

Deuteronomy and the Material Transmission of Tradition

By

Mark Lester



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Acknowledgements XI

List of Figures XIV

List of Tables XVII

Abbreviations XVIII

Introduction: Deuteronomy and the Book 1

- 1 Trajectories in Book History 2
- 2 Media Aesthetics and the Reading Experience 4
- 3 Deuteronomic Style and Textuality in Critical Biblical Scholarship 13
- 4 Deuteronomic Textuality in Early Modern Europe 20
- 5 Textuality, Materiality, and the Deuteronomic Composition 24

1 From Discourse to Artifact 31

- 1 Entextualization 32
- 2 Internal Self-Reference and Labeling in the Deuteronomic Composition 36
 - 2.1 *Self-Referential Phrases within Moses's Speeches* 42
 - 2.2 *Self-Referential Phrases in Third-Person Narration and Rubrics* 46
- 3 The Deuteronomic Composition as *tôrâ* 47
 - 3.1 *Deuteronomic tôrà as Covenant Stipulations* 49
 - 3.2 *Self-Reference and the Structure of tôrà* 54
- 4 The "Words of *tôrâ*" as Inscribed Text 56
- 5 Enacting Repetition of the *tôrâ* 57
- 6 Deuteronomy 28:58 within and beyond the Deuteronomic Composition 62

2 Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as Text and Object 66

- 1 Writing a *tuppi adê* of Succession 68
- 2 Conceptual Whole 73
 - 2.1 *Adê ("Treaty," "Loyalty Oath")* 73
 - 2.2 *Abutu ("Word," "Will")* 79
- 3 Component Parts 80
 - 3.1 *Libbi adê ("adê Contents")* 80
 - 3.2 *Māmītu/tamītu ("Oath," "Curse")* 82
 - 3.3 *Šumu ("Name")* 86

4	Circulating the Will of Esarhaddon	87
5	Text-Artifact	92
6	Media Aesthetics of the EST Tablets	96
6.1	<i>The Layout and Visuality of the ṭuppi adê</i>	98
6.2	<i>Sealing and the Stability of the Inscribed Will of Esarhaddon</i>	102
6.3	<i>The Semiotics of the ṭuppi adê and the Place of the Viewer</i>	108
7	Conclusion	114
3	Monuments and Interaction: The Case of Kulamuwa's Portal Inscription	116
1	Monuments as Interactive Media	118
2	Kulamuwa's Orthostat at Iron Age Zincirli	123
3	Pragmatic Features of Kulamuwa's Orthostat Composition	129
4	Media Aesthetics of Kulamuwa's Orthostat	131
4.1	<i>Materiality and Archaeological Context</i>	131
4.2	<i>Figurative Relief Carving</i>	134
4.3	<i>Visual Layout and Presentation of the Composition</i>	140
5	Kulamuwa's Performance of Kingship	141
6	Portal Orthostat as Interactive Object	146
7	Pragmatic Paradigms of Zincirli's Iron Age Inscriptions	150
7.1	<i>Voicing and Size</i>	151
7.2	<i>Dedicatory Statements</i>	156
7.3	<i>Artistic Style</i>	162
7.4	<i>Form, Context, Interaction</i>	164
8	Conclusion	171
4	The Material Imaginary of the Deuteronomic Composition	173
1	The Tablets of the Covenant (Deut 4:13; 5:22; 9:9–10:5)	174
2	Adornments of Heart and Home (Deut 6:6–9; 11:18–21)	187
2.1	<i>Signs of Personal Affiliation</i>	192
2.2	<i>Signs of Communal Affiliation</i>	195
3	An Anti-Royal Inscription (Deut 17:14–20)	199
3.1	<i>Conditionality and Instructions for Future Viewers</i>	204
3.2	<i>Instructions for Future Interaction</i>	205
3.3	<i>Instructions Concerning Textual Display</i>	206
4	A Public Monument (Deut 27:1–8)	209
5	The Scroll (Deut 31:9–13, 24–26)	215
6	The Transcribed Song (Deut 31:16–22, 30; 32:1–44)	217
7	Conclusion	218

- 5 **Textual Landscapes and the Poetics of Proximity** 220
 - 1 Centralization and the Materiality of Ritual (Deut 12:2–7) 221
 - 2 Text-Artifacts in the Cultic Landscape (Deut 6:9; 11:20; 31:9–13, 24–26) 227
 - 3 Text-Artifacts in the Judicial Landscape (Deut 17:2–13) 236
 - 4 The Aura of Authenticity and the Making of Literature 243
 - 4.1 *Narrative Analogies* 245
 - 4.2 *Text-Artifact as Anchor* 249
 - 4.3 *Documentary Style and Narrative Technique* 255
 - 5 Conclusion 259

