

¹⁷ Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre X, 114.

¹⁸ Panneau I, 20-24 = palm. 1,7-11.

¹⁹ Voir Février, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

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THE EXODUS AS A REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT*

European historiography has developed several views of the exodus. Pederson (1934) and Noth (1958) took the view that Ex. 1-15 was "a passover festival legend, holding that it came into being over the course of centuries"¹. Mowinkel, however, opposed this view. In Le décalogue (1927) he viewed the first fifteen chapters as a description of a cultic festival or covenant renewal festival. In this he comes close to approximating the view of this writer. Others tried to associate different parts of the exodus experience with different groups of Israelites. Some like Osswald and Schmid, however, viewed the book of Exodus as "the product of accumulated tradition" without reference to Moses.

For Fohrer Moses was "first and foremost a recipient of revelation, founder of a cult, and inspired leader of a nomadic (or semi-nomadic) group that achieved solidarity on the basis of its new religion and sought to realize the promise of territorial possession. The escape from Egypt took place under the aegis of this new religion"². Israelite conquest of Canaan promoted Yahwehism to the status of a world religion, Fohrer believed.

For the late William F. Albright, dean of American "Biblical archaeologists", Moses was the founder of Israel's religion and

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commonwealth. Deliverance from Egypt was the anvil upon which Israel's nationhood and faith were forged³.

Current Anglo-American historiography focuses on the route and date of the exodus, the nature of Israel's monotheism⁴, and the role of the covenant. The latter is seen as the basis for the legal structure of the Mosaic code⁵. Anglo-American historiography sees Moses, the exodus, and Mosaic ethical monotheism as basic to Israelite nationhood, life, and culture⁶. The exodus marked "the beginning of the Hebrews as a nation"⁷.

But did Israel's faith begin with Moses and the exodus?

Roy L. Honeycutt, Jr. in The Broadman Commentary (1969) writes with reference to Alt that the phrase "God of your fathers": "underscores the distinction between patriarchal religion and the revelation mediated through Moses, while at the same time indicating an essential continuity between the religion of the patriarchs and the worship of Yahweh during the era of Moses" (p. 315). The exodus fulfilled God's promise to Jacob (Gen. 46: 1-4). This view comes close to Mowinkel's idea of covenant renewal. But neither Honeycutt, nor Mowinkel, nor Fohrer with his idea of Moses as a recipient of revelation or founder of a cult, adequately explain the exodus deliverance or the role of Moses in the life and faith of Israel. A more accurate view can be had by applying the insights of the anthropology of religion to a study of the exodus. Such an approach takes Moses, the exodus event, and the text of Exodus on their own terms. The insights of revitalization anthropology when applied to Exodus provides the historian and theologian with new insights, a new genre and motif.

Anthony F. C. Wallace, an anthropologist, provides such an approach to folk history and legend that lies at the heart of this new interpretation of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. In The De-kanawideh Myth Analysed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement (1958)⁸, Wallace attempts to reconstruct an historical event out of its legendary matrix. Wallace defines a revitalization

movement as a "deliberate organized effort [...] to produce a more satisfying culture" during or after a period of stress and cultural disorientation. Such a movement aims at stability. Beginning with an outline of the legend of Hiawatha, a North American Indian, Wallace develops an Iroquois culture history in which the decline of the social order is the result of instability due to increased population and blood feuds. The lack of social stability and the presence of blood feuds showed the need for revitalization. Hiawatha's preaching against blood feuds led to social stability (c. AD 1400-1600, esp. the latter).

The technique that Wallace uses requires several versions of the same legend, preferably from different periods of time⁹. He sees the prophet as an innovator. Other prophetic movements, however, show that a prophet's message is usually conservative, telling how to restore the old ways. Thus for example, Old Testament prophets called for radical changes that were to return Israel to her original covenant relationship with God that began with the patriarchs. Although Wallace's approach does not fit all revitalization movements, it does fit many. It is a tool that the historian can use to open new windows on the past. This paper applies Wallace's technique to the accounts of the Hebrew Exodus.

For Wallace the process of revitalization consists of five stages:

- I. Steady State;
- II. Period of Individual Stress;
- III. Period of Cultural Distortion;
- IV. Period of Revitalization;
- V. New Steady State.

The fourth period, Revitalization, Wallace further sub-divides into six stages:

- A. Revelation,
- B. Communication,

- C. Organization,
- D. Adaptation,
- E. Cultural Transformation,
- F. Routinization.

Wallace notes that the process begins with a vision in which a deity outlines society's problems and their solution. The solution often consists of a code of behaviour, belief, ritual, social, and/or economic practices. The prophet is challenged with communicating the message and gathering disciples. "If all goes well, the code is finally institutionalized by the society as part of its culture". Thus the prophet is called and given his mission to transform society.

