כִּ֣י אָנֹכִ֞י יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ אֵ֣ל קַנָּ֔א פֹּ֠קֵד עֲוֹ֨ן אָבֹ֧ות עַל־בָּנִ֛ים וְעַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁ֥ים וְעַל־רִבֵּעִ֖ים לְשֹׂנְאָֽיַ׃ וְעֹ֧שֶׂה חֶ֛סֶד לַאֲלָפִ֖ים לְאֹהֲבַ֥י וּלְשֹׁמְרֵ֥י מִצְוֺתָֽו

לֹ֥א תִשָּׂ֛א אֶת־שֵֽׁם־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ לַשָּׁ֑וְא כִּ֣י לֹ֤א יְנַקֶּה֙ יְהוָ֔ה אֵ֛ת אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂ֥א אֶת־שְׁמ֖וֹ לַשָּֽׁוְא׃

שָׁמ֣וֹר אֶת־יֹ֧ום הַשַּׁבָּ֛ת לְקַדְּשֽׁוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוְּךָ֖ ׀ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶֽיךָ ׀ שֵׁ֤שֶׁת יָמִים֙ תַּֽעֲבֹ֔ד וְעָשִׂ֖יתָ כָּֽל־מְלַאכְתֶּֽךָ׃ וְי֙וֹם֙ הַשְּׁבִיעִ֔י שַׁבָּ֣ת ׀ לַיהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ לֹ֣א תַעֲשֶׂ֣ה כָל־מְלָאכָ֡ה אַתָּ֣ה וּבִנְךָֽ־וּבִתֶּ֣ךָ וְעַבְדְּךָֽ־וַ֠אֲמָתֶ֣ךָ וְשֽׁוֹרְךָ֤ וַחֲמֹֽרְךָ֙ וְכָל־בְּהֶמְתֶּ֔ךָ וְגֵֽרְךָ֖ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בִּשְׁעָרֶ֑יךָ לְמַ֗עַן יָנ֛וּחַ עַבְדְּךָ֥ וַאֲמָתְךָ֖ כָּמֽוֹךָ׃ 15 וְזָכַרְתָּ֞ כִּֽי־עֶ֣בֶד הָיִ֣יתָ ׀ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרַ֗יִם וַיֹּצִֽאֲךָ֩ יְהוָ֨ה אֱלֹהֶ֤יךָ מִשָּׁם֙ בְּיָ֣ד חֲזָקָ֔ה וּבִזְרֹ֖עַ נְטוּיָ֑ה עַל־כֵּ֗ן צִוְּךָ֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ לַעֲשֹׂ֖ות אֶת־יֹ֥ום הַשַּׁבָּֽת׃

כַּבֵּ֣ד אֶת־אָבִ֗יךָ וְאֶת־אִמֶּ֔ךָ כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוְּךָ֖ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ לְמַ֣עַן ׀ יַאֲרִיכֻ֣ן יָמֶ֗יךָ וּלְמַ֙עַן֙ יִ֣יטַב לָ֔ךְ עַ֚ל הָֽאֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לָֽךְ׃

לֹ֥֖א תִּֿרְצָֽ֣ח׃ וְלֹ֣֖א תִּֿנְאָֽ֑ף׃ וְלֹ֣֖א תִּֿגְנֹֽ֔ב׃ וְלֹֽא־תַעֲנֶ֥ה בְרֵֽעֲךָ֖ עֵ֥ד שָֽׁוְא׃ וְלֹ֣א תַחְמֹ֣ד אֵ֣שֶׁת רֵעֶ֑ךָ וְלֹ֨א תִתְאַוֶּ֜ה בֵּ֣ית רֵעֶ֗ךָ שָׂדֵ֜הוּ וְעַבְדּ֤וֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ֙ שׁוֹר֣וֹ וַחֲמֹר֔וֹ וְכֹ֖ל אֲשֶׁ֥ר לְרֵעֶֽךָ׃

[5:6] I am Yahweh your God who brought you out from the land of Egypt, the house of bondage.

[7] You will have no other gods besides me. [8] You will not make for yourself an idol in the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or on the earth below, or in the waters beneath the earth. [9] You will not bow down to them or worship them. For I, Yahweh your God, am a jealous god, avenging the iniquity of fathers on sons, on the third, and on the fourth generations of those that hate me, [10] but showing love to thousands of those that love me and keep my commands.

[11] You will not misuse the name of Yahweh your God, for Yahweh will not acquit the one that misuses his name.

[12] Keep the Sabbath-day to consecrate it, as Yahweh your God commanded you. [13] Six days you will work and do all your labor, [14] but the seventh is a Sabbath to Yahweh your God. You will not do any labor, you, your son and your daughter, your manservant and maidservant, your cow, your donkey, any of your livestock, and your sojourner who is within your gates in order that your manservant and maidservant may rest like you. [15] And you will remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, but Yahweh your God brought you out from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. Therefore, Yahweh your God commanded you to perform the Sabbath-day.

[16] Honor your father and your mother, as Yahweh your God commanded you, so that your days will be long, and so that it will be well for you in the land that Yahweh your God is giving to you.

[17] Do not murder. [18] And do not commit adultery. [19] And do not steal. [20] And do not answer your neighbor with an empty testimony. [21] And do not desire your neighbor's wife. And do not crave your neighbor's house, his field, his manservant, his maidservant, his cow, his donkey, or anything that is your neighbor's.

Semantic Shifts

The earliest version of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy may very well have been no different than the one in Exodus.[1045] The version preserved, however, does depart from the text in Exodus in some significant ways. While it is possible that both versions were edited concurrently in part, the Decalogue in Deuteronomy displays more significant evidence of editing meant to reframe the text with new monumental objects and practices. Scholars have noted as many as 20 or more difference when comparing the semantic content of the two preserved versions.[1046] Though many of these have been judged superficial, some shifts suggest significant conversation with new monumental traditions or else a significant separation from older traditions. Such updates are especially evident in the changes made to the Yahweh-oriented commandments, but some can be detected in the social commandments as well. These all likely represent shifts in the Decalogue's monumentality. That is, as Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic discursive strata introduced the Decalogue to new audiences, they utilized

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[1045] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 292–94. Though I disagree with Blum's precise reconstruction of the original text of the Decalogue, he is probably correct that the *Vorlage* of Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20 were the same and that changes to this original were mostly the result of Deuteronomistic editing.

[1046] Johann Jakob Stamm, *Der Dekalog Im Lichte Der Neuren Forschung* (Berne: Haupt, 1958), 5; Jose Loza, *Las Palabras de Yahve: Estudio Del Decálogo* (Mexico City: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1989), 99–102; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 48.

various scribal techniques to shift the application of the Decalogue to new generations.[1047] As a result, the Decalogue maintained its functioning of materializing an encounter with Yahweh and resultant identity formation among its users, but it was made to accomplish in new ways.

From Direct Address to Mediation?

The introduction to the Decalogue in Deut 5:1-5 comments on the direct address of Yahweh in Ex 20, but it attempts to clarify Moses' role as mediator. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Decalogue is presented in Ex 20:1 as the unmediated speech of Yahweh to the people – the only such unmediated speech in the Hebrew Bible and a good indicator for the text's monumentality. Some of the contextual material in Exodus 19 and 20 leave ambiguous whether the people really heard God's voice or merely thunder in this exchange, but the fact that he directly addressed them remains.[1048] Deut 5 responds to this situation in vv. 4-5, which read as follows:

> פָּנִים ׀ בְּפָנִים דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם בָּהָר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ: אָנֹכִי עֹמֵד בֵּין־יְהוָה וּבֵינֵיכֶם בָּעֵת הַהִוא לְהַגִּיד לָכֶם אֶת־דְּבַר
> יְהוָה כִּי יְרֵאתֶם מִפְּנֵי הָאֵשׁ וְלֹא־עֲלִיתֶם בָּהָר לֵאמֹר:

> Face to face, Yahweh spoke with you on the mountain from the midst of the fire (I stood between Yahweh and you at that time to tell you the word of Yahweh, because you were afraid of the fire and you did not go up to the mountain.) saying: …

Verse 4 affirms in the strongest language possible that Yahweh spoke to the people unmediated, but v. 5 strangely inserts a note about Moses' mediation. Jeffrey Tigay proposes that most of v. 5

[1047] I will discuss my assignment of these editorial strata to these periods below, but it is generally unlikely that the Proto-Deuteronomic composer made changes to the Decalogue that were not also present in the Israelite edition of Exodus 19-24.

[1048] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 351–60; Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai*, 136; Licht, "The Sinai Theophany," 266–67; Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, 163; Sommer, "Revelation at Sinai in the Hebrew Bible and in Jewish Theology," 428–32.

should be taken as a parenthetical. This is a good solution for explaining why *lʾmr* "saying"

appears at the end of v. 5 with no connection to the material preceding it. The quotative particle

makes perfect sense at the end of v. 4, however.[1049] We are still left with an apparent

contradiction, however.

However one may attempt to harmonize these verses, the contradiction is an important

datum as regards the reception of the Decalogue. Verse 4 reveals that the Decalogue was indeed

received as a direct address from Yahweh to the people of Israel – in other words, a monumental

address. Verse 5 suggests an early attempt to question the directness of that address. Even when

these verses were composed, these two interpretations were apparently already competing. The

need to insert the note in v. 5 in order to soften v. 4, however, is very suggestive that the tradition

of the direct address was older. The monumentality of the Decalogue required that it be

understood as a direct address, and this understanding survived even when the text was being

reframed in Deuteronomy. As may have been the case in some of the framing materials in Ex 19-

20, however, the reception of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy suggests an attempt to redefine that

direct address in terms of Mosaic mediation.

From Monolatry to Monotheism (Deut 5:7)

Though the first commandment is unchanged in terms of content, its new context in

Deuteronomy – particularly within Deuteronomistic discourse – undoubtedly resulted in a

change in meaning. Above, I translate the prepositional phrase *ʿl-pny* "besides me" rather than

"above me," as I did for the Exodus Decalogue. In fact, the earlier meaning probably persisted

into Proto-Deuteronomy and may have survived the inclusion of Deuteronomic discourse.

[1049] Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 61–62.

Among other features, however, Deuteronomistic discourse in Deuteronomy included a strong emphasis on divine exclusivity. Speaking of Yahweh, the Deuteronomist affirms that ʾyn ʿwd "there is no other" twice in Deut 4 in verses 35 and 39. This idea is stated in the same terms in Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings – a likely Deuteronomistic composition – as well as several times within Deutero-Isaiah, undoubtedly as a result of Deuteronomistic influence.[1050] Especially as this concept appears in Deut 4 and nowhere else within Deuteronomy itself, it was likely a Deuteronomistic idea introduced in the post-monarchic reframing of the book. This idea was added to the introduction of Deuteronomy in order to encourage reinterpretation of the book as a whole. Juxtaposed with the Decalogue in Deut 5, the focus on divine exclusivity in Deut 4 likely colored Deuteronomistic readings of the first commandment in the Decalogue. Thus, even though the words remained the same, the first commandment could now be understood as a statement of divine exclusivity, rather than a demand that Yahweh be recognized above any other gods who might usurp his particular relationship with Israel. This is the first case in which Deuteronomistic interpretation of the Decalogue apparently departed from the earlier norms of Levantine monumental discourse.

From Image Manipulation to *Bilderverbot* (Deut 5:8-10)

The first significant change to the wording of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy comes in the form of the deletion of the *waw* between *psl* and *tmwnh* in v. 8. Though this is a relatively simple

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[1050] 1 Kings 8:60; Isaiah 45:5, 14, 18, 21; 46:9. On the prayer of Solomon as Deuteronomistic, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 195; Gary Knoppers, "Prayer and Propaganda: Solomon's Dedication of the Temple and the Deuteronomist's Program," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (1995): 229–54.. On the Deuteronomistic influence on Deutero-Isaiah, see Shalom M. Paul, "Deuteronom(ist)ic Influences on Deutero-Isaiah," in *Mishneh Todah: Studies In Deuteronoy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, ed. Nili Sacher Fox, David A. Glatt-Gilad, and Michael J. Williams (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 219–27; Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), 47.

orthographic change, the result is that the two terms may now be read in construct rather than as a hendiadys. The verse in Deuteronomy is thus correctly translated "an idol in the likeness of anything" or "a sculpture of any form."[1051] As a result of this change, the verbal phrase *lʾ tštḥwh lhm wlʾ tʿbdm* "you will not bow down to them or worship them" can no longer assume the plural object *psl wkl-tmwnh* from the previous clause as it stood in Exodus. If *psl kl-tmwnh* is read as a construct referring to a singular object, it cannot be the referent of *lhm* or *-m* in the following clause. Instead, one must continue backwards to find an antecedent in the *ʾlhym ʾḥrym* "other gods" of the previous commandment. The deletion of the *waw* thus grammatically forces the equation of the *ʾlhym ʾḥrym* "other gods" with the *psl tmwnh kl* "an idol in the likeness of anything" – an equation that did not exist when the second commandment regulated the creation of multiple types of images. The result is a commandment in Deuteronomy that must be understood as referring to divine images in particular and which must be read as a continuation of the first commandment rather than a stand-alone violation clause.[1052]

The other result of the deletion of the *waw* is that it makes explicit that this verse is now to be read in conversation with Deuteronomy 4, which presents an extensive innerbiblical exegesis of the phrase *psl kl-tmwnh*. As is apparent in the new form of the Decalogue, Deut 4 explicitly construes *psl kl-tmwnh* as a construct. The change to the Decalogue itself is admittedly not present in the Qumran manuscripts, Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, Syriac Peshitta,

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[1051] Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 65; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 290.

[1052] Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 290; Block, *How I Love Your Torah, O LORD! Studies in the Book of Deuteronomy*, 59–60; Edward L. Greenstein, "The Rhetoric of the Ten Commandments," in *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, LHB/OTS 509 (New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 9; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60; Imes, "Bearing YHWH's Name at Sinai: A Re-Examination of the Name Command of the Decalogue," 209.

Vulgate, or Targumim, which preserve instead the reading of the Masoretic Text of Exodus. However, the exegetical content of Deut 4 always reads *psl* and *tmwnh* in construct. This suggests that the meaning of the phrase had truly shifted and that the deletion of the *waw* in the Masoretic text was introduced by a later editor in order to carry that change in meaning into the Decalogue itself.

Deuteronomy 4:1-40 has rightly been called a "Schlüsseltext" – it is the key to interpreting the book of Deuteronomy within the Deuteronomistic framework.[1053] Among other things, the Deuteronomist makes a number of attempts to interpret the terms *psl* and *tmwnh* in chapter 4. This is all the more striking because these terms only occur together five times in the Hebrew Bible: once in each iteration of the Decalogue and three times in Deut 4:16, 23, and 25. The Deuteronomistic preoccupation with these terms suggests that their interpretation was the key to reworking the Decalogue in the Deuteronomistic recensions of Deuteronomy. As stated above, the post-monarchic character of this chapter is almost universally affirmed. Among other evidence for this relative dating, scholars have pointed out that Deuteronomy 4:1-40 intentionally reworks portions of the Decalogue to appear in Deuteronomy 5, creating a frame to reinterpret it.[1054] More than this, the innerbiblical exegesis of Deuteronomy 4 proceeds by using Deuteronomy 29-30 as a model to structure its discourse and reframe the Decalogue. This implies that the composer of Deuteronomy 4:1-40 was developing the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic ideas present in chapters 29-30 or perhaps even that they were produced

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[1053] Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 222.

[1054] Otto, 209–12.

concurrently for the Deuteronomistic reframing of the book as a whole.[1055] Verses 16, 23, and 25 thus preserve a late attempt to reinterpret the terms *psl* and *tmwnh*.

In addition to the deletion of the *waw* in Deuteronomy 5, the transformation of *psl* and *tmwnh* is exemplified by Deuteronomy 4:25, which reads, *wᵉśytm psl tmwnt kl wᵉśytm hrᶜ bᶜyny yhwh-ʾlhyk* "should you make an image of the form of anything, then you will have done evil in the eyes of Yahweh your God." The word *kl* is left with nothing to modify in this verse, revealing that it is the end of the construct chain *psl tmwnt kl* "an image of the form of anything." The second half of this verse equates the making of such an object with doing evil in the eyes of Yahweh. Similarly, Deut 4:23 places the construct chain *psl tmwnt-kl* in apposition to *ʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk* "that which Yahweh your God has forbidden you." The structure of these verses suggests that the earlier treatment of this term in Deut 4:16 should be read as a similar equivalence. This verse reads: *pn-tšḥtwn wᵉśytm lkm psl tmwnt kl-sml tbnyt zkr ʾw nqbh* "Lest you act corruptly and make for yourself an image of the form of any icon, whether a male or female pattern" or "an image of the form of anything – an icon or a male or female pattern." Even if one maintains the Masoretic reading of *kl* and *sml* in construct, it is clear that *sml* and *tbnyt* effectively gloss the phrase *psl tmwnt kl*.[1056] Specifically, the terms *psl* and *tmwnh* are now understood to refer as a unit to anthropomorphic or theomorphic images – idols of the kind the

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[1055] Otto, 201–9.

[1056] Note that the same equivalence occurs in 2 Chr. 33:7, which glosses *psl* with the term *sml*. This is especially striking because the parallel passage in 2 Kgs 21:7 completely lacks the term *sml* and instead employs *psl* in construct with *ʾšrh* "Asherah." Then, in the Chronicler's unique account of Manasseh's repentance, the king notable removes the *sml* he had made, but the *psl* is never mentioned again. This provides further evidence that the term *psl* was poorly understood in the post-monarchic period and thus glossed with *sml*.

Judean community experienced during their exile in Babylonia.[1057] This suggests that in addition to being read as a construct chain, the phrase's original meaning had also either been forgotten or become irrelevant enough in the post-monarchic context as to require a new explanation. In place of the hendiadys referring to illegitimate monumental images of any kind, the Deuteronomist reads the image commandment as forbidding the creation of a singular object – an idol. As a result, the image commandment transitioned from regulating monument manipulation to strictly forbidding the creation and worship of idols.

The Deuteronomistic rereading of *psl* and *tmwnh* as well as the need to gloss the term suggest that the image commandment actually pre-existed the Deuteronomistic treatment of it. This conclusion runs contrary to scholarship suggesting that the image commandment was the product of the Deuteronomists. While the treatment of the phrase as a construct chain referring to a single referent – namely, an idol – does have the effect of transforming the image commandment into a true *Bilderverbot*, it is just that: a transformation. While the Deuteronomists may be responsible for the creation of such *Bilderverbot*, they did so by reworking older material that had either lost its relevance or which was no longer clearly understood.[1058] The image commandment did not originate in the Deuteronomistic discourse as such but it was significantly reframed and redefined by it.

[1057] Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:143 ff. Yitzhaq Feder, "The Aniconic Tradition, Deuteronomy 4, and the Politics of Israelite Identity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132, no. 2 (2013): 271–72.

[1058] Contra the positions of Levin, Dohmen, Hossfeld, Blum, and others, I maintain with Yitzhaq Feder that the image commandment in the Decalogue is pre-exilic. Feder supports this argument by pointing to the relationship between Hosea's discussion of aniconism in the 8th century in tandem with other references to the Decalogue, exodus, and wilderness traditions. He further adduces that the aniconic rhetoric of Hosea and the Decalogue was originally sociologically motivated rather than theologically. That is, the image commandment was intended to prevent assimilation to foreign practices of worship; the problem was not images themselves but the foreignness they represented. I would expand on this by pointing to the arguments of the previous chapter. Monumental rhetoric

The transformation of the image commandment into a *Bilderverbot* is also accomplished

in part by the Deuteronomist's reimaging of the theophany at Sinai. In Exodus 20:18, all the

people *rʾym ʾt hqwlt* "saw the thunder;" they witnessed the evidence of Yahweh's theophany.[1059]

In Exodus 24:10, *wyrʾw ʾt ʾlhy yśrʾl* "they saw the God of Israel." While later editors of the

Exodus account softened this account somewhat, they did not completely obfuscate it.[1060] In

Deuteronomy 4, the Deuteronomist simply rewrites this account. 4:12 reads: *qwl dbrym ʾtm*

šmʿym wtmwnh ʾynkm rʾym zwlty ql "You heard the sound of words, but you did not see a form.

There was only a voice." The *qwlt* "thunder" or "sounds" that the Israelites saw in Exodus 20 are

now merely a *qwl* "voice" or *qwl dbrym* "the sound of words." Emphatically, there was no *tbnyt*

"form" at all – the Israelites witnessed no legitimate image of Yahweh. The theophany is thus no

longer something to be visually apprehended but rather something that must be aurally

apprehended. The next verse – Deut 4:13 – makes explicit that the revelation at Sinai was

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regulating image creation and manipulation was intended precisely to maintain loyalty to a particular monarch against illegitimate alternatives. Precisely this motivation lay behind the incorporation of an image regulation in the Decalogue. Levin, "Der Dekalog Am Sinai," 170; Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Enstehung Und Seine Entwicklung Im Alten Testament*, 237–77; Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine Späten Fassungen, Die Originale Komposition Und Seine Vorstuten*, 268–73; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 291–92; Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 50; Feder, "The Aninconic Tradition, Deuteronomy 4, and the Politics of Israelite Identity," 262.

[1059] In fact, this is a very old tradition drawing upon earlier Canaanite images of storm theophanies. William M. Schniedewind, "The Voice of God, and Thunderstorms in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Rethinking Israel: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Ancient Israel in Honor of Israel Finkelstein* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 365–69.

[1060] Noticeably, there appears to be an explanation of the sight of God that accounts only for the pavement under his feet, but the fact that Israelite leaders described in this verse still see God is not redacted. Later tradition did attempt to explain away this passage, however. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 128.

ultimately delivered in the form of a text rather than vision. This is even more striking in light of the connection to covenant.[1061]

In addition to redefining the image commandment, Deuteronomy 4 also connects it to the covenant scene in Deuteronomy 29-30. Eckart Otto has demonstrated that Deuteronomy 4 borrows its structure in large part from Deuteronomy 29-30, even going so far as to adapt the latter's practice of switching grammatical number for rhetorical effect.[1062] This suggests that these were composed or edited either concurrently or one after the other in order to create a Deuteronomistic frame for the book of Deuteronomy. Most importantly, both of these sections construe the covenant between Israel and Yahweh as a textual document and make the covenantal text the primary monument with which the community should interact.

Deuteronomy 4:13 specifies that the covenantal text was *ʿśrt hdbrym* "the Ten Words" or "the Decalogue." This apparent title for a text appears only three times in the Hebrew Bible: Ex 34:28, Deut 4:13, and 10:4. In Ex 34:28, the context demands that this designation refer to the so-called Ritual Decalogue. The strong connection between the Ritual Decalogue and the Covenant Code may further explain the appearance of "the Ten Words" in Deut 10. It points to

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[1061] Following an initial proposal by Julius Welhausen, scholars such as Lothar Perlitt and Ernst Kutsch argue that the concept of "covenant" was introduced to biblical literature in the 7th century. Though the concept was likely present in Israel and Judah before the seventh century, Perlitt and Kutsch are likely correct about the particular kind of covenant envisioned in Deuteronomy 4 – namely, a covenant modeled after a Neo-Assyrian *adê* or later treaty form. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 386–87; Perlitt, *Bundestheologie Im Alten Testament*; Ernst Kutsch, *Verheissung Und Gesetz: Untersuchungen Zum Sogemannten Bund Im Alten Testament*, Beiheft Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 131 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1973). For a summary of reactions against this school of thought, see Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*, 25–26 N. 10.

[1062] Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 206–9. As discussed in the previous chapter, the kind of deictic shift Otto has demonstrated in this chapter was a standard rhetorical strategy in Northwest Semitic texts.

the expansion of the Covenant Code in the Deuteronomic Code to follow.[1063] Regardless of these

earlier meanings of the phrase, later tradition transformed this into a designation for the

Decalogue as preserved in Ex 20 and Deut 5. Deut 4's exegetical content suggest that the

Deuteronomists may be the ones responsible for this change.[1064] The treatment of the image

commandment in Deut 4 may confirm this. Deut 4 greatly develops the connection between the

Ten Words and the covenant between Israel and Yahweh. Similarly, Deut 4:23 equates the

making of *psl tmwnt kl* – the breaking of the *Bilderverbot* – with the breaking of this covenant.