Epilogue: The Deuteronomic Composition and the Movement of Culture 262

Bibliography 267

Index of Ancient Sources 297

Index of Modern Authors 306

Figures

- 1 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington D.C., 1982. Designed by Maya Lin. Photo Credit: James P. Blaire / GEO Image Collection / Art Resource, NY 6
- 2 Stele of the Law Code of Hammurabi. SB 8. Diorite: 2.25 m × 0.65 m. Photo Credit: Frank Raux. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY 8
- 3 “Of Enuie.” Stephen Bateman, *Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation* (1569), G4v. Image Credit: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University 23
- 4 EST’s *tuppi adê*: past, present, and future 91
- 5 Obverse of tablet containing the exemplar of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty that was found at Tell Tayinat. 672 B.C.E. Inv. T1801. Clay: 40 cm × 28 cm. Photo Credit: Julie Unruh, courtesy of Tayinat Archaeological Project 100
- 6 Reverse of tablet containing the exemplar of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty that was found at Tell Tayinat. 672 B.C.E. Inv. T1801. Clay: 40 cm × 28 cm. Photo Credit: Jennifer Jackson, courtesy of Tayinat Archaeological Project 101
- 7 Obverse of a fragment of the upper part of a tablet containing an exemplar of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty with Humbareš, ruler of the city of Nahšimarti in Media, with three seal impressions. 672 B.C.E. Inv. 132548. Clay: 28 cm × 19 cm. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY 105
- 8 Layers of support for the *adê* of Esarhaddon 107
- 9 Portal orthostat of Kulamuwa from Zincirli (ancient Sam’al), Turkey with sixteen-line Phoenician inscription (KAI 24) and relief carving. Ca. 840–810 B.C.E. Inv. S 06579. Basalt: 1.52 m × 1.29 m. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Gudrun Stenzel / Art Resource, NY 126
- 10 Plan of the Northwest Complex of the Zincirli citadel. Drawing: David Kertai. Used with permission 132
- 11 Colossal statue from Zincirli citadel (ancient Sam’al), Turkey. Basalt: 3.72 m × 1.10 m (inclusive of socle). Photo Credit: Dick Osseman. Used with permission 133
- 12 Relief carving detail of portal orthostat of Kulamuwa from Zincirli (ancient Sam’al), Turkey. Ca. 840–810 B.C.E. Inv. S 06579. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Gudrun Stenzel / Art Resource, NY 135
- 13 Stele with relief of a ruler and attendant from Zincirli citadel (ancient Sam’al), Turkey. Ca. 840–810 B.C.E. Inv. S 6580. Basalt: 56 cm × 36 cm. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Jürgen Liepe / Art Resource, NY 136

- 14 Wall panel relief from Northwest Palace at Nimrud. Ca. 865–860 B.C.E. Slab B 23. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY 138
- 15 Cast of Royal Buttress from Carchemish with standing *amu*-figure. Ca. early eighth century B.C.E. Basalt. Photo Credit: Dick Osseman. Used with permission 139
- 16 Gold pendant from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey. Ca. ninth–eighth century B.C.E. Inv. S 3625. Gold: 4.5 cm × 4.4 cm. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Stefan Büchner / Art Resource, NY 153
- 17 Bulla with impression of stamp seal with Bar-Rakib's name from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey. Ca. 730–710 B.C.E. Inv. S 3706. Clay: 1.9 cm length, 2.0 cm width, 1.1 cm thick, 1.15 cm diameter. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum / Art Resource, NY 154
- 18 Silver ingot inscribed in Aramaic with the name "Bar-Rakib, son of Panamuwa" from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey. Ca. 730–710 B.C.E. Silver. Photo Credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY 155
- 19 Palace orthostat of Bar-Rakib from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey with Aramaic inscription (*KAI* 216). Ca. 730–710 B.C.E. Photo Credit: Mark Lester 163
- 20 Portal orthostat of Bar-Rakib from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey, with relief carving and Aramaic inscription (*KAI* 218). Ca. 730–710 B.C.E. Inv. VA 02708. Basalt: 3.22 m × 1.35 m × 50 cm. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Jürgen Liepe / Art Resource, NY 166
- 21 Stele with relief carving of mortuary repast and thirteen-line Aramaic inscription in the name of Katumuwa from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey. Ca. eighth century B.C.E. Basalt: 99 cm × 72 cm × 25 cm. Permission of the Chicago-Tübingen Excavations at Zincirli. Photo Credit: Dick Osseman. Used with permission 169
- 22 Stele with relief carving and inscription commemorating the victory of Esarhaddon from Zincirli (ancient Sam'al), Turkey. 671 B.C.E. Inv. VA 02708. Basalt: 3.22 m × 1.35 m × 50 cm. Photo Credit: bpk Bildagentur / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Jürgen Liepe / Art Resource, NY 172
- 23 Colossal statue with Phoenician inscription (*KAI* 26 C), from Karatepe-Aslantaş (ancient Azatiwataya), Turkey. Basalt. Photo Credit: Mark Lester 233
- 24 Concentric structure of Azatiwada's monumental program 234
- 25 Orthostats from monumental gate with Phoenician inscription in the name of

- Azatiwada (*KAI 26 A*), from Karatepe-Aslantaş (ancient Azatiwataya), Turkey. Basalt. Photo Credit: Mark Lester 234
- 26 Portal lion from monumental gate with final lines of a Phoenician inscription (*KAI 26 A*), from Karatepe-Aslantaş (ancient Azatiwataya), Turkey. Basalt. Photo Credit: Mark Lester 235

Tables

1	Construct phrases and the structure of discourse in D	39
2	Construct phrases with <i>dabārîm</i>	48
3	Oath stipulations in EST	85
4	Discourse terms used self-seferentially in EST	88
5	Discourse terms that refer to external (competing) entities	89
6	References to the text-artifact (EST §35)	93
7	Treatment of the <i>adê</i> tablet (EST §§35–36)	95
8	Analogies of communication in D	247
9	The Israelite king as ideal reader	248