It is the contention of this writer that the Book of Exodus, like the story of Hiawatha, is a record of a revitalization movement. All of Wallace's stages are present:

I and II "Steady State" and "Individual Stress" - Wallace notes that the Iroquois' original steady state was interrupted by increased interaction brought about by population increase. We read the same of the Hebrews in Exodus 1: 11-22, "Therefore they (the Egyptians) did set over them (the Hebrews) taskmasters to afflict them [...] But the more they (the Egyptians) afflicted them, the more they (the Hebrews) multiplied and grew [...]". Moses' period of personal stress is recorded in Exodus 2: 11-22, the episode in which he kills an Egyptian for beating a Hebrew and then flees into the desert.

III. "Cultural Distortion" - The most likely equivalent to Wallace's Period of Cultural Distortion is Exodus 1: 14 and 22, "And they (the Egyptians) made their (the Hebrews') lives bitter [...] 'Every son that is born you shall throw into the river [...]'. Having been invited into Egypt by an earlier pharaoh under a pharaoh who "knew not Joseph" they now forced into corvée labor and experienced acute demographic change. A general lack of social cohesion may also be implied in the peoples' reaction to Moses' first bid for leadership: "Who made you a prince and a judge over us?" (2: 14).

IV. "Revitalization" - In Exodus chapter three the parallels with Wallace's Revitalization Period are clear. Exodus 3 and 4, the episode of the burning bush, is the point of revelation when the prophet Moses is called and given his message. God speaks from a flaming bush and tells Moses to go to his people, to rally them around the standard of patriarchal faith, and to lead them out of Egypt.

Wallace's "Communication" and "Organization" stages within the "Period of Revitalization" are seen in Exodus 4: 29 - 11: 9, in which Moses has the task of convincing Pharaoh and the Hebrews to obey the LORD. Pharaoh had to be convinced to let the Hebrews go; and the Hebrews had to be convinced to leave. Like Mohammed, Moses' first converts, his first disciples, were members of his own family. Later the elders of Israel sided with him (4: 29). Eventually the people, too, came to believe in the possibility and necessity of deliverance.

Wallace's stage of "Adaptation" ("strategic innovation") is seen in the Passover Supper (Ex. 12). Israel found unity of faith and practice in this new institution. But "Cultural Transformation" and "Revitalization" proper took place en route, in the exodus itself. Most of the Book of Exodus details the changes wrought under Moses' theocratic leadership, changes that prepared the Hebrews for life in the Land of Promise. Just as Hiawatha's rule against blood feuds "effectively transform(ed) the Iroquois ethnic confederacy into a political confederacy" so the Passover, selection of judges and priests, the Law of Sinai, and the building of the tabernacle (Ex. 18 - 31), the major events of the exodus, galvanized Israel into a theocratic nation. Israel's religious change resulted in social change. Renewal of the divine covenant revitalized Israel.

In the wilderness and in Canaan, Israel's "Steady State" developed. Israel's Steady State, interrupted as it was by the Philistines, was not any less steady than that of the Iroquois, which was interrupted by Europeans. In both cases the political

machinery established allowed the Iroquois and Hebrew nations to become established and to grow. Only in Israel's case was a true nation state eventually established¹⁰.

The exodus was an event with many dimensions. It was a political challenge to the Egyptian establishment. Religiously it was a power encounter between the gods of Egypt and the Creator God of Israel. Sociologically the exodus was a movement that created a nation. To view the exodus as purely a socio-political phenomenon is to limit one's understanding of the exodus, for revitalization movements are born out of the encounter of the natural and the supernatural, dialectic become synthesis¹¹.

Neither historiography nor exegesis can ignore the sociological, cultural, or literary dimensions that establish the context of an event. It is possible, thanks to Wallace, to identify a new literary category: revitalization genre. The following chart outlines the exodus as a revitalization movement.

The Exodus as a Revitalization Movement:

- I. Steady State - Exodus 1;
- II. Period of Stress - Exodus 1-2;
- III. Period of Cultural Distortion - Exodus 1:14, 22, 2:14;
- IV. Period of Revitalization - Exodus 3-40:
 - A. Revelation - Exodus 3-4,
 - B. Communication - Exodus 4,
 - C. Organization - Exodus 4-11, Leviticus,
 - D. Adaptation - Exodus 12,
 - E. Cultural Transformation and Routinization - Exodus 13-40, Deuteronomy;
- V. New Steady State - Joshua and Judges.

In the history of Israel, Moses was the Hebrews' Hiawatha¹², leading Israel through a period of stress into a state of social and religious revitalization. Like all prophetic movements, the exodus was a conscious, deliberate, organized effort to produce

a more satisfying culture via religion. It revitalized the culture and faith of the Hebrews. Because of what the exodus did it may be defined as a revitalization movement, perhaps the earliest known to history.