The verse reads: *hšmrw lkm pn-tškḥw ʾt-bryt yhwh ʾlhykm ʾšr krt ʿmkm wʿśytm lkm psl tmwnt kl*

ʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk "Keep yourselves secure lest you forget the covenant of Yahweh your God,

which he cut with you, and you make for yourselves an idol in the form of anything, which

Yahweh your God forbade you." In short order, the Deuteronomist has transformed the *ʿśrt*

hdbrym from the content of Ex 34 into what we know as the Decalogue today as preserved in

Deut 5. As a result the Decalogue became the text of the Deuteronomistic covenant. It is this text

which is now set in opposition to all monumental images. There is now no allowance for

legitimated images of Yahweh.

The change in the meaning of the image commandment is further suggested by the

exegesis of its transgenerational blessings and curses in Deut 7. Generational blessings and

curses were part and parcel of Iron Age Levantine monumental discourse. Monuments – images

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[1063] The Ritual Decalogue has sometimes been labeled the "small Covenant Code" because its laws are elaborated in the Covenant Code, not the Decalogue of Exodus 20. For an example of scholarship linking the small and large Covenant Codes, see Kaufmann and Greenberg, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, 166; Weinfeld, "The Ban on the Canaanites in the Biblical Codes and Its Historical Development," 142; Bright, *A History of Israel*, 142, 164–66.

[1064] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 608–9; Whybray, *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, 116.

in particular – were understood to accomplish the same function as progeny by extending an individual's name and memory – potentially indefinitely – much as one's descendants were expected to do. Curse formulae in monumental inscriptions accordingly equate violations involving the agent's name or image with curses on the violator's progeny.[1065] Outside of such a context, generational blessings and generational curses in particular make less obvious sense. Thus, during the post-monarchic period, the Deuteronomists felt the need to reinterpret the transgenerational curses of the image commandment in the Decalogue, ostensibly using them to justify a radical shift to the idea of individual responsibility.[1066] These blessings and curses are cited in reverse order in Deut 7:9-10. Reverse citation was one typical means for ancient scribes to mark exegetical materials explicitly, a process known as Seidel's Law. The Deuteronomists use this technique in Deut 7:9-10 to announce their intention to reinterpret the transgenerational blessings and curses of the Decalogue. In Deut 7:9-10, however, any notion of transgenerational justice is deleted in favor of a focus on individual responsibility.[1067] This is clearly motivated by the social situation of the Deuteronomists. Not only must they generally reexplain the Decalogue as applicable to individuals in the absence of institutions and monumental installations allowing collective practice. They must also explain portions of monumental discourse that were particularly distasteful for generations unaware of the original import of the language. That is, since there were no longer any Yahwistic monuments for the post-monarchic community to

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[1065] Levtow, "Text Destruction and Iconoclasm in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," 317.

[1066] Bernard M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 72–81.

[1067] Levinson, 73–75.

interact with as a collective, the Decalogue had to be reapplied to individual practice.[1068] Also, since there were no longer any Yahwistic monuments to attack, Yahweh's revenge on subsequent generations was a punishment with no potential equivalent crime to merit it.

In the post-monarchic period, the Deuteronomist either did not know what *psl wkl-tmwnh* meant or else understood that such a concept was no longer relevant to the exilic or post-exilic communities. Reinterpreting this commandment enabled the Deuteronomist to recast the entire Decalogue in terms more applicable to the post-monarchic community. In Deut 4, the image commandment is transformed into a *Bilderverbot*. It is made into a categorical condemnation of idols of the type the diaspora community encountered in Babylonia. This *Bilderverbot* was used to affirm the primacy of monumental text – specifically the text of a covenant – as opposed to other forms of monuments. In so doing, the Decalogue was transformed into a covenant that could be kept by each individual as well as by the community, rather than a ritualized text to be performed and manipulated as an implement in collective performance in a monumental theater.[1069] All this was accomplished by reinterpreting the image commandment in order to disavow other monumental objects and other means of interacting with them.

From Name Erasure to Taking the Name in Vain (Deut 5:11)

The name commandment in Deuteronomy's Decalogue is unchanged in terms of content, but the new context of this command suggests that its original meaning was not preserved in

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[1068] A focus on individual responsibility for sin is more generally a hallmark of the personal religion of the postmonarchic period. See, for example, Ezekiel 18. Niditch, *The Responsive Self: Personal Religion of Biblical Literature of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, 29–31.

[1069] Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, 63; Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 198, 208; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 51 N. 18.

every iteration of the book. Undoubtedly, the name commandment maintained its material-focused, writing-based meaning with only slight shifts in nuance in Proto-Deuteronomic discourse, and this meaning likely remained relevant even into the Deuteronomic work. However, during the post-monarchic period and perhaps even immediately preceding it, the Deuteronomists targeted the name commandment in their exegetical additions and changes to the book of Deuteronomy. As a result, the name commandment took on a meaning focused on individual action and speech rather than monument effacement. These two stages in the name commandment's meaning are evident upon a closer examination of the concept of the "name" more broadly in Deuteronomy as well as the exegetical reframing of the concept in Deut 5 and 6. The result was a name commandment that could be performed and kept by the exilic and later communities – one focused on speaking rather than writing and on actions rather than objects.

Overall, the book of Deuteronomy is far more explicit than Exodus in insisting that Yahweh's name was a material object. Specifically, the name functioned as a metonym for a monumental inscription.[1070] The book of Deuteronomy regularly makes use of the idioms *lśwm šm* "to set the name" and *lškn šm* "to erect the name" to refer to the erection of a theoretical

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[1070] This notion pre-existed Deuteronomic literature, but it is in Deuteronomy that it takes center stage. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*; William M. Schniedewind, "The Evolution of Name Theology," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph Klein*, ed. M. Graham, S. McKenzie, and Gary N. Knoppers (London/New York: Continuum, 2003), 231; Radner, *Die Macht Des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien Zur Selbsterhaltung*. For a recent review of criticisms of this position and a response to it, see Sandra L. Richter, "Placing the Name, Pushing the Paradigm: A Decade with the Deuteronomistic Name Formula," in *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Konrad Schmid and Raymond Person (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 64–78.

For the original understanding of the name in Deuteronomy, see the discussion of the Name Theology in von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 37–44. For a recent alternative to Richter and Radner's position more in accordance with von Rad's theory, see Michael Hundley's proposal that the name is an intentionally ambiguous metonym for divine presence. Michael Hundley, "To Be or Not to Be: A Reexamination of Name Language in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," *Vetus Testamentum* 59, no. 4 (2009): 533–55.

monumental inscription of Yahweh.[1071] Read with the understanding that the Decalogue was one

such inscription of Yahweh, the name commandment takes on a special significance in the book

of Deuteronomy. Several times, the book references Yahweh setting up an inscription.[1072] The

Deuteronomic Decalogue contains a clear command not to efface that inscription. To lift

Yahweh's name would reverse his placement of it or his erecting of his inscription. While this

meaning is not so different from that in the Exodus Decalogue, it stands out in higher contrast

against the concept of the name in Deuteronomy's theological framework. However, later strata

of Deuteronomy may have removed the material dimension of this command.

Though the name commandment itself is unchanged in Deuteronomy, poetic shifts in the

Decalogue cause it to play a new role in the text that reflect a new meaning. These poetic shifts

will be discussed in more detail in the next section, but a brief overview of them here will

highlight the semantic shift they afforded. The Decalogue preserved in Deuteronomy jettisons

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[1071] As discussed in the previous chapter, the first of these two expressions – *lśwm šm* – is derived from native Levantine sources. It is attested a number of times in Northwest Semitic inscriptions and may possible calque a Hieroglyphic Luwian expression. This expression occurs exclusively in the Deuteronomistic history and may provide further evidence for the pre-exilic origin of some of its strata. By contrast, *lškn šm* calques a common Akkadian phrase for monument erection, and it is peculiarly limited to certain sections of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Ezra. This points to an exilic or late pre-exilic adaptation of the phrase. It is tempting to view this phrase as entering Deuteronomy's vocabulary along with other elements of Assyrian monumental discourse in the 7th century, but it also possible that it was developed as part of the icon parody rhetoric deployed during the exile in Babylonia. Ultimately, it is beyond the scope of the present study to determine precisely when this phrase entered Deuteronomy, but it was certainly a key component of Deuteronomistic discourse while its Levantine counterpart appears to have become unknown in later periods. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 199 ff.

[1072] Deut 12:5, 21 and 14:24 express this using the idiom *lśwm šm*. 12:5 may include a calque of the idiom with *lškn* suggesting a later editorial addition, while 12:21 and 14:24 are replaced with *lškn šm* in the Samaritan Pentateuch and possible the Septuagint. This all points to a loss of meaning for the phrase *lśwm šm* in later periods. Richter, 45.

Deut 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2 all describe the erection of a monumental inscription using the phrase *lškn šm*. Note that absolutely every occurrence of both expressions in Deuteronomy occur in the Deuteronomic Code. Whether this should point to an adaptation of *lškn šm* in Proto-Deuteronomic discourse or perhaps Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic editorial work with the Deuteronomic Code is beyond the scope of this study to determine.

the deictically oriented bipartite structure of other Levantine monumental inscriptions and replaces it with a fan concatenation structure more in keeping with the rest of the book.[1073] In short, the transitional commands concerning the Sabbath and honoring parents have been modified to facilitate a transition from Egypt to "the land." Accordingly, the Sabbath commandment contains an explicit reference to Egypt rather than the creation triad. As a result, rather than being connected to the second commandment, the Sabbath is now aligned with the Decalogue's "I am" formula. The new Sabbath commandment also includes the demand that *šwrk wḥmrk* "your ox and your donkey" be allowed to rest as well, facilitating a link to the commandment against coveting the neighbor's ox or donkey. To further facilitate the reflection of the first unit in the second set of commands, the term *ʿd šqr* in the commandment against false witness was changed to *ʿd šwʾ* "vain witness" in Deuteronomy 5:20. This created a new link to the name commandment. The resulting linkage between these commandments suggests that the editor understood the name commandment as referring to an act of speaking like the commandment against false witness. While this is not in keeping with the earlier meaning of the Exodus Decalogue or even the likely meaning of the earlier Deuteronomic Decalogues, it was facilitated by Deuteronomistic exegesis elsewhere and motivated by the social situations of the exilic period and later.[1074]

[1073] Otto, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie Und Rechtsreform in Juda Und Assyrien*, 208; Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1-23,15*, 3:1087, 1100 ff.

[1074] Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 59 ff. Nicholson specifically points to elements of the Decalogue that can be explained in light of the social situation of exile. While I agree with him that some aspects of the text could have been introduced during the exile and that it was certainly interpreted as a whole in light of that social situation, contra Nicholson I maintain a pre-exilic origin for Decalogue. The Deuteronomists are to be held for its exegetical transformation rather than its composition.

Most obviously, the Deuteronomists reinterpreted the name commandment within the

book of Deuteronomy itself. Deuteronomy 6:10-15 is likely an explanation of the first unit of the

Decalogue. Though it is disputed whether 6:13 is in fact a reference to the Name Commandment,

the context makes it difficult to see it as anything else.[1075] Here, the Deuteronomist alludes to a

law concerning oaths from the Holiness Code in order to reinterpret the name commandment.[1076]

Compare Lev 19:12 and Deut 6:13 below:

Lev 19:12	Deut 6:13
וְלֹא־תִשָּׁבְעוּ בִשְׁמִי לַשָּׁקֶר וְחִלַּלְתָּ אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנִי יְהוָה:	אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִּירָא וְאֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹד וּבִשְׁמוֹ תִּשָּׁבֵעַ:
And you shall not swear falsely by my name and thus profane the name of your God. I am Yahweh.	Yahweh your God you shall fear, him you shall serve, and by his name you shall swear.

The name commandment is thus effectively replaced with a demand that the Israelites must only

swear by Yahweh's name. The referenced action here is purely an act of speech. There is no

written or material dimension. If this is in fact intended as an interpretation of the Decalogue, it

represents a radical shift in meaning, but a shift that would have facilitated the continued practice

of the Decalogue in a post-monarchic context without sanctioned inscriptions.

The use of the Holiness Code to reinterpret the name commandment in Deuteronomy

may also reflect the transferal of Deuteronomy to the kingdom of Judah during the late Judahite

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[1075] William Moran proposed that Deut 6:10-15 makes several allusions to the Decalogue, but he argued that there is no allusion to the name commandment because this would violate the order of the commandments. That is, the passage in Deut 6 would then allude first to the first commandment, then the third, and finally the second. William L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (1963): 85 N. 46. I would suggest instead that this violation of the order of the commandments is an example of Seidel's law, a typical exegetical method within Deuteronomistic discourse. The Deuteronomist here alludes to the second and third commandment in reverse order to show that he is offering a new interpretation of them. For more on Seidel's law and its use in Deuteronomistic discourse, see especially Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 17–20; Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel*, 73 N. 18.

[1076] Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:786.

monarchy. The Holiness Code may have originated as a composition by the Jerusalemite

priesthood during the reign of Hezekiah, though Holiness language is found in later strata of the

Pentateuch as well. Among other concerns, the Holiness School behind these Holiness

compositions seems to have been negatively responding to practices imported from Israel that

were considered idolatrous. For example, *mṣbwt* were only totally forbidden by the Holiness

Code in Leviticus 26:1, while Ex 23:24 in the Covenant Code – an Israelite source – merely

restricted their use by declaring non-Yahwistic *mṣbwt* illegitimate.[1077] Archaeologically,

maṣṣebot are attested especially in the North until its destruction, while the few that were utilized

in Judah appear to have been decommissioned in the late 8th century, perhaps as a result of

Hezekiah's reforms.[1078] Similarly, the reinterpretation of the name commandment using Holiness

language further contributed to dislocating the name commandment from a material referent –

the inscribed name of Yahweh or his full inscription. In place of this material referent, the

Holiness-oriented interpretation of the name commandment focused on swearing – an oral

practice perhaps more relevant in a Judahite context.[1079] Significantly, editorial work of this type

also effectively Judahitized the Decalogue.

Apart from its reinterpretation in the book of Deuteronomy itself, the shifting concept of

the name in Jeremiah 7 may also attest to a changed meaning for the name commandment in the

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[1077] Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 65; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110.

[1078] Bloch-Smith, "Maṣṣēbôt in the Israelite Cult: An Argument for Rendreing Implicit Cultic Criteria Explicit," 31; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 112 ff.

[1079] Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 212.

Deuteronomistic Decalogue. The prophet Jeremiah is depicted in this chapter delivering a

sermon at the Jerusalem temple that draws liberally upon the Decalogue.[1080] He also draws upon

the Deuteronomistic name theology, but he adds a new interpretive dimension that calls its

material referent into question. Jeremiah 7 appears to calque the phrase *lškn šm* "to erect the

name" with *nqrʾ ʿl-šm* "to be called by the name." The focus in this case would not be on a

written name but a spoken one. Specifically, this idiom metaphorically referred to ownership; a

person or thing called by another person's name belonged to that person. Both of these phrases

are used in reference to the temple in Jerusalem, now apparently no longer the place where

Yahweh's inscription was established but rather the place called by his name that therefore

belonged to him.[1081] As was the case within Deuteronomy, this shift in the understanding of the

name in Jeremiah is a reflection of Judahite or perhaps later Judean concerns.[1082] This deeper

shift in the concept of the name in Deuteronomistic theology may have further facilitated a shift

in meaning in the name commandment in the Decalogue.[1083]

[1080] This sermon is generally thought to have been given in the accession year of Jehoiakin. According to William Holladay, the sermon was probably delivered "in late summer or early autumn." Sigmund Mowinckel is even more specific and argues that the sermon was delivered during the New Year festival, possibly reflecting a significant continuation of the earlier ritual dimension of the Decalogue in the northern kingdom. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary On the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah (Chapters 1-25)*, 240; Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 129.

[1081] Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 84.

[1082] Specifically, the concept of ownership allowed the blending of Yahweh's placement of his name with his election of the Davidic dynasty. Richter, 85–87.

[1083] Carmen Imes argues that this sense of the name relating to ownership was the original sense of the Decalogue. In contrast, I am arguing that it was the Deuteronomistic reading of the name commandment, while originally the reference was to a physical inscription. Carmen Joy Imes, *Bearing YHWH's Name at Sinai: A Reexamination of the Name Command of the Decalogue*, Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements 19 (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018).

In sum, though the name commandment did not change at all in terms of the words comprising it, the changing meaning of the terms employed resulted in a radical semantic shift. This shift, like the shift in the image commandment, seems most to line up with the social pressures of the post-monarchic period, suggesting that this change is to be assigned to the Deuteronomistic discourse of Deuteronomy. It is possible, however, that this change was being initiated by earlier editorial work during the late Judahite monarchy. Though earlier strata of Deuteronomy maintained the material referent for the Name Commandment and in fact intensified it, the Deuteronomists necessarily restricted this reference somewhat in order to reapply it to the exilic context and later. Under this new understanding, the community could keep this command by regulating their speech. There was no need of a monumental object with an inscription to continue practicing this portion of the Decalogue. The name commandment thus became something that could just as easily be kept by the diaspora as by the pre-exilic community.

From Ritual Remembrance to Social Justice (Deut 5:12-15)

The Sabbath commandment is changed more substantially than any other portion of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. This portion of the text provides the strongest evidence for semantic revisions of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. These revisions largely consist of the adaptation of rhetoric from the Holiness Code, the Covenant Code, the Deuteronomic Code, and the Deuteronomic paraenesis. These adaptations promote not only a stronger integration of the Decalogue into the various strata of Deuteronomy, but also a stronger integration of the Decalogue into the new social contexts that were shaping Deuteronomy. Perhaps more than any of the other semantic shifts discussed in this section, the treatment of the Decalogue's sabbath

commandment in Deuteronomy especially points to the shifting monumentality of the text among the Judahite and post-monarchic Judean communities.

The most obvious revision appears right at the beginning of Deuteronomy's sabbath commandment: the verb *zkwr* has been replaced by *šmwr*. Among other shifts, this most notably brings the Decalogue's sabbath commandment into conversation with the sabbath prescriptions of the Holiness School. The sabbath is the object of the verb *šmr* in only nine other instances in the Hebrew Bible. The first three pairings (Lev. 19:3, 30; 26:2) come from the Holiness Code and all read alike *wʾt-šbtty tšmrw* "and my sabbaths you shall keep." The three remaining Pentateuchal instances all occur in Ex. 31:13-16, and there is some debate about whether these verses should be assigned to a Holiness or Priestly source. If these instances are to be assigned to P, however, they likely represent P interacting with the conception of the sabbath in H.[1084] The final three occurrences are found in Isaiah 56 (vv. 2, 4, and 6) and have been explained as allusions to the Holiness Code.[1085] The pairing of the terms in Deuteronomy's Decalogue is thus the only occurrence that has not yet been explained with reference to the Holiness Code.

I propose that there are two possibilities for understanding the appearance of Holiness language in the Sabbath Commandment. First, the Sabbath Commandment in Deut 5 may be an example of what Benjamin Sommer calls an "echo."[1086] That is, a Deuteronomic writer may have

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[1084] Saul M. Olyan, "Exodus 31:12-17: The Sabbath According to H, or the Sabbath According to P and H?," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124, no. 2 (2005): 201–9.

[1085] Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford University Press, 1998), 169.

[1086] Sommer, 15–17.

revised the sabbath commandment using language known from the Holiness Code but without intending to direct the reader to the Holiness School's conception of the Sabbath. This would merely be a result of cross-pollination between the Holiness and Deuteronomic schools.[1087] Alternatively, this is an attempt to direct the reader to the Holiness Code's sabbath commands as part of a broader attempt to combine them into Deuteronomy's sabbath command. This would constitute an "allusion" according to Sommer.[1088] Unfortunately, there is not enough language reused from the Holiness Code to confirm this, but it might be considered based on the fact that this is Deuteronomy's only sabbath command and the authors were apparently attempting to make it as complete as possible.[1089] We shall see below that they also clearly alluded to the Covenant Code and Deuteronomic Code in constructing their Sabbath Commandment. Regardless of whether the appearance of Holiness language in the Sabbath Commandment is an echo or allusion, it is certainly an example of what Sommer calls "influence."[1090] Whether or not the Deuteronomic editor intends to interact with the Holiness Code's sabbath commands, he has clearly been influenced by them in his framing of Deuteronomy's Sabbath Commandment. This serves as an indication of the Decalogue's new setting within the kingdom of Judah.[1091]

[1087] Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 130 ff.

[1088] Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 10–13.

[1089] This is especially striking given that the Deuteronomic Code revised the Covenant Code. Though the Covenant Code contained Sabbath commandments separate from that of the Decalogue, the Deuteronomic Code does not. This strongly suggests that the Decalogue and Deuteronomic Code were meant to be read together as the exposition of Deuteronom(ist)ic law.

[1090] Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 14–15.

[1091] As discussed above, while there is debate regarding the specific dating of the Holiness Writing, there is some consensus as to its pre-exilic origin in the southern kingdom, though it likely continued to be edited in the post-

In addition to bringing the Sabbath commandment into conversation with Judahite traditions, the change of the verb from *zkr* to *šmr* also desacralized the Sabbath. Rather than demand ritual remembrance or sacral reenactment as encoded by *zkr*, the version of the Decalogue preserved in Deuteronomy merely requires observance.[1092] In other words, this commandment makes no assumptions about a festival observed in a cultic context but rather points to a religious practice that could be observed by individuals and families in any context.[1093] This shift is evidence of a broader trend in Deuteronomistic theology towards demythologization as well as law motivated by humanistic concerns.[1094] These concerns are also brought to bear on the Sabbath command in its new justification, which jettisons the reference to creation in favor of a socially motivated purpose to be discussed below.[1095] In addition to a socially motivated purpose, the cause of the Sabbath is similarly reexplained as recognition of the Israelites' redemption from Egypt rather than Yahweh's creation of the world.[1096] Though some of these changes might be assigned to the work of Judahite editors, they were undoubtedly of greater utility to the Deuteronomists, whose social situation may have motivated the

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monarchic period. Haran, "Holiness Code," 1098; Haran, "Behind the Scenes of History," 329 N. 12; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*, 201–9; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, 1349; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 18.

[1092] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 222.

[1093] Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60–61.

[1094] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 210–24, 282–97.

[1095] Weinfeld, 222, 290.

[1096] Weinfeld, 222.

reimagining of the Sabbath as a practice that could be individually observed apart from a cultic setting. A new socially and historically motivated Sabbath could be easily applied to the exilic and later communities, whereas the old sacral Sabbath was simply impossible to perform in exile.[1097]

The social motivation for the Sabbath was accomplished through an expansion of its justification using language from the Covenant Code, especially Ex 23. The list of individuals forbidden to work is supplemented in Deuteronomy with *šwrk wḥmrk* "your ox and your donkey" and followed with a justification that this cessation of work: *lmʿn ynwḥ ʿbdk wʾmtk kmwk* "in order that your manservant and maidservant may rest like you." This language is likely derived from Ex 23:12, which justifies its Sabbath command as follows: *lmʿn ynwḥ šwrk wḥmrk wynpš bn-ʾmtk whgr* "so that your ox and donkey may rest and the son of your maidservant and the foreigner may be refreshed." This is the only other socially motivated Sabbath commandment in the Hebrew Bible and was undoubtedly the model for the revision of the Decalogue's Sabbath commandment in Deuteronomy. As stated above, this new justification served to shift the focus of the Sabbath from sacral reenactment to social justice, and it can be said that this language aligns the Decalogue more closely with legal texts than with memorial inscriptions.

The next part of the Sabbath justification draws on more language from Ex 23 while simultaneously creating a link to the Deuteronomic Code. V. 15 opens *wzkrt ky-ʿbd hyyt bʾrṣ mṣrym* "and you will remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt." This justification closely parallels that of a command not to oppress foreigners in Ex. 23:9, which is justified: *ky-grym hyytm bʾrṣ mṣrym* "for you were foreigners in the land of Egypt." This connection is

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[1097] Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 50–51.

strengthened by the Covenant Code's juxtaposition of this stipulation with Sabbath commandments such as the one previously discussed in Ex 23:12 as well as the Deuteronomy Decalogue's insistence that foreigners be allowed to rest *kmwk* "like you." While the Covenant Code may have provided the original inspiration for this line, it is even more clearly aligned with the Deuteronomic Code. The phrase *wzkrt ky-ʿbd hyyt bʾrṣ mṣrym* occurs four more times in the Hebrew Bible and only in the Deuteronomic Code in Deut. 15:15; 16:12; 24:18; and 24:22. In addition to reemphasizing the new social motivation for the Sabbath, this line serves to continue linking the Decalogue in Deuteronomy to the legal traditions of the Covenant Code as well as integrating them with its revision in the Deuteronomic Code.

The end of the *wzkrt* phrase in v. 15 further aligns the Decalogue with the Deuteronomic Code and the Credo in particular.[1098] The line in Deut 5:15 reads more fully *wzkrt ky-ʿbd hyyt bʾrṣ mṣrym wyṣʾk yhwh ʾlhyk mšm byd ḥzqh wbzrʿ nṭwyh* "and you will remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh your God brought you out from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm." The phrase *byd ḥzqh wbzrʿ nṭwyh* occurs in Deut 5:15 and 26:8 and nowhere else. This connection to the Credo – a liturgical script for the bringing of a sacrifice to a priest – further suggests a transition in the Sabbath from collectively performed festival to an individually observed practice. The connection of this practice to a cultic context and its appearance within the Deuteronomic Code, however, may suggest that this shift was anticipated in Proto-Deuteronomy.

[1098] On the Credo, see especially Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Volume I: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, trans. David Stalker (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 121 ff. Though von Rad's thesis concerning the Credo's role in the growth of the Hexateuch is no longer accepted uncritically, the unique connection between this section at the end of the Deuteronomic Code and the Decalogue that introduces the code is evidence that at least one of the composers or redactors of the book of Deuteronomy saw fit to tie these texts together in order to frame the code as a whole.

The expansions, insertions, and replacements just discussed imply that innerbiblical exegesis was taking place. Furthermore, the formulae marking them functioned to more deeply integrate the Decalogue into its new setting in Deuteronomy. First, the Sabbath commandment is bracketed by an inclusio beginning with *šmwr* and closing with *lʿśwt*. These same two terms actually bracket the Deuteronomic Paraenesis, beginning with *šmwr* in 5:1 and ending with *lʿśwt* in 11:32.[1099] These additions to the commandment create a closer relationship between the Decalogue – the Sabbath commandment in particular – and its new setting in the introduction to the Deuteronomic Code.[1100] In addition to framing the paraenesis, the phrase *šmr lʿśwt* or *šmr wʿśh* occurs 27 times in Deuteronomy and appears to be a typical Deuteronom(ist)ic usage.[1101] The internal changes to the commandment are further marked by a *Wiederaufnahme* beginning with the phrase *kʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk* "as Yahweh your God commands you" at the end of 5:12 and ending with the phrase *ʿl-kn ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk* "therefore Yahweh your God commands you" in 5:15. This repeated phrase also draws on typical Deuteronom(ist)ic rhetoric.[1102] All of the exegetical content shifting the focus of the Sabbath from ritual remembrance to social justice and realigning it with the legal concerns of the Covenant Code and Deuteronomic Code are contained

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[1099] Jack R. Lundbom, "The Inclusio and Other Framing Devices in Deuteronomy I-XXVIII," *Vetus Testamentum* 46, no. 3 (July 1996): 304–6.

[1100] The inclusio surrounding the Sabbath commandment has previously been noted by Norbert Lohfink, who suggested that it represented a Deuteronomic transformation of the text because the word pair *šmr-ʿśh* occurs throughout the book of Deuteronomy. Moshe Weinfeld specifically included this pair in his account of Deuteronomic phraseology. Norbert Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, trans. L. M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 252–53; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 336.

[1101] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 336.

[1102] Weinfeld, 356–57.

between this repeated phrase. This strongly suggests that the editors intended to make their work explicit and mark the new Sabbath commandment as a new interpretation of older material. They did so by means of an inclusio and a *Wiederaufnahme* that both made use of stereotypical Deuteronom(ist)ic phraseology.

Changes to the Social Commands (Deut 5:16-21)

The changes to the social commands are relatively minor compared to the shifts already discussed. Arguably, the most significant shift to this set of commands is the implied inclusion of the Sabbath as a socially motivated command. As for the commandments that were previously socially motivated, the most significant change is the addition of the phrase *kʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk* "as Yahweh your God commands you" to the commandment regarding honoring one's parents in Deut 5:16. This likely created a closer association with both the Sabbath commandment and the broader frame of the book of Deuteronomy. It also updated the justification of the commandment honoring parents with stereotypical Deuteronom(ist)ic phraseology.[1103] Because this shift is mostly poetic in nature, it will be discussed in the following section. Similarly, the addition of *waw*s before each of the subsequent social commandments has a stronger poetic effect than a truly semantic one and will not be discussed here.

Only one change to the social commandments represents a significant semantic shift. In the usurpation commandment in 5:21, the phrase *lʾ tḥmd* "you will not usurp" or "you will not covet" has been calqued with the phrase *lʾ ttʾwh* "you will not desire." This may very well suggest that a later editor had forgotten what the term *ḥmd* originally meant in this context or else that the Decalogue had become sufficiently divorced from its original monumental context

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[1103] Weinfeld, 356–57.

as to render the verb difficult to interpret in Deuteronomy. This may also represent an intentional shift in the commandment designed to make it more easily applicable to an individual in an exilic context or later. Regardless, it is clear that this change was exegetical in nature. In the first place, the first two objects of the command – *byt* "house" and *ʾšh* "wife" – have been reversed, possibly providing yet another example of Seidel's law marking an exegetical change. Furthermore, the replacement of the second occurrence of *ḥmd* with *tʾwh* presents the terms as a lemma and a gloss, another typical structure of Holiness and Deuteronom(ist)ic exegesis.[1104] Usurpation would not be precisely relevant to an audience unfamiliar with this sort of rhetoric in monumental inscriptions, but desire is understandable in any context. As such, the result of this calque is that this commandment more easily applied to the post-monarchic context, and it is likely that social context to which the editorial activity should be assigned.

The Meaning Afforded by the Semantic Shifts in Deuteronomy

As was the case for the Decalogue in Exodus, the Decalogue in Deuteronomy still provided its targeted communities with social formation. Some changes were made to align the text more closely with its new setting in the book of Deuteronomy, while others may reflect attempts to reset the text within the southern kingdom of Judah. The greatest changes, however, relate to a shift in the practices attached to the Decalogue. Many of the collective-oriented practices were no longer observable or relevant to the post-monarchic communities targeted by Deuteronomistic discourse. Accordingly, Deuteronomistic editorial work seems to have reshaped the Decalogue as a set of practices that could be kept by individuals in the exilic generation and

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[1104] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 34; Levinson, "The Birth of the Lemma," 621.

afterwards. As a result, the Decalogue still permitted its users to encounter Yahweh and to form a significant part of their identity relative to that encounter. However, this encounter was activated in a different way and in a different context. The shifts in the Deuteornomistic revision of the Decalogue thus radically transformed the monumentality of the Decalogue, but they also ensured that it would remain monumental. Similar shifts may be observed in the other dimensions of meaning affordance of the Decalogue. The dimension most significantly affected by these semantic shifts, though, was undoubtedly the poetic dimension.

Poetic Shifts

Some aspects of the poetic dimension of the Decalogue in Exodus were maintained in Deuteronomy. There is still a moving perspective initially fixated on Yahweh and finally on the ideal user of the Decalogue. However, this overall shift has been somewhat subsumed by multiple changes to the internal structure of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. Furthermore, some elements of the Decalogue's structure that served the deictic shift in Exodus have been completely deleted and replaced in Deuteronomy. Overall, the Decalogue appears to have been restructured to better fit the poetic techniques of the various composers and editors of the book more broadly. This restructuring resulted in a somewhat different perspectival shift being anchored in the Decalogue as well.

Restructuring the Decalogue in Deuteronomy

All of the changes to be discussed here will be most easily apparent in the diagram of the text on the following page. Matching terms and phrases have been color-coded and linked with brackets. The depth of the brackets represents the extent of the change's effect on the whole text. These specific structural elements will be discussed in more detail below, but what will be readily apparent in the diagram is that the Decalogue has been restructured according to the

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principle of fan concatenation. That is, linkages were mostly created between the two units of the

Decalogue to create a more balanced text with the Sabbath commandment acting as a

fulcrum.[1105] Insertions are mostly marked by repetitive resumptions that connect with one

another to preserve a fan structure. The one revision accomplished by means of Seidel's law in

the coveting commandment also serves to create a fan structure in the social commands. The

overall effect is impressive, with almost no section of the Decalogue left unconnected to any

other. Additionally, this new structure neatly aligns the editing of the Decalogue with the

editorial activity in the Deuteronomic Code, which similarly operated on the principle of fan

concatenation through self- referential repetitions and strategic insertions from the Covenant

Code.[1106] This method of restructuring and literary elaboration may have been learned by the

Judahites and Judeans from Mesopotamian law collections, so we may tentatively assign this

restructuring to either Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic discourse.[1107]

[1105] Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 164–65; Norbert Lohfink, "Zur Dekalogfassung von Dt 5," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 9 (1965): 17–32; Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, 255–60; Eckart Otto, "Der Dekalog in Den Deuteronomistischen Redaktion Des Deuteronomiums," in *Die Zehn Worte: Der Dekalog Als Testfall Der Pentateuchkritik*, ed. Michael Konkel, Christian Frevel, and Johannes Schnocks, QD 212 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 95–108; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 49–50; Benjamin Kilchör, *Mosetora Und Jahwetora: Das Verhältnis von Deuteronomium 12-26 Zu Exodus, Levitikus Und Numeri* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 330, 341.

[1106] Otto, "Vom Bundesbuch Zum Deuteronomium. Die Deuteronomische Redaktion in Dtn 12-26*"; Otto, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie Und Rechtsreform in Juda Und Assyrien*, 208; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:237 ff. Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1-23,15*, 3:1087, 1100 ff.

[1107] Following a different logic, Lohfink suggests that the restructuring is exilic – and therefore Deuteronomistic – given the greater emphasis on the Sabbath and the centrality of Sabbath observance to the diaspora. Otto, *Das Deuteronomium: Politische Theologie Und Rechtsreform in Juda Und Assyrien*, 201; Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, 262; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60, 72.

אָנֹכִי֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ אֲשֶׁ֧ר הוֹצֵאתִ֛יךָ מֵאֶ֥רֶץ מִצְרַ֖יִם מִבֵּ֣ית עֲבָדִֽים׃

לֹ֣א יִהְיֶֽה־לְךָ֥ אֱלֹהִ֛ים אֲחֵרִ֖ים עַל־פָּנָֽי׃ לֹֽא־תַעֲשֶׂ֨ה־לְךָ֥ פֶ֣סֶל ׀ כָּל־תְּמוּנָ֡ה אֲשֶׁ֣ר בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם ׀ מִמַּ֡עַל וַאֲשֶׁ֣ר בָּאָ֣רֶץ מִתַּ֣חַת וַאֲשֶׁ֣ר בַּמַּ֣יִם ׀ מִתַּ֣חַת לָאָ֑רֶץ לֹֽא־תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶ֥ה לָהֶ֖ם וְלֹ֣א תָעָבְדֵ֑ם כִּ֣י אָֽנֹכִ֞י יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ אֵ֣ל קַנָּ֔א פֹּ֠קֵד עֲוֺ֨ן אָבֹ֧ת עַל־בָּנִ֛ים וְעַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁ֥ים וְעַל־רִבֵּעִ֖ים לְשֹׂנְאָֽי׃ וְעֹ֥שֶׂה חֶ֖סֶד לַאֲלָפִ֑ים לְאֹהֲבַ֖י וּלְשֹׁמְרֵ֥י מִצְוֺתָֽו׃

לֹ֥א תִשָּׂ֛א אֶת־שֵֽׁם־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ לַשָּׁ֑וְא כִּ֣י לֹ֤א יְנַקֶּה֙ יְהוָ֔ה אֵ֛ת אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂ֥א אֶת־שְׁמ֖וֹ לַשָּֽׁוְא׃

שָׁמ֣וֹר אֶת־י֤וֹם הַשַּׁבָּת֙ לְקַדְּשׁ֔וֹ כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוְּךָ֖ ׀ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ שֵׁ֤שֶׁת יָמִים֙ תַּֽעֲבֹ֔ד וְעָשִׂ֖יתָ כָּֽל־מְלַאכְתֶּֽךָ׃ וְי֙וֹם֙ הַשְּׁבִיעִ֔י שַׁבָּ֖ת ׀ לַיהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ לֹ֣א תַעֲשֶׂ֣ה כָל־מְלָאכָ֡ה אַתָּ֣ה וּבִנְךָֽ־וּבִתֶּ֣ךָ וְעַבְדְּךָֽ־וַ֠אֲמָתֶךָ וְשׁוֹרְךָ֙ וַחֲמֹֽרְךָ֙ וְכָל־בְּהֶמְתֶּ֔ךָ וְגֵרְךָ֖ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בִּשְׁעָרֶ֑יךָ לְמַ֗עַן יָנ֛וּחַ עַבְדְּךָ֥ וַאֲמָתְךָ֖ כָּמֽוֹךָ׃ וְזָכַרְתָּ֗ כִּ֣י־עֶ֤בֶד הָיִ֙יתָ֙ ׀ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ מִצְרַ֔יִם וַיֹּצִ֨אֲךָ֜ יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ מִשָּׁ֔ם בְּיָ֥ד חֲזָקָ֖ה וּבִזְרֹ֣עַ נְטוּיָ֑ה עַל־כֵּ֗ן צִוְּךָ֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ לַעֲשׂ֖וֹת אֶת־י֥וֹם הַשַּׁבָּֽת׃

כַּבֵּ֤ד אֶת־אָבִ֙יךָ֙ וְאֶת־אִמֶּ֔ךָ כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוְּךָ֖ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ לְמַ֣עַן ׀ יַאֲרִיכֻ֣ן יָמֶ֗יךָ וּלְמַ֙עַן֙ יִ֣יטַב לָ֔ךְ עַ֚ל הָֽאֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לָֽךְ׃

לֹ֖א תִּרְצָֽח׃
וְלֹ֖א תִּנְאָֽף׃
וְלֹ֖א תִּגְנֹֽב׃
וְלֹֽא־תַעֲנֶ֥ה בְרֵֽעֲךָ֖ עֵ֥ד שָֽׁוְא׃
וְלֹ֥א תַחְמֹ֖ד אֵ֣שֶׁת רֵעֶ֑ךָ
וְלֹ֨א תִתְאַוֶּ֜ה בֵּ֣ית רֵעֶ֗ךָ שָׂדֵ֜הוּ וְעַבְדּ֤וֹ וַאֲמָתוֹ֙ שׁוֹר֣וֹ וַחֲמֹר֔וֹ וְכֹ֖ל אֲשֶׁ֥ר לְרֵעֶֽךָ׃

The first change apparent in the restructuring of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy is the dislocation of the image commandment from the rest of the text. Previously, the inclusio of the creation triad served to connect the three violation clauses regulating images, the divine name, and the Sabbath together. Though the opening of this inclusio was preserved in v. 8, the close in the Sabbath commandment was removed in Deuteronomy. As a result, the only remaining link between the image commandment and any other portion of the Decalogue is the repetition of the

opening phrase ʾnky yhwh ʾlhyk "I am Yahweh your God" in v. 9. Edward Greenstein has

suggested that this creates a chiasm to link the first two commandments, but this link was also

present in Exodus and does not precisely add anything to one's understanding of the image

commandment.[1108] This may explain in part why the image commandment and no other

commandment became the fixation of Deuteronomistic exegesis in Deuteronomy 4 and 7. It was

left unexplained by the structural revision to the Decalogue and was thus harder to make sense of

within the Deuteronomistic reframing of the text.[1109]

One change may suggest that the chiastic connection among the first two commandments

was further developed in Deuteronomy. As discussed above, with the deletion of the *waw*

between *psl* and *tmwnh* in v. 8, the plural objects of v. 9 now have no clear antecedent in the

image commandment. The assumed objects of the phrase *lʾ tštḥwh lhm wlʾ tʿbdm* "you shall not

bow down to them or worship them" must now be the ʾlhym ʾḥrym "other gods" of the first

commandment.[1110] The deletion of the *waw* thus forced the equation of ʾlhym ʾḥrym "other gods"

[1108] Greenstein, "The Rhetoric of the Ten Commandments," 9.

[1109] The isolation of the image commandment may lend some weight to Blum's argument that it was a later insertion. Two points can be made to defend its antiquity, however. First, as emphasized before, the image commandment draws upon typical tropes from monumental inscriptions from the 8th century and earlier, so some form of it is likely derived from that discourse. Second, if the image commandment is a later insertion, then the Sabbath commandment's link to creation must have been created simultaneously. However, the Sabbath in Deuteronomy is rife with editorial markers showing that the redactor was marking his insertions as reworkings of earlier material, suggesting that the version in Exodus is in fact older. The preservation of one half of the inclusio in the image commandment in Deuteronomy suggests that the Deuteronomistic editor missed this and broke the frame unintentionally. Of course, it is possible that a Sabbath command without justification pre-existed both versions, but this would be nearly impossible to corroborate. Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch," 298.

[1110] Blum, 290; Block, *How I Love Your Torah, O LORD! Studies in the Book of Deuteronomy*, 59–60; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 60; Imes, "Bearing YHWH's Name at Sinai: A Re-Examination of the Name Command of the Decalogue," 209.

and *psl kl-tmwnh* "an idol in any form." As a result, the command against acknowledging other gods and the image commandment are now a single commandment with the prohibition of idols serving as an elaboration of the first commandment. This shift is rendered even more likely by the Deuteronomistic exegesis present in Deut 4, where the image commandment is transformed into a *Bilderverbot* and paired with exclamations of divine exclusivity. The Deuteronomists may be responsible for the structural change to the first two commandments as well.

The shift that most affects the Decalogue in Deuteronomy is the centering of the Sabbath commandment. This commandment has been removed from its transitional place at the end of the original agent-focused unit of the Decalogue and set at the very center of the text.[1111] This is most notably accomplished by the removal of the creation triad that formed an inclusio with the image commandment in the Exodus Decalogue.[1112] This connection has been deleted and replaced by a connection to the first and final lines of the Decalogue.[1113] The insertion of language from the Covenant Code discussed above creates a clearer link to the commandment concerning coveting at the end of the Decalogue. Drawing on language from Ex 23:12, the editor has added *wšwrk wḥmwrk* after the previously present *ʿbdk-wʾmtk* in the list of those who are to rest on the Sabbath. As a result, the Sabbath commandment now attests four of the same terms listed in the commandment concerning coveting in the same order.[1114] Additionally, the editor

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[1111] Lohfink, "Zur Dekalogfassung von Dt 5," 17–32; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 164–65.

[1112] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 222.

[1113] Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, 255–57; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 50.

[1114] Ska notes the parallel use of *ʿbd* and *ʾmh*, which is present in both versions of the Decalogue. He fails to note that the addition of *šwr* and *ḥmr* in Deuteronomy serves to accent this parallel, as is argued by Lohfink. Ska,

draws on Deut 15:15, 16:12, 24:18, 24:22, and 26:8 to create a connection between the Sabbath

commandment, the Deuteronomic Code, and especially the exodus as referenced in the

Deuteronomic Code. The resultant reference to the Exodus from Egypt ties the Sabbath

commandment directly to the first line of the Decalogue.[1115] These structural elements further

align the text with the editorial standards of the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic editors, and

they also serve to highlight the fan concatenation of the Decalogue on a smaller scale. The

Sabbath commandment has thus been strategically edited to place it at the center of a fan

structured Decalogue with direct linguistic links to the first and last lines.

The balance between the two halves of the Decalogue centered on the Sabbath is further

emphasized by new linkages between commandments on either side of the Sabbath. In the first

place, a clearer link between the transitional commandments is created by the repetition of the

phrase *kʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk* "as Yahweh your God commands you" in both the Sabbath

commandment and the following commandment concerning parents. Thus, in addition to its

linkages with either edge of the Decalogue and its association more broadly with the first set of

commandments, the Sabbath now more clearly flows into the social commands and has a direct

verbal connection to them. A similar linkage between the two units has been created by the

change of term in the commandment concerning false witness. The previously used term *šqr* has

been replaced with *šwʾ*, creating a direct link to the name commandment and further tying the

two halves of the Decalogue together.

Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch, 50; Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, 255–57.

[1115] Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, 255–57.

The social commands in particular have been modified with the addition of *waw*s before each commandment. These *waw*s transform the social commandments into a single rhetorical unit with each commandment flowing into the next rather than standing alone in a list of stipulations. Furthermore, the change in order of the first two listed objects in the coveting commandment has created a smaller fan concatenation within the social commands on the basis of violation and cause. As already discussed, this reversal of the first two terms is an example of Seidel's Law. The editor is marking an exegetical insertion – specifically his gloss of the term *ḥmd.* The resultant restructuring of the social commands suggests that his exegesis may go beyond this glossing, though. With the fronting of the commandment forbidding coveting the neighbor's wife, this now links back to the commandment against adultery as the result of coveting the neighbor's wife. A similar linkage is suggested between the remainder of the coveting commandment and the prohibition of stealing. Reading along the same lines, we may propose a linkage between the prohibition of murder and the prohibition of perjury as one of its potential causes. Also attesting to this potential structure is the fact that the prohibitions of resultant crimes are each only two words, while the prohibitions of their causes are longer formulations acting as further explanations of them.[1116] These linkages, however, were only possible with a change in order in the items of the coveting commandment as well as the gloss of the key verb in that commandment. As a result the last commandment now focused in an internal attitude towards the listed objects rather than an external violation of them. The fronting of the neighbor's wife with a now separate verb further invited connections to the commandment

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[1116] This understanding of the social commands primarily follows Ska, but Zenger similarly argues that they should be paired as public and secret expressions of the same sin. Erich Zenger, *Einleitung in Das Alte Testament*, Studienbücher Theologie (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1995), 59; Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 49–51.

against adultery. The overall result is the creation of a neat sequence of six commandments (with the coveting commandment now counted as two)[1117] that connect to one another and expand on each other.

The Meaning Afforded by the Poetic Shifts in Deuteronomy's Decalogue

The poetic shifts outlined above and the previously noted semantic changes create a different projected perspective than that of the Exodus Decalogue. While some of the transition from Yahweh to ideal Israelite is preserved, the breaking of the inclusio around the Yahweh-centered unit makes it difficult to point to a bipartite structure. The Decalogue still begins with a focus on Yahweh and concludes with a focus on social responsibilities, but the two units now flow easily into one another rather than standing starkly apart. This is accomplished in particular by the revision of the Sabbath commandment. Its new social component aligns it more closely with the social commandments. The social commandments are themselves more tightly knit and more closely connected to the first set of commandments. As a result, the Decalogue now has a quicker transition from a focus on proper worship to one on treatment of the ideal user's fellow man in the land. Social concerns are arguably primary, and any cultic concerns have been reframed as individual responsibilities towards Yahweh that lead directly into an individual's responsibilities towards others.[1118]

The transition these shifts are implying is revealed in the linkage between the Sabbath commandment and the commandment concerning parents. The Sabbath commandment has lost

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[1117] Counting the coveting commandment twice may alleviate the loss of one commandment caused by the combination of the first and second commandment discussed above.

[1118] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 51 N. 18.

any cosmic and creational significance and instead now points to the historical incident of the exodus from Egypt. As before, the commandment concerning parents instead focuses on the land the Israelites are to enter. With the verbal linkages between these two commandments (*kʾšr ṣwk yhwh ʾlhyk*), the Decalogue now pivots on a transition from life in Egypt ("you will remember that you were slaves in the land of Egypt") to life in the land ("that it may go well for you in the land Yahweh your God is giving you"). This transition is especially fitting with the Moab redaction of Deuteronomy to be discussed in the following section.[1119] Generally, this fits the Deuteronomistic concern of returning from exile and looking with hope towards the land. The Decalogue itself has been restructured to create this perspective in Deuteronomy's readers at the beginning of the book. The ideal readers of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy are not just shifting their perspective to that of Yahweh, and then viewing the effect of that on their communal life as was the case in Exodus. They are instead constructing a collective memory of Egypt and the wilderness as a model for exile living, and looking expectantly towards the land to which they hope to return.[1120]

Literary-Spatial Shifts

The reframing of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy actually implies a number of different literary and spatial settings. First and foremost, the Decalogue is placed in the introduction to Deuteronomy perhaps by analogy to its appearance before the Covenant Code – which the

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[1119] Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:170–71; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 213–33.

[1120] Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," 724–26; Nicholson, *Deuteronomy & the Judean Diaspora*, 59–63.