NOTES

¹ G. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, Nashville 1972, p. 68 with reference to Pederson, Passahfest und Passahlegende, ZAW LVII, pp. 161-175; and M. Noth, Das zweite Buch Mose, Exodus (1959), pp. 70-77. (Fohrer's original edition was Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion, Berlin 1968).

² Fohrer, op. cit., p. 72.

³ Cf. W. F. Albright, From Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process, Garden City 1957, p. 258. Yet cf. R. J. GrenaId, The Philistines: An Historiographic Analysis (unpublished) Masters thesis, Department of History, California State University at Fullerton 1969, (Available, University Microfilms), for the thesis that the Israelite state came into being in conflict with the Philistines. (See also J. Bright, History of Israel, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 153-5, 163).

⁴ Bright, op. cit., pp. 111-115, 139f; J. D. Douglas (ed.), New Bible Dictionary, Grand Rapids 1962, pp. 402-403; K. A. Kitchen, Ancient Orient and Old Testament, London 1966, pp. 57-75; L. T. Wood, Date of the Exodus [in:] J. Barton Payne (ed.), New Perspectives on the Old Testament, Waco 1970, pp. 66-87; and H. Shanks The Exodus and the Crossing of the Red Sea According to Hans Goedicke, pp. 42-50 with A Critique of Professor Goedicke's Exodus Theories by Charles R. Krahmalkov, pp. 51-54, Biblical Archaeology Review VII: 5 (Sept/Oct., 1981). Goedicke tries to identify the pharaoh of the exodus with Hatshepsut whose armies he claims drowned in a tidal wave caused by the eruption of Thera, the discharge of which was the pillar of cloud and fire; while Krahmalkov has a few hundred Hebrews cross the Red Sea by boat! Hopefully the latter two do not represent the best of the latest American scholarship. (Both teach at American universities).

⁵ Cf. G. E. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Pittsburg 1955, pp. 24-49.

⁶ Cf. J. Kenneth Eakins, Moses, Review and Expositor

LXXIV: 4 (Fall, 1977), pp. 461-472, for a survey of interpretations of Moses as prophet, deliverer, guide, covenant mediator, lawgiver, and "midwife".

⁷ Clyde T. Francisco, The History of Israel [in:] C. J. Allen, ed., The Broadman Commentary Vol. 1, rev. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1973), p. 58. "In the Exodus the latent power of Israel's faith received a thrust that would never be denied. Later Israel would look back to the deliverance from Egypt to keep its faith alive" (p. 59). The discovery of the books of the Law sparked Josiah's reforms (cf. Mendenhall, op. cit., pp. 47-50).

⁸ Reprinted from Ethnohistory 5:2 (Spring, 1958) pp. 118-130 [in:] Kenneth M. Morrison, ed., American Indian History: A Reader in Early Culture Contact, 1492-1760 (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, UCLA) 1975. No pagination.

⁹ For the exodus this involves the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy plus Psalms 105, 106, and 136.

¹⁰ Under Hiawatha the Iroquois established the confederation (League) of Five (later Six) Nations, centered on the Great Lakes of the United States and Canada. Not all Iroquois peoples were in the Confederation (e.g., the Cherokees). There were a number of vassal states and peoples. (Cf. A. F. C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, New York: Random House, 1972). Although the Iroquois did not become a true nation state their confederation inspired the American federal union (cf. Donald A. Grinde, Jr., The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977). The Iroquois League may be likened to early Italian and Greek Leagues or perhaps the Philistine and Hebrew tribal confederations. The latter are amply discussed in Bruce D. Rahtjen, The Philistine Amphictyony, Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, 1964 (available from University Microfilms). Such leagues were fairly common in Amerindian North America in pre-Columbian and early colonial times (e.g. Cahokia (?), Natchez, Powhatan, Cherokees).

¹¹ Cf. A. F. C. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View (New York: Random House, 1966) p. 38.

¹² Longfellow's depiction of Hiawatha in the poem of the same is purely fictional.

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EGYPTIAN SCARABS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ

In the collection of ancient objects gathered in the National Museum in Poznań there are twelve Egyptian scarabs¹ which are unfortunately deprived of any data connected with their provenience. Not even a single example of this collection was ever a subject of any publication. The oldest objects of the discussed collection come from the Second Intermediate Period and are examples of the Hyksos scarabs. The other objects are the examples of scarabs from the times of New Kingdom and Late Period. Although the presented collection does not comprise a big or homogeneous group, it presents, however, an interesting material for the lately developing research and thorough studies on the Egyptian scarabs.

Catalogue

The catalogue entries placed below include the main inventory data, short descriptions and interpretation of the objects. While describing the backs of the scarabs the author did not take into consideration the useful but complicated typology introduced independently by many authors (e.g. P. E. Newberry 1907, H. R. Hall 1913, A. Rowe 1936); however, the author paid attention to some of its characteristic features and each note is provided with the photograph of the object and the base drawing. All the