Deuteronomic Code expands and revises.[1121] This placement is even explicitly commented on in the book's imagination of its own materiality.[1122] The dependence on this frame is even further indicated by the prescribed mountain ritual complex and performance in Deuteronomy 27, which closely matches the ritual prescribed in Ex 24:3-8 that ties the Decalogue and the Covenant Code together in its present context. Thus, Exodus 19-24 seem to provide the literary frame for the compilation of one of the editions of Deuteronomy, perhaps even Proto-Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this literary framework has been relocated to a new geographic and temporal setting. Not only is the monumental installation being duplicated in a new context, it is also supplemented by subsequent monumentalizations that continue to reset the Decalogue by association to the Deuteronomic Code. The various settings of the Deuteronomic Code itself then may reveal particular concepts of meaning affordance through the text's spatiality that were attached to the Decalogue by association. Particularly significant to the question of the Decalogue's meaning in space in Deuteronomy is its possible setting at Horeb, Shechem, Jerusalem, and Moab. Before turning to these locales, however, we should discuss Deuteronomy's understanding of the Decalogue as a portable or reproducible text.

[1121] Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 116.

[1122] Similar to the literary placement of the Decalogue before the Deuteronomic Code, in Deuteronomy 31:26 the *torah* scroll understood to contain the Deuteronomic Code is set beside the Ark of the Covenant, which is traditionally understood as containing the Decalogue. This physical orientation mirrors the literary one. Lester, "Textual Iconicity in Deuteronomy"; Karel van der Toorn, "The Iconic Book: Analogies between the Babylonian Cult of Images and the Veneration of the Torah," in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and Hte Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Karel Van Der Toorn, CBET 21 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997), 246.

<u>Not Your Fathers' Decalogue</u>

The introduction to the Decalogue in Deut 5:1-5 explicitly notes that the Decalogue is being reset and reactivated. This is especially suggested by the use of deixis in these verses. Such an analysis has already been suggested for other parts of the book of Deuteronomy by Otto, but his proposal can be improved by the application of deictic shift theory.[1123] Otto argues that there are two audiences for Deuteronomy – the one within the narrative and the one addressed by the narrative (that is, the readers or hearers at the time of experiencing the text). Both audiences are explicitly addressed in Deut 5 by means of deictic shift.[1124] References to person, time, and space are utilized to lift the Decalogue from its original setting at Sinai following the Exodus and retarget it at the Israelites preparing to enter Canaan. The most instructive verse in this regard is v. 3, which reads: *ky ʾtnw ʾnḥnw ʾlh ph hywm klnw ḥyym* "rather with us, even us - these here today, all of us living." The composer of this introduction is as explicit as possible here in noting that the Decalogue will function as a monument among a new generation.[1125] The most operative phrase in this verse is *ʾnḥnw ʾlh ph hywm* "we - these here today," which combines personal, spatial, and temporal deictic elements. This phrase deictically focuses the discourse around it on the community imagined by Deuteronomy. Perhaps even more significantly, the vagueness of the deixis used here makes it just as applicable to the reader as to the audience in the narrative.

[1123] Note that the so-called *Numeruswechsel* – whether or not it is intentional as Otto maintains – is precisely a deictic shift and would result in the text in its current form functioning cognitively in a way very similar to Otto's proposal for its hermeneutical function. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:387 ff. Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:940; Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 43–50.

[1124] Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:680–81.

[1125] Otto, 2:681–84.

Though the referents for "here" and "today" can be filled in by other sections of Deuteronomy, the multiplicity of their possible identities ultimately points to intentional vagueness here.

The primary function of the frame in Deut 5:1-5 is to activate a new deictic projection among a new audience. These verses deictically orient the discourse on several levels. First, the discourse in the Decalogue to follow is connected to the new audience through the use of personal deixis. V. 1 reads: *ʾnky dbr bʾznykm hywm* "I am speaking in your hearing today." The verse is stated in terms of 'I' and 'you.' Even though the original text is said to have been given to the ancestors of the current audience, 'they' are not a part of this conversation. This is apparent again from v. 2 where it is stated that the covenant was made *ʿmnw* "with us" but there is no mention of it being made "with them." This retargets the monument manipulation ritual at the Sinai event; the collective there constituted now refers to the generation after the wandering rather than those actually present at Sinai. V. 3 states this in the most explicit terms: *lʾ ʾt-ʾbtynw krt yhwh ʾt hbryt hzʾt ky ʾtnw* "It was not with our fathers that Yahweh made this covenant but with us."[1126] The composer is so insistent that the Decalogue is given to the new audience that he denies it applied to the original audience that received it – the ancestors of the current narrative audience. The Decalogue is thus explicitly meant to constitute the present generation rather than merely those of the past. The methodology employed in this study does not allow us to say anything new about the dating of this text, but this retargeting of the Decalogue to a new generation would be attractive to the preservers of Israelite discourse in Proto-Deuteronomy, the

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[1126] Note that the prepositional phrase *lʾ ʾt-ʾbtynw* "not with our fathers" is fronted in this clause, emphasizing the recontextualization of the Decalogue even more.

creators of a Judahite Decalogue within Deuteronomic discourse, or the Deuteronomistic editors reapplying the Decalogue to the post-monarchic communities.[1127]

The introduction to the Decalogue in Deut 5 also utilizes temporal deixis in order to blend the past and the present. It repeatedly makes clear that the Horeb event took place in the past and yet Yahweh is speaking in the present. This is apparent in v. 1 in the use of the participle of the verb *dbr* "speaking" and the specification of the time of speaking as *hywm* "today." The discourse is being projected out of the past into the present through the medium of Moses' recitation. As outlined above, v. 3 makes this even more explicit, stating that Yahweh is speaking to ʾnḥnw ʾlh ph hywm klnw ḥyym "we who are here *today*, all of us *living*." The composer reiterates that the covenant is being made "today" and that it is with the living rather than with their ancestors in the past.

Finally, spatial deixis is used to create an encounter with Yahweh. V. 3 asserts that Yahweh is speaking to ʾnḥnw ʾlh ph "we who are *here*," referencing the current setting of the discourse. But v. 4 goes on to assert *pnym bpnym dbr yhwh ʿmkm bhr* "face to face, Yahweh spoke with *you* on the mountain." Not only are the past and present times blended but the past and present locations as well. Yahweh spoke from the mountain, but he is speaking to the audience "here." The result is an imagined encounter with Yahweh triggered by the discourse. The audience is not at Horeb and they may not even be the same audience that was imagined at Horeb, and yet the composer asserts that Yahweh is speaking to them "here" and "face to face on the mountain." Clearly the Decalogue has been reset spatially. It is now treated as a text that could move, rather than one rooted at Horeb. But this section leaves unanswered the question of

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[1127] Otto assigns this frame specifically to the Deuteronomists. Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:680.

where it moved. To answer this question, we must consider the immediate context of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy in concert with a broader look at the spatial setting of the book. This will reveal that the Decalogue was reset several times in the course of its integration into Deuteronomy.

From Sinai to Horeb

The quandary surrounding the relationship between Sinai and Horeb has as yet defied most scholarly attempts to disentangle them.[1128] To attempt to do so here would go far beyond the scope of the present study. For the purpose of analyzing the Decalogue in Deuteronomy, only a few summary comments are necessary. First, it is important to note that the traditions are entangled. Whatever the origins of the Sinai and Horeb traditions, they were ultimately combined and later reception did not differentiate them significantly in terms of location.[1129] Furthermore, Horeb appears only once within the Deuteronomic Code itself.[1130] All the other appearances are in the Paranetic frame and the Moab covenant in Deut 28, both of which are

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[1128] For general reviews of this topic with references, see Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Origins of Biblical Israel*, 38, 233 N. 16; Sarna, *Exodus Commentary*, 14; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 420, 526 N. 28-29.

[1129] In fact, this entanglement may have been intentional to smooth over early contrasting traditions of the mountain of God. Source critical models assign Sinai to P and J and Horeb to E and D. The narratives surrounding these mountains, however, also suggest that they were originally in different locations, and this may be dependent upon the place of origin of these traditions. For instance, texts generally considered to interact with northern traditions seem to place Yahweh's mountain considerably further east than the traditional location of Sinai. At the same time, most texts associated with the north refer to the mountain of God as Horeb rather than Sinai. The only exceptions to this are in Judges 5:4, Psalm 68:7, and Deuteronomy 33:2. However, the phrase *zh syny* "the one of Sinai" in Judges 5 and Psalm 68 is most likely to be explained as an exegetical insertion as marked by the deictic particle. Similarly, the break in poetic meter caused by the introduction of Sinai to Deuteronomy 33 suggests that it was a later revision made in an attempt to incorporate Sinai into traditions from the north. Thus the equation of Horeb with Sinai may reveal an attempt to Judahitize Israel's mountain of god traditions. Kingsbury, "The Theophany Topos and the Mountain of God," 209–10; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 83; Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, 24.

[1130] Deut 18:16.

largely assigned to the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic discourse of the book.[1131] Notably, one of these framing appearances – Deut 5:2 – does explicitly set the Decalogue at Horeb. As noted above, some of this framing material may be Proto-Deuteronomic and thus Horeb would reflect the origin of this material in Israel. However, the continued use of Horeb in Deuteronomy 1, 4, and 28 – which were almost certainly composed in the context of the Judahite monarchy or later – suggest that the southern inheritors of this tradition were perfectly willing to develop it. Sinai, on the other hand, occurs only once in Deuteronomy in chapter 33 – a chapter which may represent a legitimately ancient northern Israelite tradition but which is usually considered a secondary addition to the book of Deuteronomy.[1132] Sinai is preserved only once in the Deuteronomistic History in Judges 5, which is widely regarded as an ancient poem and possibly of Israelite extraction.[1133] Though these occurrences of Sinai are thought to be later additions to these poems, it is curious that these additions only occur in very old texts.[1134] The move to Horeb

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[1131] Deut 1:2, 6, 19; 4:10,15; 5:2; 9:8; 28:69.

[1132] G. Ernest Wright, "Deuteronomy: Introduction and Exegesis," in *Interpreter's Bible 2*, n.d., 527 f. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 512; Gary A. Rendsburg, "Israelian Hebrew Features in Deuteronomy 33," in *Mishneh Todah: Studies In Deuteronoy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, ed. Nili Sacher Fox, David A. Glatt-Gilad, and Michael J. Williams (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 167–83.

[1133] Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 64–69.

[1134] The insertion of Sinai into archaic poems may be an indication the equation with Horeb happened very early, perhaps even before the transmission of Israelite materials to Judah. Fleming argues that the mountain of God tradition as a whole may originate in the north. He notes that Horeb occurs mostly in E and D while Sinai appears in J and P in the Pentateuch. If Greer is correct about the northern and particularly Danite origin of some strata of P, the conflation of Sinai and Horeb may be the result of an attempt to combine competing Israelite traditions. In this scenario, Judah inherits rather than perpetrates the conflation. Fleming, 116 N. 4; Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?"; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P"; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*.

may thus in part be due to geographical concerns, but there is also a historical dimension to this shift as Horeb seems to be the preferred term in later strata of Deuteronomy even if it may have originated in earlier traditions.[1135]

Sinai and Horeb are most significantly differentiated, however, in terms of motion. While the locations were ultimately conflated, movement narratives were apparently harmonized rather than overlaid. Sinai is consistently the target of Israel's motion in the Pentateuch; Horeb is consistently the source.[1136] The tradition of the mountain of God as the source of a march to battle is a trope typically encountered in archaic hymns to Yahweh.[1137] As a cosmic boundary within the narrative of Exodus, however, Sinai is primarily a target. It is a conspicuous landmark for the Israelites to reach as they complete their march out of Egypt, and Yahweh must descend upon it to meet them there. Whatever traditions might lie behind Sinai and Horeb, the names may be ultimately symbolic. Sinai is where the Israelites ended their march out of Egypt. Horeb is where they began their wilderness wandering or their march into Canaan. This is likely why Deuteronomy is attached to Horeb rather than Sinai. The composer is resetting the Decalogue at a location from which the Israelites begin their march into new territory. The implication of

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[1135] It may be the case that with the insertion of Sinai into older Israelite traditions, its resultant equation with Horeb nullified the need to replace other occurrences of the name. Instead, a later audience would understand that Horeb and Sinai now referred to the same place.

[1136] Out of 30 total occurrences in the Pentateuch, Sinai is the target of motion nine times (Ex 16:1; 19:1, 11, 18, 20, 23; 24:16; 34:2, 4), while it is the source of motion only four times (Ex 34:29; Num 10:12; 33:15; Deut 33:2). Sinai appears only 4 more times in the biblical corpus (Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9, 18; Neh 9:13). Out of 12 occurrences in the Pentateuch, Horeb is the target of motion only once (Ex 3:1), while it is the source of motion four times (Ex 33:6; Deut 1:2, 6, 19). In the remaining instances, each mountain is in a locative construction. Horeb appears only five more times in the biblical corpus (1 Kgs 8:9, 19:8; Mal 3:22; Ps 106:19; 2 Chr 5:10).

[1137] This is the tradition underlying Sinai as the source of motion in Deuteronomy 33:2 and it may lie behind the Israelite march from Horeb as well. See Judges 5:4 and Hab 3:3 for other examples. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 84 N. 29.

Horeb is that the Israelites are entering Canaan and have to bring the land under Yahweh's control. The Decalogue at Sinai was a memory of victory. The Decalogue at Horeb is a promise of conquest.

The fact that Horeb continues to appear in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic materials in the book may be telling about this shift. These strata were produced during and after the ascendancy of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its successor states. The connection to the conquest narrative suggested by Horeb may have been a much more attractive spatial setting for Deuteronomy and the Decalogue than was Sinai in this case. Sinai preserved a 10th-9th century monument-making practice – the setting of a monument on a cosmic boundary suggesting the furthest extent of a king's domain. Horeb suggests the setting of a monument more akin to the Assyrian monuments of the late 8th and especially the 7th century, which marked new territorial acquisitions as the empire expanded.[1138] Yahweh and his Israel are thus recast from king and country to conqueror and empire, an attractive change given the shifts in monumentalization practices in evidence in the cultures surrounding Israel at the time.

As the ritual system depicted at Sinai appears to align with that of Dan, one wonders whether the Horeb tradition was a means of dislocating the Decalogue from that locale as well. If Proto-Deuteronomic discourse does in fact reconfigure Israelite identity in response to extern pressures, the Assyrian conquest of Dan in 732 or perhaps even of Samaria in 722 might provide suitable historical settings for this dislocation.[1139] Alternatively, these could suggest periods

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[1138] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135.

[1139] Avraham Biran, "Tel Dan: Biblical Texts and Archaeological Data," in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*, ed. Michael Coogan, J. Cheryl Exum, and Lawrence E. Stager (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 15.

during which traditions from Dan were transferred to other regions of Israel and blended with local traditions, such as those preserved at Bethel or Shechem. Unfortunately, current evidence does not allow us to speak of this transferal with any exactitude. While we can ultimately only speculate about this motivation, the prevalence of Shechem in Deuteronomy may reveal a real attempt to locate divine authority in a different city of the northern kingdom. Of course, one must also consider the possibility that the Shechem and Horeb traditions are entirely separate, and the connection to Horeb post-dates Proto-Deuteronomy.[1140]

From Horeb to Shechem

The Deuteronomic law code seems to have been initially imagined in a setting at or near Shechem.[1141] While this location is never explicitly connected to the Decalogue per se, there are a number of features that suggest an implicit connection or that may have facilitated one. The Deuteronomic Code makes nine references to an inscription of Yahweh.[1142] The framing materials make the location of this inscription explicit. In Deut 11:29, Yahweh commands the Israelites *ntth ʾt-hbrkh ʿl-hr grzym wʾt-hqllh ʿl-hr ʿybl* "you shall set the blessing on Mount Gerizim and the curse on Mount Ebal." In at least one other instance – Lev 24:1 – the verb *ntn* is

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[1140] Otto, for example, proposes that the Horeb frame is an exilic composition. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:170–72.

[1141] von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 26–40; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 57; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 7–8, 100.

[1142] See Deut 12:5, 11, 21; 14:23, 24; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2. Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 344–45. This inscription is always referred to as Yahweh's name, perhaps facilitating a direct connection to the Decalogue which refers to Yahweh's inscription using the same terminology in the name commandment. As already discussed, this Deuteronomic phrase *lškn šm* is likely a calque of an Akkadian phrase meaning to set up a monumental inscription. Radner, *Die Macht Des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien Zur Selbsterhaltung*; Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*; Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy"; Richter, "Placing the Name, Pushing the Paradigm: A Decade with the Deuteronomistic Name Formula."

used to describe the erection of a monument, and this is likely the action envisioned here.

Deuteronomy 27:1-8 makes this action explicit in its command to set up stones on Mount Ebal and inscribe them. Notably, the same installation is duplicated at Shechem itself in the Deuteronomistic History in Josh 8:30-35.[1143] Especially given the similarity of the described objects to those encountered in Ex 24:3-8 in addition to Deut 27:5-7's explicit allusion to the altar law in Ex 20:24-25, this would seem to recapitulate the installation described at Sinai in Exodus 24.[1144] The explicit connections to Exodus here and chapters 20 and 24 in particular make it apparent that the inscriptions on the mountains overlooking Shechem included both the Decalogue and the Deuteronomic Code. Nevertheless, these installations do not appear to afford quite the same meaning as that imagined at Sinai. Rather, they reveal a significant shift in monumentality that may be applied to the Decalogue by association with the Deuteronomic law code.

The setting of Deuteronomy at Shechem reveals the greatest continuity between the Decalogue in Exodus and Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy 27, the monumental text is set on a mountain – Ebal in the Masoretic Text but Gerizim in the Samaritan Pentateuch and possibly the Old Greek as well.[1145] Furthermore, this mountain shrine consists of an altar and monumental

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[1143] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 166; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110.

[1144] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 346–49.

[1145] Schorch understands the Gerizim tradition to be original as opposed to other scholars who see it as secondary. Alternatively, Sandra Richter provides archaeological evidence of a ritual installation on Ebal as evidence that the setting at Ebal is original and reflective of a real shrine. Stefan Schorch, "The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy and the Origin of Deuteronomy," in *Samaria, Samarians, Samaritans: Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics*, ed. József Zsengellér, Studia Samaritana 6 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 28; Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy."

stones, just like the installation in Ex 24:3-8. These stones are explicitly inscribed in Deuteronomy 27, whereas the inscription may not necessarily be on the stones in Ex. 24. Also, these stones are no longer referred to as *maṣṣebot*, which may either reflect dependence on Joshua or the disavowal of this monumental form in later tradition.[1146] Nevertheless, the setting of the text in Deuteronomy 27 appears to largely duplicate the setting of the text in Exodus 24. The monumental installation in the environs of Shechem is a republication of the Sinai installation. This does not mean their monumentalities are the same, however.

There are several key differences between the Sinai installation and the shrine at Shechem. As already mentioned, the stones are explicitly inscribed at Shechem. Furthermore, they are inscribed by means of writing on plaster. This method of inscription is known from Deir Alla, Kuntillet Ajrud, and Arad. While this practice may have been more widespread, it seems largely oriented towards the south, as opposed to northern practices of incision or relief carving.[1147] Most significantly, however, this is no longer a peripheral boundary monument like the one at Sinai. The installation at Shechem – in its present contexts – is a conquest monument. Its erection marks the extension of Yahweh's domain into new territory.[1148] It does not mark – like the Sinai installation – the cosmic limit of Yahweh's domain.

[1146] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 108–15.

[1147] Note that incised inscriptions are also present in the southern Levant, such as those from Moab and Jerusalem. Plaster inscriptions have not been uncovered in the northern Levant. These distributions may be an accident of discovery at this point, however. Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 359–61; Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 79; Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 101–2.

[1148] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 362–63.

In addition, the monument at Shechem is centralized rather than a strict boundary marker. As discussed in the third chapter, Levantine monuments came to be limited to installation in city acropoleis and cultic centers during the 8th century. There are nearly no boundary monuments attested from the region during this time apart from the Neo-Assyrian exemplars. The resetting of the Decalogue at Shechem or one of the mountains neighboring it likely reflects this shift in monumentality. Even with the mountain setting maintained, Ebal was likely the location of a shrine as was Shechem. This connection to a specific shrine was likely what was intended by the discourse of Proto-Deuteronomy. Ebal was not intended – as was Sinai – as a mountain marking a cosmic boundary on the edge of Yahweh's territory. Rather, Ebal served as an effective means to survey all the surrounding territory. As the highest mountain in the immediate region, it was an attractive location for a central monument marking new territorial acquisition.[1149]

If Deuteronomy 27 is to be taken as part of Proto-Deuteronomy, as Sandra Richter suggests, then this reveals a significant shift in the Decalogue's monumentality in this composition that would facilitate further evolutions.[1150] On the one hand, the author(s) of Proto-Deuteronomy are creating a monumental installation that has an east-west orientation and ultimately southern Israelite provenance,[1151] perhaps representing the incorporation of Transjordanian literary traditions or a growing emphasis on Shechem or Bethel as opposed to

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[1149] Richter, 362–63.

[1150] Richter, 366.

[1151] It is possible that the southern portion of the northern kingdom is to be identified with the "Joseph" people in the Hebrew Bible, which appears to comprise a distinct group connected to particular literary traditions. Goulder, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch*, 27; Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 315.

Dan.[1152] In parallel, this suggests the combination of traditions surrounding the patriarch Jacob

with those associated with the Exodus.[1153] It also reflects changes in monumentality known from

the surrounding region in the 8th and 7th centuries. Cosmic boundary monuments had ceased to

be produced at this point. Monuments inscribed in Northwest Semitic dialects were now limited

to centralized monuments in cult centers and palaces. The Assyrian monuments to be witnessed

in the region were now markers of territorial expansion rather than cosmic boundaries. Proto-

Deuteronomy thus updated the monumentality of the Decalogue in the context of creating a

monumental Deuteronomic law code to reflect these movements. This spatial deployment would

remain in force in the Deuteronomic discourse of the book as well, but an additional shift in

monumentality was affected by this. These monumental texts – though centralized – were now

clearly portable as evidenced by the ability to reproduce them in new contexts. This is perhaps

most clearly taken advantage of in Deuteronomic discourse's movement of the text to Jerusalem.

From Shechem to Jerusalem

Ever since De Wette first proposed that Deuteronomy was the scroll discovered during

the reign of Josiah in the Jerusalem temple, scholars have operated under the assumption that the

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[1152] Daniel Fleming suggests the connection to Shechem and a conquest beginning in the Transjordan may reflect the incorporation of originally Transjordanian traditions. On the other hand, the proximity of Shechem to Bethel and the possibility of an ancient pilgrimage route between the two sites may explain the Israelite emphasis on the site. Bethel may very well have been a location for the compilation of many Israelite literary materials before their later transfer to Judah. It also featured prominently in the proto-Deuteronomic prophets: Amos and Hosea. Hosea renders a significant critique of Bethel, so the proto-Deuteronomic emphasis on Shechem may represent a look back to an older, purer cult site. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 116–17, 314–21; Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity*, 23.

[1153] Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel*, 140.

book or at least one edition of it was set there.[1154] However, recent research has cast doubt on this reconstruction, and more evidence must be adduced to locate Deuteronomy within Jerusalem.[1155] There is undoubtedly more research to be done in this area and a full treatment of shadows of Jerusalem in Deuteronomy would go beyond the scope of this study, but a few key points will serve to illustrate a Jerusalemite setting for the Deuteronomic discourse of the book. Specifically, Deuteronomy's references to the Holiness Code, to the chosen place for Yahweh's name, and to the Ark of the Covenant all suggest a reimagining of the monumental texts depicted in Deuteronomy as having been moved to Jerusalem.

First, as already discussed above, Deuteronomy suggests a Jerusalemite setting through its use of the Holiness Code to couch some of its exegesis of the Decalogue. Though Deuteronomy's use of E, the Decalogue, the Covenant Code, and even portions of P are likely best explained in light of its northern origin, the Holiness Code was a southern legal code.[1156] Holiness language must have entered Deuteronomy when it was edited in Judah. This is one of

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[1154] de Wette, *Beiträge Yur Einleitung in Das Alte Testament*, 170 ff.

[1155] Lowery, *The Reforming Kings: Cults and Society in First Temple Judah*; Ben Zvi, "Prelude to a Reconstruction of Historical Manassic Judah"; Stavrakopoulou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities*; Knauf, "The Glorious Days of Manasseh"; Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book"; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*; Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*.

[1156] Jenks, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions*; Coote, *In Defense of Revolution: The Elohist History*; McCurley Jr., "The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory," 304; Patrick, "The Covenant Code Source," 156–57; Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan?"; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*; Greer, "The 'Priestly Portion' in the Hebrew Bible Considered in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context and Implications for the Composition of P"; Greer, "The Relative Antiquity and Northern Orientation of the Priestly Altar Tradition in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds and Its Importance in the Composition of P"; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, 1349; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 18.

the few pieces of evidence that even allows us to read a Jerusalemite setting for the Decalogue in particular, as the modifications to the Sabbath commandment as well as the interpretation of the name commandment in Deuteronomy 6 were carried out in part using material from the Holiness Code. This material Judahitized the Decalogue and Deuteronomy and hinted at a new setting for these texts in Judah's national shrine in Jerusalem.

Second, cult centralization and in particular the choice of a place for the name of Yahweh have often been seen as evidences for the setting of the book in Jerusalem. However, given that centralization was a more general tendency among the Levantine states of the 8th and 7th centuries and that the place of the name in Deuteronomy is likely Shechem, these evidences too cannot be taken uncritically as proof of the book's Jerusalemite provenance.[1157] Nevertheless, Jerusalem certainly became the cult center referred to as the place of the name, and this is apparent in the editorial strata of Deuteronomy as well as in the Deuteronomistic History. Sandra Richter argues that there is a tacit understanding in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History that the place of the name could change. In fact, if the name refers metonymically to a conquest monument, its place should naturally change as Yahweh's territory was extended further into the land.[1158] A similar tradition may lie behind the ark narrative in 2 Samuel 6, where

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[1157] Deuteronomy's supposed fixation on centralization may reflect an increasing tendency toward the central location of identity formation materializations – including monuments and rituals – in the Levant in the 8th and 7th centuries especially. Given that this trend has been recognized in the remains of 8th century Israel, there is no need to assign the centralization formula to Judah in particular, though centralization was certainly increasingly important in Deuteronomy's later Judahite context. Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy"; Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–31; Greer, *Dinner at Dan: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance*, 133–36; Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 132 ff.

[1158] See especially Richter on the movable place of the name. See Shafer on the parallel function of 8th and 7th century Assyrian monuments to mark new territorial acquisitions. Richter, "The Place of the Name in

David's conquest of Jerusalem and subsequent movement of the ark there is presented as a completion of Yahweh's conquest of Canaan.[1159] The movement to Jerusalem may have also been by historical circumstances. After the Assyrians conquered Israel, Yahweh's primary territory became Judah and its center at Jerusalem. The place of his name – his monumental inscription – thus moved accordingly.

Apart from building on this implicit understanding of Yahweh's inscriptions as portable, the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic expressions of the name theology also connect it to election. That is, Jerusalem is not just the place for Yahweh's name in the Deuteronomistic History, but rather it is the location that Yahweh *chose* for his name to be placed.[1160] This same language of choosing a place for the name is present within Deuteronomy itself. R. E. Clements argued that this connection of the name theology to election represented an adaption of the concept of the place of the name to better fit the state ideology of Judah, which was founded on the divine election of the Davidic dynasty.[1161] Furthermore, the connection of this concept in Deuteronomy to the election of the people of Yahweh and his gift of the land to them represent

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Deuteronomy," 366; Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135.

[1159] Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*, 11:139; Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," 82–83.

[1160] The Deuteronomic Code regularly alludes to Yahweh's choosing a place for his name. See Deut 12:5, 21; 14:24; 26:2. The Deuteronomistic History explicitly connects this with the election of David in 1 Kings 11:36.

[1161] Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," 303–4; William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 83 ff.

Judahite additions to an originally Israelite tradition.[1162] While the place of Yahweh's name was likely originally Shechem, the *chosen* place for Yahweh's name was Jerusalem by virtue of its connection to this Davidic ideology.

Finally, the book of Deuteronomy and especially the Decalogue were relocated to Jerusalem by virtue of their connection with the Ark of the Covenant. The Deuteronomic paraenesis suggests that the Ten Words – likely the Decalogue and no longer the small Covenant Code – were inscribed on tablets and placed in the ark.[1163] The Deuteronomic expansion of the covenant scene in Deut 31 implies that the code was inscribed on a scroll and then set beside the ark, paralleling the literary placement of the Decalogue before the Deuteronomic Code within the book.[1164] All of these references to the ark are undoubtedly Judahite additions to the book.[1165]

[1162] Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," 305–7.

Note that the election of Zion and the Davidic dynasty were also apparently inserted into Psalm 20 and 78, both of which are thought to have originated in Israel. This kind of editorial work intended to Judahitize Israelite texts is thus attested outside of Deuteronomy as well. Clements, 304 N. 1; Goulder, "Asaph's History of Israel (Elohist Press, Bethel, 725 BCE)," 72–73; Karel Van Der Toorn, "Psalm 20 and Amherst Papyrus 63, XII, 11-19: A Case Study of a Text in Transit," in *Le-Ma'an Ziony: Essays in Honor of Ziony Zevit*, ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn and Gary A. Rendsburg (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2016), 253; Van Der Toorn, "Celebrating the New Year with the Israelites: Three Extrabiblical Psalms from Papyrus Amherst 63," 636–37.

[1163] Deut 10:1-5.

[1164] Deut 31 is likely a composite appendix to Deuteronomy and may consist of both Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic strata. There is some debate regarding the identification of "this Torah" or "this book of the Torah" in Deut 31. Especially given similar references in Deut 17 and 29, it can safely be assumed that "this Torah" is the Deuteronomic Code. See Blum for a discussion of the different options. See also the work of Brian Britt for a potential connection between the reference to Torah and the genres of monumental writing. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 503–5; Brian Britt, "Deuteronomy 31-32 as a Textual Memorial," *Biblical Interpretation* 8, no. 4 (2000): 358–74; Erhard Blum, "Pentateuch - Hexateuch - Enneateuch? Or: How Can One Recognize a Literary Work in the Hebrew Bible?," in *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch: Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Thomas Römer, and Konrad Schmid (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 58–62; Lester, "Textual Iconicity in Deuteronomy."

[1165] Von Rad understood the references to the ark to be secondary supplementations to the frame of the book of Deuteronomy, a view which I adopt here. Alternatively, Clements and Fretheim believe the references to the ark are original and perhaps written by Israelites hoping to reform the Jerusalemite cult surrounding the ark. This view is

The ark was primarily a fixture of the Jerusalemite cult.[1166] Even if one accepts arguments such as those of Fretheim or Weinfeld that the treatment of the ark in Deuteronomy is subversive and intends to reform the Jerusalemite conception of it, this still assumes that the texts dealing with the ark were added in a Jerusalemite context.[1167] Thus, the fact that the ark is mentioned at all and that it is even made the carrier of the Decalogue and perhaps other elements of Deuteronomy implies a Jerusalemite setting for these texts.

Additionally, the ark implies a mechanism for the movement of the Decalogue and the rest of Deuteronomy to Jerusalem. As opposed to other traditions, the ark in Deuteronomy is merely a tablet box for containing the Decalogue.[1168] As such, the ark essentially became a portable inscribed monument when the Decalogue was placed inside it.[1169] The portability of the Deuteronomic Code is similarly implied when it is written on a scroll and set beside the ark in Deut 31. Thus, even if it was originally set in Shechem or at other shrines, the Decalogue and the

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unlikely given the many references to 8th century monumental rhetoric in the book. In any case, the references to the ark are likely not Deuteronomistic. There is only one potentially Deuteronomistic reference to the ark in Jeremiah 3:16-17, which predicts a time when the ark will no longer be necessary to Yahwistic ritual. von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:188; Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," 301–3; Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy," 2; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 209; Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 133; Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," 79.

[1166] Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," 302; Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," 76.

[1167] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 197–209; Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy."

[1168] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 208.

[1169] See especially Levtow on the ark as a monumental inscription. See Fleming on the ark as a portable ritual object. Levtow, "Monumental Inscriptions and the Ritual Representation of War," 37–38; Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative."

Deuteronomic Code were ultimately carried to Jerusalem. The Deuteronomistic history argues that David was responsible for bringing the ark into the city, and Solomon is given credit for installing it in the Jerusalemite temple.[1170] This explains how Jerusalem became the place Yahweh chose to place his name. Solomon can refer to it thus in his dedication because he has just installed Yahweh's name – his inscription in the ark – in the Jerusalem temple.[1171] The transfer of these texts to Jerusalem was predicated on an understanding of their portability, an understanding that matched conceptions of certain monuments in the 7th century more broadly as we shall see in the aesthetic section. This portability also set the stage for the Decalogue and Deuteronomy to be carried beyond Jerusalem as well.

From Jerusalem to Moab

The Deuteronomistic introduction in Deuteronomy 1-3 as well as the second covenant scene in c. 29 both set the book in Moab.[1172] On a literary level, the setting in Moab served to tie the book of Deuteronomy more closely to both the beginning and end of the Deuteronomistic History, thus creating the widest possible fan concatenation with either end of Deuteronomy leading directly into and from the Deuteronomists' broader vision of history.[1173] At a more

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[1170] See 2 Sam 6 and 1 Kgs 8. Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative," 77.

[1171] 1 Kgs 8:43. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 85–87.

[1172] Otto argues that the setting in Moab should be assigned as a whole to the post-exilic period. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–57; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 228.

[1173] Noth famously proposed that Deut 1-3 was not a new introduction to Deuteronomy but rather to the Deuteronomistic History. In light of recent work on the reframing of texts through introductions as well as the arguments to be presented below, it is perhaps better to conclude that Deut 1-3 and 29 reframed the book of Deuteronomy in order to incorporate it into the Deuteronomistic History. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 29; Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 125–30; Erisman, "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," 788–89; Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab

fundamental level, this new setting took advantage of the portability of the text implied in its

other settings and turned it into something applicable to any generation.

In the first place, the setting of Deuteronomy's discourse in Moab – particularly Moses'

recitation and revision of the Decalogue – moves the wandering Israelite community from the

south end of Canaan, as in Num 27, up around to the east side of the Jordan.[1174] On the one hand,

this geographical shift creates a link between Deuteronomy and the wilderness narratives of the

Tetrateuch. It also facilitates a transition into the conquest narrative of Joshua in particular, in

which the Israelite conquest of Canaan begins from the east.[1175] The setting of Deuteronomy and

some of its key scenes in Moab thus serves to cement a link between Deuteronomy, the

Tetrateuch, and the beginning of the Deuteronomistic history in Joshua. The setting in Moab also

further emphasizes the conquest connotations of the monumental text already created by

association with Horeb.[1176] The appearance of the text in the Transjordan effectively claims that

space as Yahweh's and looks forward to his expansion into Canaan.

Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," 724–26; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 73–75.

[1174] Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 146–53; Erisman, "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," 784–85.

[1175] W. A. Sumner, "Israel's Encounters with Edom, Moab, Ammon, Sihon, and Og According to the Deuteronomist," *Vetus Testamentum* 18, no. 2 (1968): 217; Erisman, "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," 773, 784.

[1176] If Kingsbury is correct in positing that the original location of Horeb was significantly further east than Sinai, the earlier setting of Deuteronomy at Horeb may have accomplished the same purpose. For an alternative to the view of Horeb as an early tradition, see Otto's proposal for an exilic *Horebredaktion*. Kingsbury, "The Theophany Topos and the Mountain of God," 209; Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:231–57; Otto, "The History of the Legal-Religious Hermeneutics of the Book of Deuteronomy from the Assyrian to the Hellenistic Period," 228–29.

Second, the setting in Moab creates a link to the end of the book of Kings. Though the

book of the Torah discovered in 2 Kings 23 may not have originally referred to Deuteronomy, it

certainly came to point back to it in the post-monarchic redaction of the Deuteronomistic

history.[1177] The disaster for the kingdom of Judah in 2 Kings 24-25 can then be read as

fulfillment of the Mosaic prophetic curses in Deuteronomy 29-30. Dominik Markl argues that the

disastrous ending of Kings is intentionally tragic and laconic in order to direct readers to the next

part of the Moab covenant, in which Moses predicts the eventual return to the land. In all

likelihood, this complex of texts was interwoven by the Deuteronomists into the Enneateuch to

create a hopeful expectation for the community's later return to the land.[1178] Like the Israelites in

the narrative of the Moab covenant, the Judeans were now in the east looking towards the land

with expectancy. This link with the end of kings and especially the community in exile granted a

special significance to the setting of Deuteronomy in Moab. The covenant in Moab

simultaneously formed the foundation for Judah's just expulsion from the land as well as their

hope of return.[1179]

[1177] Monroe, *Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text*, 133–37.

[1178] Though Noth's original hypothesis demanded seeing a Deuteronomistic History from Deuteronomy to Kings standing alongside a separate Tetrateuch, there is growing evidence for the insertion of redactional links between the two corpora. In this case, the disastrous end of the book of Kings may point back to the Moab covenant in Deuteronomy. The Moab covenant itself creates a link to the wilderness itineraries in Numbers, thus bridging the two corpora into a possible Enneateuch. For a summary of the competing theories surrounding a Tetrateuch, Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch, see especially the recent chapter by Blum. Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," 726–28; Angela R. Roskop, *The Wilderness Itineraries: Genre, Geography, and the Growth of Torah*, History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant 3 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 205–15; Erisman, "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," 788–89; Blum, "Pentateuch - Hexateuch - Enneateuch? Or: How Can One Recognize a Literary Work in the Hebrew Bible?"

[1179] Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 107–8; Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 142–43; Gerhard von Rad, *Theologie Des Alten Testaments I: Die Theologie Der Geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels* (Munich:

The move to Moab and the resultant connections to conquest and exile had a more far-reaching result than simply cementing the Enneateuch as a literary unity and providing hope to the exilic community.[1180] This cemented the place of Deuteronomy – and the Decalogue in particular as one of the primary performances of the Moab covenant – as a prescription for collective practice that could be kept outside of the land and apart from the monumental contexts imagined by the Proto-Deuteronomic and Deuteronomic discourse in the book. The Moab Covenant transformed the Deuteronomic Code and the Decalogue into texts that could be committed to in any location. The transposition of these texts to Moab thus facilitated the application of these texts to a new generation in exile without specified locations for performing obeisance to their deity. As a result, these texts could now be similarly applied to any future generation as well. This represented a radical and arguably unique shift in the Decalogue's monumentality. It could now afford meaning from any location.

The Meaning Afforded by the Spatial Shifts in Deuteronomy

The radical shift in the spatial dimension of the Decalogue was something unseen in the monuments of the surrounding regions, but it was facilitated by changes in surrounding monumentalities. The Decalogue was originally recast as a conquest monument erected doubly at Horeb and Shechem in Proto-Deuteronomy. This set the stage for it to become a portable conquest monument that could be carried to Jerusalem within Deuteronomic discourse, reestablishing Yahweh's hegemony at that location. The Deuteronomists then took this

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Kaiser, 1957), 332–44; Markl, "No Future without Moses: The Disastrous End of 2 Kings 22-25 and the Chance of the Moab Covenant (Deuteronomy 29-30)," 723–27.

[1180] I use the term Enneateuch here to refer to the Pentateuch and former prophets as they were revised and bridged by the Deuteronomists.

portability to its logical conclusion by transferring the text into the exile by imagining it on the plains of Moab. The Decalogue's dislocation from space was thus affected by the shifting ways monuments moved through space during the Iron Age.

To return to the question that opened this section, where precisely was the "here" of Moses' introduction to the Decalogue in Deut 5:3? Part of the difficulty in answering this question is determining the historical provenance of Deuteronomy. The mention of Horeb in this introduction links back to Israelite traditions at least as old as Proto-Deuteronomy, while its apparent setting in Moab suggests that it may be a Deuteronomistic addition to the book. Regardless, I would argue that this passage itself suggests that the locations within Deuteronomy are meant to be read synchronically. As I argued above, this introduction to the Decalogue has the result of compressing the past and present and "here" with Horeb and all the other locations preserved in Deuteronomy. The audience "alive here today" are invited to see themselves among the Israelites at Sinai, Horeb, Shechem, Jerusalem, and Moab.[1181] Within this understanding, the Decalogue could address anyone anywhere at any time. Thus, the "here" of the introduction may be intentionally ambiguous. It is a proximal deictic particle pointing to the present place of reader rather than a specific locale within the narrative. While "here" may internally refer to the plains of Moab, externally the reader transforms it into wherever and whenever the text is read.

Aesthetic Shifts

As already mentioned above, the original aesthetic support for the Decalogue at Sinai is reproduced in Deuteronomy 27. However, closer examination will reveal that the meaning

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[1181] The function of such deictic shifts has also been noted in Deuteronomy in Otto's analysis of the *Numeruswechsel*. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1-4,43*, 1:387 ff. Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:940.

afforded by this material support had been altered significantly. In subsequent discursive strata, several new supports appear as well, however, and these likely reflect historical shifts in the production of monumental texts. Most significantly, the Decalogue appears to be closely associated with the tablets of the covenant in Deuteronomy. Even if it was not originally intended to be understood as inscribed on the tablets, later tradition made these inextricable. The tablets are subsequently placed in the Ark, which is in Deuteronomy essentially a tablet box further altering the monumentality of its contained text.

The Monumental Installation on Mount Ebal

The monumental installation on Mount Ebal in Deuteronomy 27 is essentially a replica of the Sinai installation. That is, the monumental text is supported by stelae and an altar. The same configuration is repeated again at Gilgal in Josh 4:20 and a similar tradition may lie behind the inscription and stone at Shechem in Josh 24:25-27.[1182] Nevertheless, the account in Deuteronomy 27 reflects quite a different monumentality. Even though the material supports are largely the same in Exodus 24 and Deuteronomy 27 the meaning each affords is different. As Collin Renfrew argued, "continuity in religious practice does not imply lack of change in that practice, and certainly cannot be taken as constancy of meaning."[1183] The first factor to be noted in this regard is that the function of stelae erected in such contexts had changed by the 8th century. While peripheral monuments had earlier marked cosmic boundaries or the furthest extent of a king's territory, during the 8th century this practice disappeared among both the kingdoms of the

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[1182] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 110–11.

[1183] Colin Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, The British School of Archaeology at Athens Supplementary Volume 18 (Oxford: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 5.

Levant and the Neo-Assyrian Empire that likely inspired it. Levantine kings apparently ceased creating new monuments of this type – perhaps due to Assyrian pressure.[1184] The Assyrians themselves used this type of monument for a new purpose – the marking of new territorial acquisitions.[1185] This is apparently the intended function of the installation on Mount Ebal. This was a conquest monument marking the extension of Yahweh's territory into Canaan beginning with Shechem.[1186]

In addition to becoming a conquest monument, the stelae in Deuteronomy 27 are also no longer called *maṣṣebot* but rather *ʾbnym.* This fact could be unimportant for the argument presented here, but it may be a reflection of the broader history of monuments in ancient Israel and Judah specifically. *Maṣṣebot* ceased to be used in ancient Israel and Judah at the end of the 8th century.[1187] This practice was actually specifically disavowed in the Hebrew Bible itself – once in Mic 5:12 and again in Lev 26:1. The disavowal in Leviticus occurs in the Holiness Code which has a clearly established relationship with Deuteronomy and may suggest a Judahite provenance for this shift.[1188] Micah similarly points towards a Judahite context for the

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[1184] Ann Shafer, "The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1998), 32–33; Yamada, "Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Chronographic-Literary Styles and the King's Portrait," 44.

[1185] Shafer, "Assyrian Royal Monuments on the Periphery: Ritual and the Making of Imperial Space," 135.

[1186] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 362–63.

[1187] Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 115.

[1188] The specific relationship between the   and Deuteronomic writings is disputed. The view accepted here is that some Holiness activity predated the Judahite acquisition of proto-Deuteronomy and influenced subsequent Deuteronomic discourse in the book. For more scholarship along these lines, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 180–83; Bettenzoli, "Deuteronomium Und Heiligkeitsgesetz"; Alexander Rofé, *Introduction to Deuteronomy: Part I and Further Chapters*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1988), 16; Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*, 203; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, 1357; Monroe,

categorical disavowal of *maṣṣebot*.[1189] In the Deuteronomistic History, the Omrides specifically are faulted for having erected *maṣṣebot* while the Nimshides are depicted destroying them.[1190] If this account reflects an actual Israelite source or an accurate Judahite portrayal of Israelite history, we might hazard the suggestion that the change in term in Deuteronomy 27 reflected a shift in monuments in Israel during the 8th century.[1191] Alternatively, the avoidance of the term *maṣṣebot* may reflect Judahite editorial work on the chapter, or else *ʾbnym* may simply be used as a synonym.

Most significantly, the stones on Mount Ebal are now explicitly inscribed – the implication being that they contain the content of Proto-Deuteronomy or at least the Deuteronomic Code in some form and the Decalogue by association. The change in function facilitated by this difference was well described by Dennis McCarthy:

> "…there are steles connected with the covenant rites in Ex 24, 4, and while the function is undefined surely this is a reflex of the idea of stele as witness. In these cases the stone

Josiah's Reform and the Dynamics of Defilement: Israelite Rites of Violence and the Making of a Biblical Text, 18–19. For scholarship advancing the opposite direction of influence, see Cholewinski, *Heiligkeitsgesetz Und Deuteronomium: Eine Vergleichende Studie*; Levinson, "The Birth of the Lemma," 630–33; Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah*.

[1189] Bloch-Smith, "Will the Real Massebot Please Stand Up: Cases of Real and Mistakenly Identified Standing Stones in Ancient Israel," 65.

[1190] See 2 Kgs 3:2; 10:26-27. Note also that the Covenant Code (Ex 23:24) and Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12:2-3) – both of which originated in the north – specifically forbid *maṣṣebot* to other gods but not the practice in general. Only in the Holiness Code (Lev 26:1) – a southern law code – is the practice of *maṣṣebot* categorically forbidden. Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," 109–10.

[1191] Campbell, Halpern, Lemaire, and Knapp have argued that the accounts of the Omrides and Jehu's reforms were probably composed and redacted by Nimshide apologists in the northern kingdom. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Samuel 1-2Kings 10)*, 107–10; Baruch Halpern and André Lemaire, "The Composition of Kings," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. Baruch Halpern, André Lemaire, and M. Adams, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 129 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 123–53; Knapp, *Royal Apologetic in the Ancient Near East*, 60.

itself functions as witness and there is no mention of its being inscribed. On the other hand, in Dt 27 the witness idea has fallen in to the background and the stones serve to record the document. This change of function could simply be a reflection of Israel's urge in its later days to find a written guarantee for the continuity of its traditions. However, certain aspects of the treaty tradition indicate that there is more to it than this…It is easy to conceive this concern's being developed in the direction of a monumental record, more impressive, more enduring and endowed with numinous qualities. Nor is this just speculation. That is exactly what we have at Sfiré."[1192]

Essentially, McCarthy noted that the account in Deuteronomy 27 reflected a later monumentality rooted in the history of monuments of the surrounding region. Though earlier traditions of "I am" monuments and their support by stelae and *maṣṣebot* in particular gave rise the original account in Exodus 24, the duplicate in Deuteronomy 27 was borrowing significant aspects from the monumentality of lapidary treaties in the Levant – a factor that would influence later material supports for the Decalogue as well.

The text on the stelae in Deuteronomy 27 is clearly connected to a loyalty oath ceremony, which would usually be carried out with a monumental treaty or contract. McCarthy explicitly connects the stelae in Deuteronomy 27 to the Sefire treaties also inscribed on stelae. He concludes that the practice of writing treaties on stelae must have been a "West Semitic" or better a Syrian practice that lay behind the text in Deuteronomy.[1193] This connection is even more attractive today since some of the curses of Deuteronomy 27-28 that cannot be explained through connections to the Assyrian treaty traditions are clearly parallel with curses known from

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[1192] McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 126.

[1193] McCarthy, 162.

Sefire and other West Semitic contexts.[1194] The relationship between Deuteronomy and the monumental tradition in evidence at Sefire is thus quite likely, but can this tradition truly be said to be Syrian or Levantine on the basis of one example? Thankfully, Sefire is no longer the only example of a treaty text inscribed on a stele. We have also the examples of CEKKE,[1195] KARKAMIŠ A4a,[1196] and TÜNP 1[1197] from Carchemish as well as BULGARMADEN[1198] and KARABURUN[1199] from Tabal in Southeastern Anatolia.[1200] This is still a small set of exemplars, but they do allow us to state confidently that the practice of erecting lapidary treaties and contracts was not limited to Sefire. Moreover, these suggest that this practice was actually part of the monumental discourse of the wider Levant. Most significantly, the examples of CEKKE and BULGARMADEN introduce the lapidary contract with an "I am" inscription. The monumentality of lapidary treaties and contracts apparently could easily be combined with that of "I am" inscriptions, and both likely functioned by materializing the agent and his ideology. It

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[1194] Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28."

[1195] Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:143 ff.

[1196] Though not quite a stele, this inscription was nonetheless carved on a basalt drum. Hawkins, Volume I:151 ff.

[1197] Hawkins, Volume I:154 ff.

[1198] BULGARMADEN is technically a rock inscription, though such monuments were typically favored over stelae in Tabal. Hawkins, Volume I:521 ff.

[1199] Like BULGARMADEN, KARABURUN is a rock inscription. Hawkins, Volume I:480 ff.

[1200] It may be worth noting that both Carchemish and Tabal were known to biblical authors. E.g. Isa 10:9; 66:19.

comes as no surprise then that the Decalogue was combined with such discourse in the context of Deuteronomy.

It is also important to note that the practice of erecting lapidary treaties and contracts is very limited in terms of its historical scope. All of the examples enumerated above date to the 8th century. Treaties from both before and after this century were exclusively inscribed on tablets. Only in the Levant in the 8th century was there a short-lived transition to monumentalizing treaties with stelae.[1201] This adds some new evidence to the argument that Proto-Deuteronomic discourse preserves some 8th century traditions from Israel. The depicted monumentality of the installation on Mount Ebal is limited to the 8th century Levantine practice of treaties monumentalized with stelae.

To summarize, the installation on Mount Ebal depicted in Deut 27 is perhaps best to be described as a frontier monument, using the language of the CEKKE inscription.[1202] It is a peripheral monument explicitly connected to the text of a covenant. On the one hand, it marks a new territorial acquisition as Israel expands into Canaan under Yahweh's direction. On the other, it reestablishes the relationship between Yahweh and his Israelite subjects within this new territory. Both of these functions result from the Ebal installation's materialization of an

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[1201] The only potential comparatives to this come from 13th century Egypt and 9th century Babylonia. The Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses III and Ḫattušili II was carved on the walls of the Temple of Amon in the 13th century. In addition to this example, a portion of a lapidary treaty between Šamši-Adad V and Marduk-zakir-šumi was discovered in the library of Aššurbanipal but is thought to have originated in Babylonia. However, it is difficult to tell whether this piece of stone originally belonged to a stele or not. Neither of these developments lead to the emergence of standardized practices, however. Amnon Altman, "How Many Treaty Traditions Existed in the Ancient Near East?," in *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, ed. Yoram Cohen et al. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 30.

[1202] See §15 of CEKKE: *a-wa/i* FINES-*ha+ra/i-ia(-)ta-sa ha-za-mi-na* "We engrave frontier stelae." Transcription and translation follow Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:146.

imagined encounter with Yahweh. Thus, Yahweh can be present in his new territory and propose social relations to his followers yet again as they take up residence there. Historically, this shift to the monumentality of the Decalogue served to update it with monumental discourse more in keeping with the monuments of the 8th century.

The Tablets of Stone

The connection of the texts in Deuteronomy to traditions surrounding monumental treaties continued in the Deuteronomic discourse of the book, but the material support necessarily changed as the form of treaties changed in the Levant in the 7th century. During the 7th century, Neo-Assyrian *tuppi adê* monuments appear to have superseded treaty-stelae in the Levant. Though the only Levantine exemplar of such a treaty is the version of EST discovered at Tell Tayinat, it is theorized that such *tuppi adê* – perhaps even EST in particular – were set up in other cities in the Levant as well. Certainly, EST was set up in multiple provinces including the one based at Tell Tayinat, within the Assyrian heartland, and in various regions of Media. Whether such a *tuppi adê* was set up in Judah is impossible to prove, but it seems likely given the direct interaction with language known from EST in the Judahite strata of Deuteronomy. The monumentality of Neo-Assyrian *tuppi adê* likely lies behind the evolution of the tablets of stone in the book of Deuteronomy as well.[1203]

When the tablets of stone first appeared in the book of Exodus, they probably did not contain the Decalogue. Rather, their use as a literary device in the *inclusio* framing the

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[1203] Steymans, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," 9–11.

instructions for building the tabernacle suggests that they contained those instructions.[1204] Only

in Ex 34:28 is it specified that the new tablets of stone contained *ʿśrt hdbrym* "the Ten Words,"

and this may be a later Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic addition to the chapter.[1205] Whether or

not the reference to the Ten Words in Ex 34:28 is a later addition, in that context the title clearly

refers to the so-called Ritual Decalogue or small Covenant Code also contained in the

chapter.[1206] It was perhaps this connection to the small Covenant Code and by extension the large

Covenant Code that facilitated the connection of the "Ten Words" to the Deuteronomic Code, in

which these texts were revised.

The "Ten Words" are only mentioned twice in Deuteronomy, both times in connection

with the two tablets of stone.[1207] The first appearance is in chapter 4 and is Deuteronomistic.

Given that chapter's fixation on exegesis of the Decalogue, it is highly likely that the phrase "the

Ten Words" had by that time come to refer to the Decalogue of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5.

But was this direct connection made before the Deuteronomists made it explicit? This is

possible, but it depends on how one dates the reference to the Ten Words in Deut 10:4, where

they are explicitly written on the tablets of stone again. The material in chapters 5-11 is generally

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[1204] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 129.

[1205] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 615–16.

[1206] Kaufmann and Greenberg, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, 166; Weinfeld, "The Ban on the Canaanites in the Biblical Codes and Its Historical Development," 142; Bright, *A History of Israel*, 142, 164–66.

[1207] Deut 4:13; 10:4.

taken to be older than that in 1-4 with some verses excepted.[1208] The material from 9:7-10:11 is

regarded by many scholars to be a later addition to this material on the basis of its switch in

pronominal number from singular to plural.[1209] There is another possibility, however. Wright and

Lohfink understood the change in pronoun as merely an internal marker of the switch between

narrative and direct address.[1210] Otto goes even further in suggesting that the change in number

was a poetic device meant to bracket this specific unit of text. He argues that the change in

number represents an internal change in addressees from the generation at Horeb to the

generation preparing to enter the land.[1211] Though this proposal is not uncontroversial, it is

attractive given the use of similar deictic shifts elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as well as in

Levantine inscriptions that were discussed in the previous chapters. Various shifts in pronouns

were typical poetic devices for refocusing the audience's attention. Though Otto understood this

section as Deuteronomistic, the use of this poetic device suggests a pre-exilic date. Terrence

Fretheim maintains that this section should be dated to the promulgation of the Judahite version

of the book in Jerusalem in the 7th century.[1212] Even if this section is to be regarded as

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[1208] J. G. McConville and J. G. Millar, *Time and Place in Deuteronomy*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 179 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 17–18 with references.

[1209] E.g. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 17; G. Minette de Tillesse, "Sections 'Tu' et Sections 'Vous' Dans Le Deuteronome," *Vetus Testamentum* 12 (1962): 29–87; von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:832; Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 169–78.

[1210] Wright, "Deuteronomy: Introduction and Exegesis," 394; Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung Literarischer Einleitungsfragen Zu Dtn 5-11*, 239 ff.

[1211] Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:939–40, 973–74, 998–1002.

[1212] Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy," 3.

Deuteronomistic, the tablets appear without "the Ten Words" in Deut 5:22. This may very well be Deuteronomic.[1213] Furthermore, Deut 5:22 specifies that *hdbrym hʾlh* "these words" were written on the tablets, clearly referring to the Decalogue earlier in the chapter using the same title applied to the Decalogue in Exodus 20 and 24.[1214] Thus, the Decalogue was certainly depicted as inscribed on the two tablets of stone in the Deuteronomistic strata of Deuteronomy and possibly as early as in the Deuteronomic strata. The tablets themselves also played a very different role than they did in Exodus, and this shift was undoubtedly informed by shifts in monumentality in the 7th century.

Rather than containing a simple legal text or instructions for building the tabernacle, the tablets of stone in Deuteronomy are said to contain the covenant.[1215] That is, they have become treaty tablets after the model of the Neo-Assyrian *tuppi adê*. Though treaties had been written on tablets in the past, the appearance of the covenant text on stelae in Proto-Deuteronomy suggests that these earlier traditions were either unknown or irrelevant to the original composers of Deuteronomy. The tablets likely appear in the later Judahite discourse of the book in imitation of Neo-Assyrian *adê*, which greatly shifted the monumentality of treaty tablets. This is especially apparent in the terminology used to describe the tablets. In Deut 9:9, they are not just called *lwḥt*

[1213] J. Philip Hyatt, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, no. 2 (1942): 158; Rofé, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation*, 6; Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*, 120. In addition, see the works of Moran and Arnold, which connect key themes of the larger complex of Deut 5-11 to pre-exilic cultural assumptions. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy"; Bill T. Arnold, "The Love-Fear Antinomy in Deuteronomy 5-11," *Vetus Testamentum* 61 (2011): 551–69.

[1214] Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 502.

[1215] Deut 9:11, 15.

hʾbnym "the tablets of stone" but also *lwḥt hbryt* "the tablets of the covenant." This is remarkably similar to the Neo-Assyrian phraseology, in which *adê* may be defined more abstractly as "covenant" or "destiny." The monumental object that materialized this abstract concept was the *tuppi adê* "tablet of destiny" or even "tablet of the covenant."[1216] It will be worth briefly considering the monumentality of such *tuppi adê* in order to shed light on the tablets in Deuteronomy.

Though ultimately deriving from earlier traditions of monumentalized treaties, Neo-Assyrian *adê* developed these in some significant ways. The exemplar from Tell Tayinat is perhaps the most relevant to the present discussion. The *tuppi adê* at Tell Tayinat materialized Neo-Assyrian imperial ideology and imposed it on the vassal-state based at that site. It thus constituted a resultant social stratification, granting the denizens of Tell Tayinat a social order defined by their submission to Assyrian hegemony. The *adê* was not binding only to those receiving it, but "[wi]th them and with the men who are born after the *adê* in the [f]uture."[1217] That is, as opposed to past treaty traditions, the *adê* was binding on a collective rather than an individual, and the explicit purpose of the *adê* was to be reinterpreted by new generations and to continue acting as a monument. Though Neo-Assyrian *adê* shared these functions with the Levantine exemplar from Sefire, they uniquely applied them to the tablet form of treaty.[1218]

[1216] Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh," 182; Jacob Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," *Zeitschrift Für Altorientalische Und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 19 (2013): 115.

[1217] SAA 26 §1 T I 13-14. This translation is derived from Jacob Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 64 (2012): 112.

[1218] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 135.

By shifting the monumentality of the treaty tablet, the Assyrians created a portable
monument capable of reconfiguring social relations. EST, for example, was monumentalized in
the Assyrian capital of Kalḫu. After the monumentalization ceremony, copies of the *tuppi adê*
were carried to cult centers in vassal territories and installed there as ritual objects.[1219] The
exemplar from Tell Tayinat, for example, was discovered in Building XVI, which has been
identified as a Neo-Assyrian temple constructed in the late-eighth or early-seventh century BCE.
It was found near a podium in the temple's inner sanctum along with a number of votive tablets.
The *adê* tablet was pierced horizontally, suggesting that it was meant to be mounted. The find
spot of the tablet as well as its breaking pattern suggests that it was originally mounted facing an
altar on the podium's east side.[1220] This suggests that the *tuppi adê* was meant to be exhibited
and viewed in connection with ritual processions and offerings in the inner sanctum.[1221] Based
on accounts of similar *tuppi adê* in the Assyrian heartland, the text had to be activated by means
of a large public ceremony involving ritual acts, including sacrifices and the recitation of the
text.[1222] Once the *tuppi adê* were ritually inaugurated, they became "tablets of destinies" – sacred
objects before which those who had sworn the oath were expected to return and perform regular

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[1219] Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 151; Scurlock, "Getting Smashed at the Victory Celebration, or What Happened to Esarhaddon's So-Called Vassal Treaties and Why," 178.

[1220] Harrison and Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," 137; Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 114.

[1221] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 109–12.

[1222] Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 148–50.

ritual obeisance in their local cult centers.[1223] In effect, vassals swore to the Assyrian king by swearing before the tablet. They imaginatively encountered the monarch by activating the textual monument as they interacted with it.[1224]

The monumentality of *tuppi adê* was not merely a proposition of the Assyrian court. In fact, this monumentality was so accepted by subjugated populaces that rebellious vassals even tacitly acknowledged it in their rebellion. The Medes notably brought their copies of EST with them when they sacked Kalḫu. They ritually destroyed them in the temple of Nabû where they were likely originally monumentalized, thereby deactivating them with equal ritual force.[1225] If *tuppi adê* were similarly installed in Judah – which appears likely given the influence of EST on Deuteronomy – then the monumentality afforded by the *adê* tablet was undoubtedly known as well.[1226] Among other strategies, the Judahites subverted this monumentality not by carrying the tablets back to Assyria and smashing them like the Medes, but by applying the same monumentality to Yahweh's tablets of the covenant ritually installed in the temple in

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[1223] Jacob Lauinger goes so far as to argue that the Neo-Assyrian term *adê* simply meant "destiny," so *tuppi adê* should accordingly be translated "tablet of destiny." Fales, 145; Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 115.

[1224] Kathryn Slanski has argued for a similar function of the Law Stele of Hammurabi. Angelika Berjelung has observed the same function for the erection of Neo-Assyrian royal victory stelae in conquered cities. Slanski, "The Law of Hammurabi and Its Audience," 2012; Berjelung, "Shared Fates: Gaza and Ekron as Examples for the Assyrian Religious Policy in the West," 158–59.

[1225] Scurlock, "Getting Smashed at the Victory Celebration, or What Happened to Esarhaddon's So-Called Vassal Treaties and Why," 182.

[1226] Steymans, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," 11–12; Levinson and Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy," 132; Levinson and Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method," 321; Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 23,16-34,12*, vol. 4, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2017), 1989–90.

Jerusalem.[1227] The tablets of stone in Deuteronomy were no longer the building instructions or

legal stipulations revealed at Sinai, but rather *tuppi adê* meant to materialize Yahweh's

hegemony over Judah, implicitly trumping Assyria's claim on the region. The text accomplished

this by simultaneously reembodying Yahweh and prompting social formation among the

monument's users. The tablets took on these functions by acting as Judahite analogues to Neo-

Assyrian *tuppi adê*, which embodied the Assyrian king and organized his subjects. Furthermore,

the text was also now clearly portable and capable of moving the center of Yahweh's territory

from Shechem to Jerusalem. This portability allowed the Judahites to implicitly acknowledge the

importance of the text's previous location while simultaneously affirming the significance of

their present resting place.[1228] In addition to the placement of the Decalogue on the tablets,

though, the monumentality of the text was also significantly enhanced and was inextricable from

their placement in the Ark of the Covenant.

The Ark as Tablet Box

　　The Ark of the Covenant is mentioned seven times in Deuteronomy but only in chapters

10 and 31.[1229] Only in Deuteronomy 10 are the tablets of stone deposited within the ark. Not only

is this the only place in the Pentateuch where the ark becomes a receptacle for the tablets, but the

ark apparently has no function apart from housing the tablets in Deuteronomy. Absent is any

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[1227] Otto, "Treueid Und Gesetz: Die Ursprünge Des Deuteronomiums Im Horizont Neuassyrischen Vertragsrechts," 45. For a study countering the arguments that Deuteronomy is subversive, see especially Crouch, but note also Steymans' criticism of some of her methodological assumptions. Crouch, *Israel & the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, & the Nature of Subversion*; Steymans, "Review of 'Israel and the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, and the Nature of Subversion' by C. L. Crouch."

[1228] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 366.

[1229] Deut 10:1-3, 5, 8; 31:8-9, 25.

notion of the ark as Yahweh's throne; it is only a tablet box.[1230] Previous studies of the ark

within Deuteronomy have pointed to its changing function as evidence for its demythologization

in Deuteronomic theology or else as some indication of cult reform in Jerusalem.[1231] While these

may be potential motives, another possibility arises when examining monumental discourse in

the surrounding cultures. Specifically, with the influx of Mesopotamian monumental discourse in

the Deuteronomic strata of the book came the notion of the monumentality of the tablet box.

Tablet boxes enhanced the monumental texts they contained in very particular ways. So even if

there was an attempt to subvert earlier traditions about the ark by transforming it into a tablet

box, there was also a positive motivation rooted in shifting ideas of the monumentality of text in

Judah during the Neo-Assyrian period.

In certain cultural contexts, a text's monumentality could be enhanced if access to it was

restricted or even completely obfuscated.[1232] Monumentality in the Levant had already begun to

shift in this direction during the age of court ceremony in which new monumental texts were set

up in more restricted locales and interaction with them was restricted to elite users.[1233]

Mesopotamia had long had a similar practice to an even greater extreme in the form of *temennu*

[1230] von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:79; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 208–9.

[1231] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 208–9; Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," 302–3; Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy," 6–7.

[1232] Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford University Press, 1995), 6–8; John Baines, "Public Ceremonial Performance in Ancient Egypt: Exclusion and Integration," in *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, ed. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, Archaeology in Society (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2006), 276–86; Jeremy D. Smoak and Alice Mandell, "Reading and Writing in the Dark at Khirbet El-Qom: The Literacies of Ancient Subterranean Judah," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 80, no. 2 (2017): 188–92.

[1233] Gilibert, *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*, 128–31.

monuments. *Temennu* monuments – or foundation deposits – were hidden in niches in temples and palaces. They could consist simply of stamped bricks, building inscriptions on tablets, cylinder inscriptions, small images, or tablets held in tablet boxes.[1234] These monumental texts derived a significant part of their authority from their inaccessibility – they afforded meaning through the near impossibility of reading them.[1235] As such, it became incredibly desirable to be able to claim that one had read a *temennu* inscription and was acting in accordance with it. This became a significant way for a king to legitimate his actions during the Neo-Assyrian period and even more so during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.[1236]

Unique to the Neo-Assyrian period, however, was the addition of "I Am" inscriptions to *temennu*. As noted in chapter 2, "I Am" inscriptions became significantly rarer in the Levant during the seventh century but reached a zenith in Assyria. Among other epigraphic supports, many Neo-Assyrian "I Am" inscriptions were carved on *temennu*. Such "I Am" inscriptions were exceedingly rare in earlier periods and became entirely extinct after the fall of Assyria.[1237] This

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[1234] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 84–85; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 129.

[1235] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 92.

[1236] Jonker, 166–71. For examples of this practices in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, see especially the many references to foundation deposits in the inscriptions of Nabonidus (e.g. Nabonidus 20-24, in which he appeals to the *temen* of Naram-Sin) and Cyrus' appeal to an inscription of Aššurbanipal in line 22 of the Cyrus Cylinder. Weiershäuser and Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Amēl-Marduk (562-560 BC), Neriglissar (560-556 BC), and Nabonidus (555-539 BC), Kings of Babylon*; Piotr Michalowski, "The Cyrus Cylinder," in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. Mark Chavalas (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 428–29.

[1237] The earliest "I Am" inscription on a foundation deposit is actually an inscription of the Assyrian governor Bēl-ēriš from the 10th century. This practice completely disappeared until the 7th century building inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal's many cylinder inscriptions utilizing the "I Am" formula. A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC)*, vol. 2, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia - Assyrian Periods (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 126–28; A. Kirk Grayson and James Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 2* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2014); Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*; Novotny and

may thus suggest not only a further motivation for transforming the Decalogue into a *temennu* in Deuteronomy but also suggests a very narrow historical period when this epigraphic practice was in evidence.

The original intended audience for *temennu* appears to have been limited to the gods who could access them in their hidden locations. The only humans expected to read them were future rulers, who were charged with utilizing them in renewing dilapidated buildings.[1238] Nevertheless, *temennu* eventually took on an entirely new audience within *narû*-literature. *Narû*-literature derived its monumentality entirely from its depiction as the text of a *narû.* As *temennu* came to be a type of *narû*, the composers and editors of *narû*-literature could enhance the monumentality of their work by simultaneously depicting the literary work in question as the text of a *temennu* monument. Thus, that which was meant to be hidden was now being unveiled to a wider audience, who would do well to mold themselves according to the text.[1239] This motivation undoubtedly lay behind the addition of a new introduction to the Epic of Gilgamesh during the Middle Babylonian period, for example, that specified that the text was confirmed by the discovery of a *temennu*.[1240] This was enhanced even further in the late version of the epic discovered in Assurbanipal's library that cast the entire epic as the text of a *narû* and a *temennu*.

Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*; Novotny, Jeffers, and Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC) and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 2*.

[1238] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 84–85.

[1239] Jonker, 102.

[1240] Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 143–46; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 129–31.

Whereas the Middle Babylonian version implies that the text is buttressed by the discovery of a *temennu* in the form of a brick inscription, the Neo-Assyrian version contains specific instructions to open a tablet box and carefully read the tablet discovered inside.[1241] The epic became monumental as it was reframed as a text read from a *temennu* that had been hidden in a tablet box and then recovered.

The concept of legitimating and even monumentalizing a text by casting it as something hidden that was recovered was not unique to Mesopotamia. This occurred in Ancient Egypt as well. For example, one inscription from the Third Intermediate Period has been described by Jan Assmann as "pretending to be the copy of a foundation document of the funerary temple of the sage Amenhotep, son of Hapu."[1242] This text contains a lengthy collection of blessings and curses designed to promote following its instructions, which are cast as the words of Amenhotep – an Egyptian sage from the Bronze Age.[1243] This text is thus remarkably similar to Deuteronomy's monumentalization strategy, which relies upon pretending to be a monumental text reporting the words of Moses.[1244] This parallel is even more striking given Egypt's incursions into the Southern Levant during the Third Intermediate Period. In particular, Egypt

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[1241] Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 102; Milstein, *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*, 131.

[1242] Assmann, "Inscriptional Violence and the Art of Cursing: A Study of Performative Writing," 61.

[1243] G. Möller, "Das Dekret für Amenophis Sohn des Hapu," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, 932ß948; James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, n.d.), 925–26; Clément Robichon and Alexandre Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale 11 (Cairo, 1936), 3–4.

[1244] Assmann notes this similarity with particular reference to Deut 27. Assmann, "Inscriptional Violence and the Art of Cursing: A Study of Performative Writing," 43–51.

essentially held hegemony over Judah during the reigns of Psamtik I (664-610 BCE) and Necho II (610-595 BCE).[1245]

The practice of casting texts as foundation deposits is in evidence in the Hebrew Bible as well. Most significantly, a hidden text was uncovered in the temple in 2 Kings 23 during the reign of Josiah and became the basis for his religious reforms. Though it is no longer universally accepted that this text was Deuteronomy or some version of it, it nonetheless illustrates that the concept of *temennu* or something cognate to it had penetrated ancient Judah.[1246] Moshe Weinfeld argued that this practice was absolutely present in the laws concerning the king's copy of the law in Deut 17. He further suggested that Deuteronomy 29:29's assertion that the hidden things were for Yahweh was a reference to the practice of hiding a copy of a text in a tablet box in a foundation deposit.[1247] Even if one rejects Weinfeld's assignation of a *temennu* tradition behind these texts, it is hard not to see the concept behind the new placement of the tablets of stone within the ark. The monumentality of the tablets was clearly enhanced by their placement within

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[1245] Abraham Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," in *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974*, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 28 (Brill, 1975).

[1246] Montet proposed in 1910 that the account in 2 Kings may have been influenced by the Egyptian practice of foundation deposits. Parallels to similar practices among the Hittites and Mesopotamians have since been proposed, but the connection to *temennu* is perhaps the most convincing. Edouard Montet, "The Discovery of the Deuteronomic Law," *The Biblical World* 36, no. 5 (1910): 317; Nadav Na'aman, "The 'Discovered Book' and the Legitimation of Josiah's Reform," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 130, no. 1 (2011): 47–62, https://doi.org/10.2307/41304187.

[1247] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 63–64 N. 5.

the ark, which is emphatically a tablet box in Deuteronomy to be hidden within a cultic

context.[1248] The tablets thus became the Judahite equivalent of *temennu* monuments.

The monumentality of *temennu* continued to be significant in literary productions from

the Neo-Babylonian period and even the Persian period, so the connection of this tradition to the

ark could reasonably be assigned to the Deuteronomistic discourse of Deuteronomy. However,

the ark itself appears to have become relatively unimportant after its purported capture during the

sack of Jerusalem. It was never recovered or remade and appears to have been forgotten in later

tradition.[1249] The ark was certainly central to Jerusalemite cult during the Judahite monarchy,

though. It thus seems most likely that the ark was introduced as a material support for the

Decalogue and Deuteronomy more broadly within Deuteronomic discourse. At this period of

time, the ark was still a significant fixture of the Jerusalemite cult.[1250] Furthermore, *temennu*

were significant monumental object both in real practice and in literary depiction in

Mesopotamia and these traditions appear to have penetrated into Judah during the reign of Josiah

if not even earlier.

[1248] Schniedewind has argued in the opposite direction that the ark gained its numinous power from the insertion of the tablets. Undoubtedly, the monumentality of each object was enhanced through its interaction with the other. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 33.

[1249] In Jer 3:16-17, the ark is even said to have been superseded by Jerusalem itself. The ark was emphatically no longer necessary in Deuteronomistic theology. Schniedewind, 133.

[1250] Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition"; Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy"; Fleming, "David and the Ark: A Jerusalem Festival Reflected in Royal Narrative."

In short, the ark was perhaps no longer a throne in Deuteronomy, but is was hardly just an educational tool or a demythologized box as has been suggested.[1251] Its function as a tablet box was central to its and Deuteronomy's monumentality as well as that of the Decalogue. By placing the Decalogue-inscribed tablets within the ark, they became the Judahite equivalent of a *temennu* – a textual monument that gained further legitimacy from its exclusivity. Placed in the ark, the tablets were now only accessible by the divine and perhaps rulers who might use them to make copies. By casting their literary revisions in these terms, the Deuteronomic editors were not demythologizing the ark but perhaps remythologizing or better remonumentalizing it.[1252] They modified it to act as a type of monumental accompaniment that was growing in significance during the seventh century with the influx of Mesopotamian traditions, an influx independently attested to by the appearance of the *temennu* tradition in 2 Kings 23. As a tablet box concealing the tablets of stone, the ark granted the text far more significance than its previous function as a throne ever could. Most significantly, as a container for the tablets of the covenant, the ark continued to embody Yahweh as a tablet box much as it had as a throne.

The Meaning Afforded by the Aesthetic Shifts in Deuteronomy

The change in the material supports for the Decalogue in Deuteronomy served primarily to maintain the relevance of the text as monumentalities in the surrounding region were changing. The installation on Mount Ebal transformed the Decalogue into the text of a conquest monument marking Yahweh's arrival in Canaan. The text was also recast as a treaty text between

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[1251] von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 40; von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, 5:79; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 208–9.

[1252] Leuchter, "The Fightin' Mushites," 500.

Yahweh and Israel depicted as inscribed on stelae as was the practice in the 8th century Levant. This connection to treaty traditions accounted for most of the remaining aesthetic shifts. The Judahite editors of Deuteronomy moved the text onto tablets in imitation of Neo-Assyrian *tuppi adê*, and they placed those tablets in the ark in imitation of Mesopotamian *temennu*. In effect, this new setting transformed the Decalogue – and perhaps Deuteronomy as a whole – into *narû*-literature or perhaps *adê*-literature. In addition to incorporating elements of *adê* into its semantic context, the Deuteronomic discourse of Deuteronomy also depicted the Decalogue as a set of *adê* tablets deposited into a box one might expect to find in a niche for a *temennu*. In addition, this made the text clearly portable and provided a literary justification for the movement of the place for Yahweh's name – or his inscription – from Shechem to Jerusalem. In each of these new aesthetic dimensions, the Decalogue continued to materialize an encounter with Yahweh in the way most relevant at the present time. These shifts also laid the groundwork for the application of the text by the Deuteronomists to the exilic community, though this was primarily a result of the text's newfound portability rather than any additional aesthetic shift during the post-monarchic period. Most notably, as the reframing of the text utilized tropes similar to those found in *narû*-literature, the resultant literaturization of the text turned it into a monument that could be engaged apart from the monuments it depicted.

Performative Shifts

The performative dimension of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy likely began as a repetition of the court ceremony from Ex 24:1-11. The monumental implements from Ex 24:3-8 are reproduced in Proto-Deuteronomy, and the ritual attached to them appears to operate on a principle of segregation akin to the ritual from Ex 24:1-2, 9-11. In addition to this apparent reading of Exodus 24 as a single ritual, Deuteronomy also introduces a much stronger emphasis

on the recitation of the text and related oaths.[1253] This change is apparent even in the framing verses surrounding the Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5. The first point that should be noted is that Yahweh is no longer presented in the frame text as delivering the Decalogue as a direct address. The Decalogue still contains his quoted words, but Yahweh is no longer the one speaking to the people. Instead, Moses is reciting the Decalogue as part of an address to a new generation of Israelites after the wilderness wanderings. Moses calls the people together and begins his address in v. 1, vv. 3-4 consist of his quoted speech describing the Decalogue, and v. 5 finally introduces the Decalogue as a quote within a quote. Moses claims to *lhgyd* "recount" the *dbr yhwh* "word of Yahweh" to his new audience. Verse 5 then closes with the quotative particle *lʾmr* and the Decalogue commences in v. 6. Picking up after the Decalogue concludes, Moses relates that when the people heard the voice (v. 23) they approached him afraid. They then claim to have heard the voice of Yahweh three times (once each in vv. 24, 25, and 26), and they contend that they may die if they hear him speak directly anymore. Notably, four times the noun *qwl* "voice" is paired with the verb *šmʿ* "to hear." Similarly, the rituals attached to the Decalogue later in Deuteronomy place a strong emphasis on recitation on the part of the priests, Levites, and finally the people themselves.

The emphasis on recitation is in part accomplished through the addition of practices related to monumentalizing treaties. In particular, the rituals connected to texts in Deuteronomy appear to be Israelite and Judahite versions of loyalty oath rituals and reading ceremonies. While in theory the loyalty oath connection may have continued the restricted nature of the court ceremony in Exodus 24, as described in both Deuteronomy and extrabiblical sources the

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[1253] McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 173–74.

attachment of this ritual to the text may have expanded the audience back out into a new kind of civic ritual. This expansion certainly seems to be assumed by the text's ritual setting in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic discourse. Surprisingly, this expansion of scope also facilitated a later severe restriction, in which collective reading could be accomplished by individuals in private in addition to public spectacles.

The Levantine Loyalty Oath Ritual on Mount Ebal

As discussed in the section above, the connection of the Decalogue and Deuteronomy to stelae is evidence of 8th century Levantine covenant making practices. This is also evident in the parallels between the ritual dimension of the monumental installation on Mount Ebal and the rituals attached to lapidary treaties and contracts in the 8th century Levant. The ritual in Deuteronomy 27-28 has perhaps most effectively been compared to the ritual attached to the Sefire treaties.[1254] Melissa Ramos has demonstrated that not only do the Sefire treaties and Deuteronomy 27-28 share formulaic curse language, these curses share a structure indicative of their performative nature. That is, the curses were patterned after performative utterances and intended to be read aloud as a ritual script.[1255] A key element of the loyalty oath ceremony in the Levant was the recitation of the inscribed text, and this accords with the depicted ritual at the monumental installation on Mount Ebal in Deuteronomy 27-28.

[1254] Melissa Ramos has helpfully argued that the bulk of these chapters should be taken as a single literary unit, though the final curses of Deuteronomy 28 should perhaps be considered separately given their greater congruity with Neo-Assyrian curses than with Levantine ones. Ramos.

[1255] Deut 27:11-26; Sefire Stelae (KAI 222 A3:1-4). Ramos, "A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28," 212; Ramos.

Also indicative of a connection to the traditions preserved at Sefire is the scope of the ritual in Deuteronomy 27-28. While the people at large are present in the form of *kl yśrʾl* "all Israel,"[1256] and they are required to respond to the recitation of the curses, they are ultimately passive observers of the ritual. The ritual participants are limited to Moses, the Levites, and the priests. In other words, this ritual is still restricted and segregated along lines dividing commoners from elites, and the elites who participate are roughly the same group that was active in the court ceremony of Ex 24:1-2, 9-11. This finds a striking parallel in the Sefire treaties, which were accorded with the royal families of *ktk* and Arpad, the lords of *ktk* and Arpad, the kings of Aram, and any representatives of the people who can enter the royal houses.[1257] The only active parties in the Sefire treaties are elites, and they are presumably the ones responsible for reciting it.

Apart from the parallels with the loyalty oath at Sefire, the rituals connected to other Levantine lapidary treaties reveal even more striking parallels to the ritual at Mount Ebal. Like Deuteronomy 27-28 and the Sefire treaties, the other 8th century lapidary treaties all include curse scripts presumably for recitation. In addition to this ritual feature, though, they also require the erection and inscription of stelae, the performance of particular sacrifices, and the concluding of a ritual feast. All of these features are present in the ritual prescribed for the installation on Mount Ebal. Perhaps the most striking parallel to the ritual in Deuteronomy 27 is the CEKKE

[1256] Deut 27:9.

[1257] KAI 222 A1:1-5. There is a curious reference to *ʾrm klh* "all Aram" perhaps matching *kl yśrʾl* "all Israel," but it is bracketed by references to the royal family, suggesting that it may still refer to elite representatives of the people rather than the whole populace. This apparent specification of elite participants is to be expected in light of related 8th century monumentalization rituals known in the Levant, but it is markedly different from the Assyrian practice. Even the 8th century treaty between Aššurnerari V and Matiʾilu of Bit-Agusi is supposed to apply to "the people of his land" without exception. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 195.

inscription, which prescribes particular sacrifices,[1258] a feast between the ritual participants,[1259] and specifically the erection of frontier stelae[1260] – perhaps of the type envisioned at Mount Ebal marking new territorial acquisitions. Most impressively, the covenant in the CEKKE inscription is introduced by an "I am" inscription,[1261] paralleling the use of the Decalogue to introduce the Deuteronomic Code. These "I am" introductions thus became a key part of the covenant text.[1262] The ritual prescribed in Deuteronomy 27 is exactly what one would expect for the conducting of a loyalty oath ceremony relative to stelae in the 8th century Levant; this was the monumental discourse used by Proto-Deuteronomy. By contrast, the ritual preserved in Deuteronomy 29 shows a marked departure from this discourse and the increasing influence of Neo-Assyrian loyalty oaths.

[1258] CEKKE §4-5. See Hawkins for transcription and translation of this section and all others referenced below. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Volume I:145 ff.

[1259] CEKKE §10.

[1260] CEKKE §15-16.

[1261] CEKKE §1-5.

[1262] This points to another interesting feature of the 8th century Levantine examples inscribed in Hieroglyphic Luwian. It has long been argued that the covenant texts in Deuteronomy, such as that preserved in Deuteronomy 27, include a historical prologue. The historical prologue is absent from the treaties at Sefire and the Neo-Assyrian exemplars, leading many scholars to posit a connection the Hittite treaty tradition which regularly made use of them. The same has been argued on the basis of the appearance of blessings alongside curses in the biblical and Hittite materials. Such a distant connection is no longer necessary, however. Historical prologues and blessings were regularly preserved in the 8th century covenant texts from the Levant inscribed in Hieroglyphic Luwian. CEKKE even used an "I am" inscription to apparently fulfill the same introductory function. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 109–40; Moshe Weinfeld, "Covenant Making in Anatolia and Mesopotamia," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 22, no. 1 (1993): 139; Berman, "CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13," 42; Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite Išḫiul Reexamined," 481–82.

<u>The Assyrianizing Loyalty Oath Ritual in Jerusalem and Moab</u>

   The Levantine inspired curses of Deut 27:11-26, 28:16-19 give way to clear adaptations

of EST in Deut 28:20-44.[1263] Though specific divinities are removed, the curses closing this

chapter clearly reflect the Assyrian pantheon and their function in EST.[1264] This apparently

expanded the earlier curse script with curses more familiar to Assyrian *adê*, paralleling the

similar *adê*-oriented shifts in the aesthetic dimension of the text. Assyrian loyalty oath rituals

also typically involved sacrifices, sympathetic magic, and ritual obeisance, but recitation was

emphasized above other ritual activities.[1265] They also may have included feasts similar to those

concorded as part of the court ceremonies at Nimrud.[1266] Significantly, the loyalty oath ceremony

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[1263] Levinson and Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy," 130; Levinson and Stackert, "The Limitations of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method," 324; Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," 123–54; Steymans, "Eine Assyrische Vorlage Für Deuteronomium 28:20-44," 119–41; Steymans, *Deuteronomium 28 Und Die Adê Zur Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons: Segen Und Fluch Im Alten Orient Und in Israel*, 143–49; Steymans, "Die Neuassyrische Vertragsrhetorik Der 'Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon' Und Das Deuteronomium," in *Das Deuteronomium*, ed. Georg Braulik, Österreichische Biblische Studien 23 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 89–152; David Carr, "The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Marti Nissinen, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 528.

[1264] Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," 417–27; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, 116–29.

[1265] In fact, recitation was so emphasized that some scholars previously missed the presence of sacrifice in Neo-Assyrian loyalty oath rituals. Weinfeld, "Covenant Making in Anatolia and Mesopotamia," 137–39; Christopher A. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in near Eastern and Early Greek Oath Ceremonies*," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (November 1993): 65, https://doi.org/10.2307/632398; Theodore J. Lewis, "Covenant and Blood Rituals: Understanding Exodus 24:3-8 in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, ed. Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright, and J. P. Dessel (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 343–47; Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 149; Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 112–13.

[1266] Barjamovic, "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879-612 BCE," 40–46; Aster, "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eight Century," 186–91.

also emphasized the reading of the whole text and not just the recitation of formulaic curses.[1267] At least in the case of EST, the loyalty oath ceremony was carried out in close proximity and perhaps as part of the local *akitu* festival at Kalḫu, which involved the ritual enthronement of Nabû who would bless the *adê* in addition to the patron deity Aššur.[1268] Furthermore, the *adê* was probably reactivated yearly as part of an *akitu* festival in each locale where it was deployed.[1269]

In the most noted departure from Levantine traditions, EST and perhaps other Neo-Assyrian *adê* involved the entire populace and not just its elite members. For example, we read in §1 of the version of EST found at Tell Tayinat:

"The *adê* of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, with the governor of Kunalia, with the deputy, the majordomo, the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, the village managers, the information officers, the prefects, the cohort commanders, the charioteers, the cavalrymen, the exempt, the outriders, the specialists, the shi[eld bearers (?)], the craftsmen, (and) with [all] the men [of his hands], great and small, as many as there are—[wi]th them and with the men who are born after the *adê* in the [f]uture, from the east […] to the west, all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship, concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown

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[1267] Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 112–13.

[1268] Fales, "After Ta'yinat," 137, 149–50. Indeed, even the Median deactivation of EST apparently had to be carried out in the throne-room of Nabû, suggesting that they were likely activated in the same location. Scurlock, "Getting Smashed at the Victory Celebration, or What Happened to Esarhaddon's So-Called Vassal Treaties and Why," 178–79.

[1269] Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 111–15.

prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, on whose behalf he established

the *adê* with you."[1270]

EST is explicitly accorded with everyone, which is emphatically stated in terms of the hendiadys

"great and small," "from the east to the west," and the all-inclusive "as many as there are." Elites

are not the sole targets of the monumental text. Commoners as well as elites were likely expected

to acknowledge the *tuppi adê* installed in the temple at Tell Tayinat.[1271] Perhaps more than

anything else, this feature set Neo-Assyrian *adê* apart from earlier treaties concluded between

kings and the elite echelons of society alone.

In addition to the use of curses from EST in Deuteronomy 28, the convocation called in

Deuteronomy 29 may draw inspiration from EST. The ritual described in Deuteronomy 29

includes no sacrifices but rather emphasizes the recitation of portions of the text. Furthermore,

Deuteronomy 29 makes much more out of the textuality of the covenant as opposed to

Deuteronomy 27-28, which focused on the oral performative aspect of it.[1272] Most importantly,

in Deut 29:10-15 Moses addresses

"all of you, before Yahweh your God—the leaders of your tribes, your elders, and your

officials, all the men of Israel, your children, your women, and the aliens who are in your

camp, both those who cut your wood and those who draw your water—to enter into the

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[1270] §1 from Lauinger's translation of the copy of EST discovered at Tell Tayinat. Lauinger, "ESARHADDON'S SUCCESSION TREATY AT TELL TAYINAT," 112.

[1271] Harrison and Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," 137; Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 114.

[1272] Ramos.

covenant of Yahweh your God, sworn by an oath, which Yahweh your God is making

with you today; in order that he may establish you today as his people, and that he may

be your God, as he promised you and as he swore to your ancestors, to Abraham, to

Isaac, and to Jacob. I am making this covenant, sworn by an oath, not only with you who

stand here with us today before Yahweh our God, but also with those who are not here

with us today."

Absent is any mention of the Levites and priests. Whatever other motivations there may be for

their presence in the earlier ritual and absence from this one, this is a clear reflection of the 7th

century monumentality of treaty texts as opposed to those of the 8th century.[1273] The rituals that

activated *adê* were not merely targeted at elites but an entire populace. So too Deuteronomy 29

makes explicit that the participants in the ritual include the non-elite members of society.[1274] This

expansion of the ritual participants is a marked departure from 8th century Levantine practice and

undoubtedly motivated by the influence of EST on Deuteronomic discourse.

Apart from Deut 29, other rituals directed at the text in Deuteronomic discourse must be

surmised from the paraenesis and some outside evidence. Like *adê* tablets, the tablets of stone in

Deuteronomy were ritually installed in the temple of Jerusalem. This is again a marked departure

from the erection of stelae and frontier stelae in particular in the 8th century Levantine tradition,

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[1273] However one understands the precise relationships and roles of the Levites and priests in Deuteronomy, it is abundantly clear that they form an elite class with authority over other echelons of society. G. Ernest Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy," *Vetus Testamentum* 4, no. 3 (1954): 327–28, https://doi.org/10.2307/1515717; J. A. Emerton, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy: An Examination of Dr. G. E. Wright's Theory," *Vetus Testamentum* 12, no. 2 (1962): 129–38; Raymond Abba, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *Vetus Testamentum* 27, no. 3 (1977): 257–67, https://doi.org/10.2307/1517492.

[1274] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 135.

though the erection of lapidary treaties in temples was the expected spatial dimension of the

Sefire treaties.[1275] Within their cultic context, the tablets would be regularly activated to renew

the relationship between Yahweh and his people. This ritual reactivation was likely performed

during the festival of Sukkot. This is explicitly commanded in Deuteronomy 31; the Israelites are

to appear before Yahweh in his chosen place every seven years to reactivate the covenant text.

Whatever the specific date of Deuteronomy 31,[1276] the connection to Sukkot was likely based on

the earlier connections between the Decalogue and the Israelite autumnal New Year Festival or

the Feast of Ingathering, which became Sukkot.[1277] This is suggested by Israelite sources in

Psalm 50, 81, and Hosea.[1278] Jeremiah's preaching of the Decalogue before the temple of

Jerusalem on Sukkot in Jeremiah 7 may indicate a Judahite continuation of this practice;

[1275] KAI 222 B3:1-3 reads: [*wmn y*]*ʾmr lhldt spryʾ* [*ʾ*]*ln mn bty ʾlhyʾ ʾn zy y*[*r*]*šmn* "and whoever will order for these inscriptions to be effaced from the temples where they are recorded…"

[1276] Deuteronomy 31 is certainly composite. As far as the festival and its connection to the reading of the covenant text, Tigay proposes two different "Deuteronomic" sources represented by vv. 9-13 on the one hand and vv. 24-27. The references to the ark in these passages suggests an origin during the time of the Judahite monarchy. This same provenance is suggested by the naming of the festival as Sukkot and the specification that it occurs in the seventh month. Both features are also present in the Holiness Code (Lev 23:24). The festival of Sukkot survived into the post-exilic period, of course, so portions of vv. 9-13 could also be Deuteronomistic. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 504.

[1277] George W. MacRae, "The Meaning and Evolution of The Feast of Tabernacles," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1960): 257; Johannes C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, Kamper Cahiers 21–22 (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1972); Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabbath: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*, ConBOT 18 (Lund: Gleerup, 1982), 67; Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 116–23; Alexander Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Simor, 2009), 473–74; Noga Ayali-Darshan, "The Seventy Bulls Sacrificed at Sukkot (Num 29:12-34) in Light of a Ritual Text from Emar (Emar 6, 373)," *Vetus Testamentum* 65 (2015): 3; Van Der Toorn, "Celebrating the New Year with the Israelites: Three Extrabiblical Psalms from Papyrus Amherst 63," 639. The connection to Sukkot is ancient but persisted into the post-monarchic period. Though the festival is not given a name, the reading ceremony in Nehemiah 8 notably occurs "in the seventh month," the traditional date of the autumnal New Year, at least in Judah.

[1278] John Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms," *Vetus Testamentum* 11, no. 1 (1961): 10–12; Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach," 9; Goulder, "Asaph's History of Israel (Elohist Press, Bethel, 725 BCE)," 149–51; Philip J. King, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988), 109–12.

Jeremiah's temple sermon explicitly develops Hosea 4's reversal of the Decalogue as an accusation on the occasion of Sukkot.[1279] Furthermore, the connection between this festival and the loyalty oath made in Deuteronomy was undoubtedly attractive given the connection between EST and the *akitu* festival at Kalḫu and elsewhere. Just as EST was concorded after or during the Assyrian New Year festival at Kalḫu and then reactivated each year during celebrations of *akitu*,[1280] so the texts of Deuteronomy – including the Decalogue – were described as being activated during the autumnal New Year festival at Shechem and Jerusalem.

The Post-Monarchic Reading Ceremony

The ritual practice of reading the covenant text during Sukkot in particular continued into the post-exilic period. The content of the ritual, however, changed significantly. As already discussed, the rituals in Deuteronomy 29 and following place a special emphasis on the textuality of the performed text as opposed to its oral quality. This was in part a result of the aesthetic shift to tablets in Deuteronomic discourse as well as the introduction of the scroll of the Torah in Deuteronomy 31. This is likely reflected in the Deuteronomistic redaction of 2 Kings 23 as well, where a scroll of the Torah – later construed as Deuteronomy – is ceremonially read to the people with a special emphasis on its textuality.[1281] The most extreme development of this is seen in Nehemiah 8, where the ceremonial reading consists only of reading and interpreting the

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[1279] Though the practice of the Sabbath had changed in Dtn and Dtr, the association of the text's ritual performance with the New Year Festival and quite likely the first New Moon of the new year appears to have continued. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach," 10; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary On the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah (Chapters 1-25)*, 240; Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 129.

[1280] Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian Adê: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?," 111–13.

[1281] Na'aman, "The 'Discovered Book' and the Legitimation of Josiah's Reform."

text. All other ritual elements of the loyalty oath ceremonies had disappeared, including collective recitation.[1282] Reading alone remained as the ritual means of activating the text in the post-exilic period.[1283]

But what of the exilic period? This period may very well explain the evolution of the ritual in the post-exilic period. Without an institution to organize gatherings and a monumental installation within which to perform, the rituals associated with Deuteronomy necessarily had to become focused on reading. Deuteronomy 6 may even attest to the emergence of private reading and recitation as a new primary ritual dimension for the text during this period.[1284] This shift was facilitated by the connection of recitation to the rituals in Proto-Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic discourse, but lacking any other ritual implements the Deuteronomists necessarily made this the primary part of the ritual. This would allow the exilic community to continue interacting with the text in a significant way apart from any monumental theatre. It could now be ritually activated through public and indeed even private reading. Even the post-exilic public reading ceremony in Nehemiah 8 attests to this shift, as the reading ceremony takes place at one of the gates of

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[1282] This shift is anticipated by the Deuteronomic frame for the Decalogue in Deut 5, in which Moses simply recites the text to the people, and also by Jeremiah's temple sermon (Jer 7), in which he expounds on the Decalogue to the people apart from other ritual activities.

[1283] Lisa Joann Cleath, "Reading Ceremonies in the Hebrew Bible: Ideologies of Textual Authority in Joshua 8, 2 Kings 22-23, and Nehemiah 8" (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016), 288–92.

[1284] Otto, *Deuteronomium 4,44-11,32*, 2:786–87; Nathan MacDonald, "The Date of the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4-5)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136, no. 4 (2017): 770.

Jerusalem rather than the temple, which had become unnecessary to the ritual in Deuteronomistic discourse.[1285]

From Oath to Lectionary

We see thus a plausible, but somewhat surprising evolution in the rituals attached to the Decalogue in Deuteronomy and to the book of Deuteronomy as a whole. In Proto-Deuteronomy, the ritual installation on Mount Ebal and much of its associated practice retains features from the court ceremony of Ex 24:1-11. Notably, the scope remains restricted to elite participants. However, the ritual is expanded and changed through the addition of traditions connected to Levantine loyalty oaths. The sacrifices and feasts are now concluded to monumentalize a covenantal text, whose curses were ritually recited and likely performed repeatedly on festal occasions such as the autumnal New Year. In Deuteronomic discourse, this loyalty oath ceremony was expanded yet again with the addition of elements from Neo-Assyrian loyalty oath rituals as well as the subtraction of elements the Neo-Assyrian practice deemphasized. For example, sacrifices are no longer mentioned in Deut 29, but the recited curses were expanded to reflect the Assyrian pantheon. So too the audience was expanded to include all the people rather than just their elite representatives. This expansion of the audience and emphasis on the text facilitated a move toward a ritual focused purely on reading in the post-monarchic period. All other ritual elements and implements were stripped away as these experiences and theatres were no longer accessible. Reading became the only way to interact with the text. It is also probably during this time that the ritual activation of the text received its most severe contraction, as it

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[1285] Jacob L. Wright, "Writing the Restoration: Compositional Agenda and the Role of Ezra in Nehemiah 8," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7 (2007): 21–22; Cleath, "Reading Ceremonies in the Hebrew Bible: Ideologies of Textual Authority in Joshua 8, 2 Kings 22-23, and Nehemiah 8," 226–27.

could now be read and recited privately by individuals acting separately as part of a community rather than solely in the context of a collective.[1286]

The different rituals encountered in Deuteronomy comprise different means of activating monumental texts according to the periods in which they were added. In the 8th century, covenant texts were activated by means of stele erection, inscription, sacrifice, feasting, and the elite recitation of formulaic curses. In the 7th century, covenant texts were activated through the creation of monumentalized tablets, sympathetic magic, sacrifice, feasting, the reading aloud of the entire text, and the collective acknowledgement and recitation of key portions of the text by a non-segregated audience. In biblical religion, this 7th century practice promoted the emergence of private and familial reading ceremonies, especially in the context of the post-monarchic period. What all of these rituals had in common, however, was that they activated an encounter with Yahweh and demonstrated the willingness of the participants to accept his proposed identity for them. Because the expected means of activating such an encounter changed over time in the cultures surrounding ancient Israel and Judah, the rituals attached to the text in Deuteronomy were strategically edited to keep it relevant to each new generation.

Conclusion: The Reception of the Decalogue's Monumentality in Deuteronomy

This chapter has demonstrated that the reception of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy was largely dependent upon the monumentality of the text in addition to other factors. The content and context of the Decalogue in Exodus suggested that the text was really being produced as a monument, while only some editorial strata pointed to its reception as a monument. In contrast,

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[1286] Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, 63; Otto, "Deuteronomium 4: Die Pentateuchredaktion Im Deuteronomiumsrahmen," 208.

almost all of the material in Deuteronomy provides evidence for the Decalogue's reception as a monument. Its reframing, partial transformation, and the innerbiblical exegesis both within the text itself and surrounding it demonstrate active attempts to reflect upon and explain the monumental discourse of the Decalogue. Most importantly, the Decalogue's monumentality was actually transformed in the course of its transmission. Just like Wu's example of the Nine Tripods in China or the Epic of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia, the depicted monumentality of the Decalogue was changed by later editors in order to better match the monumentalities of their present sociohistorical context. As a result, the means by which Yahweh was reembodied changed slightly, and – more significantly – the social formation afforded by the Decalogue was reconfigured.

As has already been explained, the method employed in this study – a history of monumentality – only allows for the broad periodization of art historical trends depicted in the biblical text. While this does not allow specific dating of the discursive strata here discussed, it nevertheless does allow us to suggest broad historical contexts. This will allow us to confirm some previous conclusions about the book of Deuteronomy and especially the Decalogue within it in addition to drawing some new insights. In general, the shifts in the Decalogue's monumentality apparent in the book of Deuteronomy and its various editorial strata point to three broad stages of editorial activity: which I labeled above the Proto-Deuteronomic, Deuteronomic, and Deuteronomistic discourses. When these shifts are compared with the broader history of monuments in the ancient Levant and among the Israelite and Judahite communities in particular, we can propose more specific sociohistorical settings for these stages. Furthermore, outside literary and historical evidence can provide even more accuracy in dealing with these stages.

The Proto-Deuteronomic Decalogue was likely similar if not the same as the Decalogue in Exodus in terms of its semantic and poetic dimension. This was produced at a time when monumental discourse was still clearly understood and not in great need of updating. The other dimensions, however, show significant changes. Most importantly, the text was moved from Sinai to Horeb and secondarily to Shechem. In these contexts, the monument no longer functioned as a cosmic boundary, but rather a conquest marker more in line with the boundary monuments of the 8th and 7th centuries. Furthermore, the movement to these locales betrays an attempt to locate the text in Israel in its atrophied state right before it was conquered by Assyria. It would be tempting to see this change as a response to Assyria's conquest of northern Israelite territories in 732, but this could just as easily be a response to the fall of the entire kingdom in 722.[1287] Finally, while the Decalogue was still associated with stelae in the Proto-Deuteronomic discourse, these stelae were understood as the bearers of a covenantal text. Furthermore, the text was now explicitly depicted as inscribed on stelae rather than merely connected with them in an ambiguous way. Similarly, though the ritual was imported from Sinai to Shechem, it was now clearly a segregated loyalty oath ritual rather than a monumentalization ritual for a memorial stele. These practices are only attested with stelae during the 8th century in the Levant and may reflect the age of court ceremony and Assyrian influence. All of this again points to a setting for the Proto-Deuteronomic Decalogue at some point during the final days of the Nimshide dynasty or perhaps immediately following the fall of the northern kingdom. As such, this version of the Decalogue either overlaps with the Court Ceremonial Decalogue or follows it almost immediately.

[1287] Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*, 318–21.

The Deuteronomic Decalogue may or may not have been marked by changes to the semantic and poetic dimension. This is a likely setting for the incorporation of Judahite traditions in the Decalogue, such as the reformulation of the Sabbath commandment using language from the Holiness Code. However, monumentality alone cannot determine whether these dimensions were changed by Deuteronomic editors or Deuteronomistic ones. What is likely, however, is that the spatial, aesthetic, and ritual dimensions were changed during this period. In particular, the Decalogue was relocated again from Shechem to Jerusalem by association with the tablets of stone in the Ark of the Covenant. Also, in response to Assyrian pressure on the region, textual authority was being reconfigured in Judah. The aesthetic dimension of the Decalogue changed accordingly and the text was now consciously written on stone tablets placed within the ark, probably in imitation of Assyrian *adê* monuments, *narû*-literature, and *temennu* monuments. The rituals attached to Deuteronomy and by extension the Decalogue within Deuteronomic discourse are more clearly based on loyalty oath ceremonies known from Neo-Assyrian contexts. This version of the Decalogue should thus be assigned to a Judahite context during the 7th century.

Finally, the Deuteronomistic Decalogue saw the most significant change. This version was produced at a time when the community editing the text was disconnected from their own monuments and any friendly institutions to produce and manipulate them correctly. Nevertheless, this community was in close contact with monuments and monument-making practices associated with groups they considered to be their oppressors. As such, the aesthetic and ritual dimensions are for the most part left alone with the implication that they no longer mattered. The primary shift in those dimensions is that the Deuteronomic emphasis on the textuality of the monument has given way to ritual interaction consisting solely of reading in the exilic and post-exilic contexts. The text was spatially relocated to Moab to reflect the hope of

returning to the land from the east. The poetic dimension of the text was similarly restructured to change the transition in the Decalogue from that of agent to user to one of Egypt or exile to freedom in the land. The semantic dimension also changed significantly during this period to accommodate individual practice in the place of congregational performances that were no longer tenable. The image, name, and Sabbath commandments changed extensively to apply to the exilic and post-exilic contexts in meaning if not always in words. Some of the social commands were similarly reexplained to ensure that they remained relevant during this time. While the Decalogue was arguably still monumental during this period in that it was still affording meaning to a community, its monumentality was only distantly derived from the Levantine monumental discourse in which it originated. In the place of these earlier monumentalities, a new monumentality was emerging entirely unique to the Jewish community of the exile and Second Temple period – a monumentality based around the revering and reading of portable texts apart from the creation of installations to display them and more complex rituals to activate them.

With that, we come to the end of the history of the Decalogue's monumentality in the Hebrew Bible. In Deuteronomy, the meaning the text afforded was still centered on creating an encounter with Yahweh that resulted in social formation for the monumental text's users. But changes in social context – some of them radical – required that this function be accomplished in ways increasingly different from those employed by earlier generations. The Decalogue persisted as a monument, however, precisely because its monumentality was updated in accordance with shifts in the broader history of monuments in the ancient Near East. These shifts combined ultimately to result in the birth of a totally new kind of monumental text that was more easily

remonumentalized by new generations long after the culture and religion that gave rise to the text had disappeared.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

It seems appropriate to end this book with a brief sketch of the Decalogue's history in light of its monumentality. The Decalogue is neither as old as traditionalists maintain nor quite as late as some textual critics have proposed.[1288] The Decalogue's content and context in the Hebrew Bible suggest that it was composed and depicted based on specific periods of monumental discourse in the ancient Levant. This is significant because some features of the Decalogue's monumental discourse disappeared from the Levant after a certain time, and – apart from their literary recapitulation in the Hebrew Bible – these discursive elements were then beyond recall. The Decalogue certainly continued to be edited, adapted, and appropriated after its initial production, but even this editing appears to be motivated by shifts in monumentality. That is, in order for the Decalogue to maintain its relevance as a received monument, its editors updated its depiction and sometimes even its content to better match the prestige monuments of their time. This part of the larger transmission and reception history of the Decalogue is the history of its monumentality.

It is necessary to reemphasize at the outset of this exercise that this method can ultimately only suggest broad periods in the Levantine history of monuments to which the Decalogue appears to conform at various stages. Exact dating is simply not possible with this kind of evidence, and the Decalogue's monumentality cannot explain every aspect of the text or its history. What this method can accomplish is to suggest sociohistorical periods that informed the

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[1288] Compare, for example, Coogan's proposal of a Bronze Age origin as opposes to Blum's 7th century date. Coogan, *The Ten Commandments: A Short History of an Ancient Text*; Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch."

composition and subsequent editing of the Decalogue. With this somewhat reserved goal in mind, the remainder of this chapter will combine the findings of the previous chapters into a fuller history of the Decalogue's monumentality.

The History of the Decalogue's Monumentality

The monumental discourse adapted for the production of the Decalogue emerged during the Bronze Age as monuments became a material means for reembodying the presence and agency of kings, and for perpetuating imagined verbal addresses by them to their people in order to bring about social formation. This monumental discourse was first appropriated by scribes writing in a West Semitic script and language in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions on the periphery of Egyptian territory as a means of competitively defining identity. The account in Exodus understands the Decalogue as an appropriation of such discourse – it is depicted as Yahweh's monument to his victory over Pharaoh and his actualization of Israelite identity at Sinai. While the Decalogue's discourse itself does not reflect this period, its setting and function nonetheless appear to reflect this important period in the history of Levantine monuments.

The Exodus Decalogue mostly reflects Levantine monumental discourse known from the 11th through the 7th century. Its spatial dimension, however, limits this even further to the 9th-8th centuries – after the incursions of Shalmaneser III inspired Levantine competitive emulation of territorially deployed monuments but before Tiglath-Pileser III restricted such deployment. The ritual and aesthetic dimensions of the Decalogue also point to a monumentality dating to the 10th-8th centuries, when civic rituals were still the norm for monument interaction and *maṣṣebot* were still regularly deployed in Israel and Judah. The ritual system described at Sinai and its material implements especially point to a Northern context for the monumentality attached to the Decalogue in Exodus. In particular, the ritual system attested at Dan during the Israelite

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monarchy aligns very closely with that described in Exodus 24. In addition to evidence for the

presence of the ritual implements described in Exodus 24 at Dan, the ritual feasts at Dan were

probably held during the Feast of Ingathering or Sukkot, which is explicitly connected to the

Decalogue in Psalms 50 and 81, 1 Kings 12, and Hosea – all northern texts. This evidence points

to the Decalogue's production taking place at some point in what I have labeled the Age of

Territorialization (870-790 BCE). It is possible that this period extended somewhat longer into

the 8th century in the southern Levant, where Assyrian pressure was felt somewhat less intensely

than in the north.[1289]

The ritual system attached to the Decalogue in Exodus 24, however, suggests the first

significant shift in its monumentality. While vv. 3-8 describes a civic ritual that could be

imitating monument manipulation rituals from the 11th to the first half of the 8th century, vv. 1-2

and 9-11 essentially describe a court ceremony. Such restricted rituals were not attached to

Levantine monuments until 790 BCE or later. This practice was likely inspired by the elite-

restricted ideology dissemination practices of the Assyrian Empire during this period, in which

we know Levantine emissaries – including some from Zincirli, Carchemish, and Israel –

participated. Accordingly, court ceremonies are first encountered in the Northern Levant in 790

BCE; though civic rituals may have continued, they were no longer attached to the erection of

new monuments. This same shift apparently occurred at Dan during the reign of Jeroboam II but

was realized through the separation of the Danite priests from the broader population. The ritual

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[1289] The best evidence for increased textualization in Israel comes from the 8th century, so it may be countered that the Decalogue could not have been produced in the 9th. However, the neighboring state of Moab produced several "I Am" monuments during the 9th century, during which we have no other evidence for scribal activity. An argument based on the lack of evidence is thus unconvincing. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 63; Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, 113–20; Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel*, 113–15.

feasts held in Dan – perhaps even Sukkot, which was closely associated with the Decalogue – were now partitioned. The priests – now elites as evidenced by their utensils and other luxury goods – took the meal in the central cultic district alone; the populace at large was not allowed inside. This shift might especially be located during the reign of Jeroboam II, during which emissaries from Samaria are known to have participated in similar rituals in Nimrud. It is during this period that the court ceremony described in Ex 24:1-2, 9-11 was added in order to reframe the performative dimension of the Decalogue. More conservatively, the terminus post quem for this version of the Decalogue is 790 BCE, and the terminus ante quem is 690 BCE when the Age of Court Ceremony ended.

With the change in Assyrian policy in the Levant in the 8th century, Levantine monumentality shifted yet again as communities reconfigured their identities in light of imperial pressure. It is during this time that a new type of monument rose to the fore. Loyalty oaths were now concluded as a part of monumentalization rituals, and they were materialized by means of lapidary treaties and contracts. These traditions may lie behind the influence of loyalty oath language on Proto-Deuteronomic discourse and it may explain the attachment of the Decalogue to the book of Deuteronomy. This may also explain editorial activity that explicitly commented on the textuality of the Decalogue.[1290] Since the Decalogue had accomplished the same function of identity formation in previous generations, it could be appropriated to do so again and introduce Deuteronomy as a new textual monument. In particular, the attachment of this loyalty oath to stelae and West Semitic curse formulae in Deut 27 point to a setting in the 8th century

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[1290] This is most striking in Deuteronomy, but a Deuteronom(ist)ic editor appears to have added it to the Exodus account as well by means of the insertion of Ex 24:7. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, 125–26.

Levant. This connection of the Decalogue with a loyalty oath could have occurred at any point in the Age of Court Ceremony. Other evidence from the book of Deuteronomy suggests a period near the end of the Israelite monarchy.

Given Hosea's interaction with both the Decalogue and Proto-Deuteronomic discourse, it would be attractive to see the Proto-Deuteronomic Decalogue appearing during the reign of Jeroboam II. In this case, however, Proto-Deuteronomy appears to be aligned with a movement more opposed to the Nimshides rather than interested in reproducing the details of their cultic reforms.[1291] Also, given Proto-Deuteronomy's setting in Shechem and the Proto-Deuteronomic prophets interaction with traditions from Bethel, this version of the Decalogue would appear to be more oriented towards Israel as it existed between 732 and 722 BCE. This evolution of the Decalogue's monumentality can thus be placed near the end of the Israelite monarchy or perhaps among the Israelite refugee scribes in the court of Hezekiah after the fall of the northern kingdom. Again, the court ceremonial practices informing the periodization of this version of the Decalogue may have survived longer in the southern Levant than in the north.

The northern traditions of the Decalogue are, of course, primarily known from their Judahite recensions. Among the Judahite Deuteronomic discursive strata in Deuteronomy, the loyalty oath connected to the book was expanded with features most similar to Assyrian *tuppi adê*. The text was supplemented with language drawn directly from texts like EST, it was

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[1291] Note that the Israelite sources for the books of Samuel and Kings – sometimes connected to the school of prophets led by Elisha – tend to portray Jehu and his reforms quite positively. The later Israelite expansion of this account as well as the Proto-Deuteronomic prophets Hosea and Amos, however, are more disparaging of Jehu and his dynasty. Such differences among prophetic schools may explain the different orientations of the Court Ceremonial and Proto-Deuteronomic Decalogues. Such an explanation has also been proposed for the pre-Deuteronomistic strata in Samuel-Kings. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Samuel 1-2Kings 10)*, 115–23, 152–57.

depicted as being inscribed on tablets, and those tablets were set in a tablet box. The most significant change to note, however, is Judahite Deuteronomy's relocation of the Decalogue to Jerusalem. Its placement in the ark became a means of placing Yahweh's name – that is, his inscription – in the Jerusalem temple. In other words, the Judahites took advantage of the Decalogue's newfound portability as a monumental text associated with tablets and loyalty oaths in order to move the Decalogue not only from Sinai to Shechem as in Proto-Deuteronomy but now from Israel to Judah as well. The Decalogue was still a central object pertinent to the affordance of social formation, but it had successfully been appropriated in Judah after Israel's destruction. The transposition of the Decalogue to Jerusalem may have occurred as early as the reign of Hezekiah after the destruction of Israel and potentially as late as during or shortly after the reign of Josiah. For the Deuteronomic Decalogue, we may thus suggest a terminus post quem at the fall of Samaria in 722 BCE and a terminus ante quem at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BCE.

The use of the Decalogue as a portable text in Deuteronomic discourse set the stage for a final shift in its monumentality in the post-monarchic period. The Deuteronomistic additions to the book of Deuteronomy reveal a significant detachment of the text from other monumental images. Deuteronomy 4 in particular provides an extensive exegesis of the first two commandments in the Decalogue in order to develop an anti-idolatry polemic. This shift was undoubtedly most relevant to the exilic community in Babylon and their descendants, who were actively engaged in "iconic politics" in many of the texts produced during and after that time.[1292]

[1292] On this concept – especially during the exilic period – see Levtow, *Images of Others: Iconic Politics in Ancient Israel*.

Various additional changes to the semantic content of the Decalogue point to the increasing privatization of religion during this period, when monuments and monumental theaters were no longer available to the Judeans for collectively staged rituals. This is also seen in the restriction of post-monarchic engagements with the text to reading and interpreting. Other ritual activities were no longer tenable in post-monarchic social contexts and were thus deemphasized. Along the same lines, the text was dislocated from monumental space at this time and either reset outside of traditional monumental theaters or intentionally made vague in terms of its spatial dimension. Geographically, this was realized in the Deuteronomists' setting of the text in Moab, which pointed to engagement with the text abroad as well as the hope of someday returning to the land from the east. This hope for a transition from exile to land is even seen in the restructuring of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. The overall result for the Decalogue was that it now became almost purely textual, stripped of any connection to earlier monumental discourse, and disinvested of any associated interaction other than reading, interpretation, and responsive obedience. These shifts were most necessary during the post-monarchic period, and so we may suggest a terminus post quem of 586 BCE. No terminus ante quem can be adduced by the method employed in this study, though.

Dates	Decalogue Stage	Relevant Passages
870 BCE | 790 BCE	Territorial Decalogue	Ex 19-20*, 24:3-6, 8
790 BCE | 690 BCE	Court Ceremonial Decalogue	Ex 19-20*, 24:1-2,9-11
732 BCE | 690 BCE	Proto-Deuteronomic Decalogue	Deut 5-27*, Ex 24:7
722 BCE | 586 BCE	Deuteronomic Decalogue	Deut 5-29*, 31*

586 BCE	Deuteronomistic Decalogue	Deut 1-31*
| ?		

The Implications of this Study

Now, it must be carefully stressed that apparent shifts in monumentality cannot explain all the literary layers involved in the texts containing and appended to the Decalogue. Undoubtedly, further changes were made that were differently motivated. This history of monumentality has allowed us to identify significant historical moments that likely motivated certain strategic shifts in the Decalogue's transmission as a monumental text preserved in literary form. One of the key goals of this study was to bring current work on material culture into conversation with biblical criticism. The nature of this method – especially its focus on monumental texts – necessarily means that it can only be applied to a limited corpus within the Hebrew Bible and only as one of a constantly growing set of methods for explicating the text. Nevertheless, this book has aimed to broaden the possible avenues of inquiry into both biblical and ancient Levantine monumental texts. It has proposed not only the juxtaposition of literary criticism with studies of material culture, but also the expansion of textual analysis from the semantic and structural dimensions to the potential aesthetic, spatial, and ritual dimensions of texts.

More significantly, this study has suggested a new model for textualization during the Iron Age and perhaps even nascent Scripturalization.[1293] Monumental texts provided an important model for creating authoritative texts in the Levant. Imbuing a text with

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[1293] I derive this term from Schniedewind, "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah."

monumentality involved the creation of an authoritative, often royal voice in permanent, material form. The authority of these texts was actualized in their ability to create and reconfigure social formation. Though the types of texts and the practices associated with them shifted over time, what was consistent was the link between monumental text, monument manipulation, and the authority necessary to shape a community. The Decalogue is yet another of a growing list of biblical texts that can be argued to have been modeled on pre-existing genres precisely in order to grant it authority. That is, by utilizing monumental discourse typically used to develop royal and elite authority and placing it in the mouth of Yahweh, the composer and later appropriators of the Decalogue imbued the text with divine authority. Could the use of the Decalogue as a fulcrum point between the Exodus account and the Sinai pericope have been intended to extend this authority to its context? Could its usage as an introduction to Deuteronomy have extended the Decalogue's pre-existing authority to Israel's new monumental text in the Deuteronomic Code? These questions must be left for future studies but they are significant avenues for further research. What this study has managed to conclude, however, is that the Decalogue's authority was ultimately the result of its monumentality. The Decalogue was ready to be scripturalized in a sense precisely because it was monumental.

The history of the Decalogue's monumentality does not end in the Hebrew Bible, of course. Utilizing a similar definition as that proposed in the introduction to this book, it would be possible to argue that the Decalogue as scripture in later Jewish and Christian traditions was still a monumental text. It was and is most certainly used by communities to derive special meaning. While those stages of the text's monumentality may be derived from the ones discussed in this book, they must also be couched in a separate history of monumental texts. What this study can propose, though, is that the Decalogue's transition from Levantine monument to Jewish and

Christian scripture was in part made possible by the text's monumentality – a monumentality originally derived from the material culture and practices of the ancient Near East that was radically transformed to be of continued relevance.

Of course, as the text became relevant to multiple communities, its monumentalities became increasingly disparate. For example, the Samaritans revised the Pentateuchal editions of the Decalogue yet again to make explicit that it was inscribed on stelae. They then began erecting such inscribed stelae anew.[1294] Early Christians argued emphatically that the Decalogue was actually spoken directly by God to the people at Sinai without mediation, raising the text above the rest of the Pentateuch. Yet simultaneously they suggested that the Decalogue had been superseded by Jesus' revelation (Heb 12:18-24).[1295] Perhaps in response to the above practices, Rabbinic Judaism instituted a removal of the Decalogue from the synagogue liturgy (Jerusalem Talmud, *Berakhot 1:8/3c*),[1296] and yet Talmudic commentators could still conceive of the voice of God in the Decalogue as never ceasing to speak (Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin 17a*; Jerusalem Talmud, *Megillah 1:5*).[1297] Clearly, these communities still encountered God in the Decalogue and used it to form some part of their identities. But how had they transformed the text? Was that transformation informed by extrabiblical monumentalities? Or was it a

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[1294] Naveh, "Scripts and Inscriptions in Ancient Samaria."

[1295] William G. Johnsson, "The Pilgrimage Motif in the Book of Hebrews," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 97, no. 2 (1978): 246.

[1296] David Novak, "The Sabbath Day," in *The Ten Commandments for Jews, Christians, and Others*, ed. Roger E. Van Harn (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2007), 70.

[1297] David Diamond, "The Face of Ethical Encounter," in *The Ten Commandments for Jews, Christians, and Others*, ed. Roger E. Van Harn (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2007), 4.

development unique to the religious communities that continued revering the text? These are

merely some of the avenues for future research made possible by this study.

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