

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Foreword</i>	xv
INTRODUCTION	1
PART ONE GENERAL FOUNDATIONS	
CHAPTER ONE	
<i>Theme and Structure of the Book of Exodus</i>	11
Exodus (Chapters 1–15)	11
<i>God Reveals His Name—God Reveals His Power</i>	
Sinai—Calling, Covenant, and Law (Chapters 15–24)	20
<i>The Way to Sinai—God Reveals the Covenant</i>	
Divine Presence (Chapters 25–40)	25
<i>God Reveals the Tabernacle—Revelation of the Divine Being: Breach and Reconciliation—The Tabernacle Is Built—The Revelation Concludes: God’s Permanent Presence</i>	
CHAPTER TWO	
<i>The Historical Background: Event and Remembrance</i>	32
Memories	34
<i>The Hyksos—Amarna—Ḥabiru/‘apiru—Waves of Migration, Sea Peoples—Theocracy</i>	
Experiences	47
<i>Miraculous Redemption from Mortal Danger—The “Secession of the Northern Tribes”: The First Occasion for Remembering the Exodus?—Israel Refounded: The Principal Occasion for Remembering the Exodus</i>	

CHAPTER THREE

<i>Textual History and the History of Meaning</i>	55
Redaction as “Cultivation of Meaning”: Textual Layering in the Bible	55
From Myth to Canon and Back	74
The “Mosaic Distinctions” and the Monotheism of Loyalty	79

PART TWO | THE EXODUS

CHAPTER FOUR

<i>The Tribulations of the Israelites and the Birth of the Savior</i>	93
Bondage in Egypt	93
The Birth of the Child	106
Moses’s Childhood and Upbringing	114

CHAPTER FIVE

<i>God Reveals His Name: Moses at the Burning Bush</i>	117
Moses Is Called	117
God Renews His Promise	123
Excursus I: The Burning Bush in Schoenberg’s Opera <i>Moses und Aron</i>	126
I Am That I Am	131

CHAPTER SIX

<i>Signs and Wonders: God Reveals His Power</i>	138
The Plagues of Egypt	138
The Egyptian-Hellenistic Tradition	154
The Institution of the Passover Feast and the Passover Haggadah	161
Excursus II: Moses’s Song of Thanksgiving and Handel’s Oratorio <i>Israel in Egypt</i>	173

PART THREE | THE COVENANT

CHAPTER SEVEN

<i>The Calling of the People</i>	181
Holy People and Portable Fatherland	181
The Torah as Memory	191
The Development of the Covenant Idea: Bridal and Filial Metaphors	196

CHAPTER EIGHT	
<i>Treaty and Law</i>	204
The Deconstruction of Kingship: Treaty and Law as the Constitution of God's People	204
The Ten Commandments	209
The Covenant Code and the Solemnization of the Covenant	224
Excursus III: "Excarnation" and Theologization of the Law	236
Excursus IV: The Decalogue and Egyptian Norms for Judging the Dead	240
CHAPTER NINE	
<i>Resistance: Moses and the Violent Fate of the Prophets</i>	253
Murmuring in the Desert	253
The Murder of Moses?	271
The Violent Fate of the Prophets	276
CHAPTER TEN	
<i>The Institutionalization of Divine Presence</i>	287
YHWH Comes to Dwell among His People	287
The Golden Calf: The Original Sin against the Covenant	302
Excursus V: The Golden Calf in Schoenberg's Opera <i>Moses und Aron</i> A "Book of the Temple"?	317
A "Book of the Temple"?	322
CONCLUSION	327
Narrative, Historical, and Performative Truth	327
Revelation	329
Out of Egypt	332
Exodus as Political Myth	334
Exodus and Monotheism	335
<i>Notes</i>	339
<i>Bibliography</i>	365
<i>Illustration Credits</i>	383
<i>Index</i>	385

INTRODUCTION

The Exodus from Egypt remains our starting point.

—*Sigmund Freud*¹

In the beginning was belief: belief in *one* God.

—*Heinrich August Winkler*²

The big bang of modernization occurred with the [. . .]
exodus from the world of polytheistic cultures.

—*Aleida Assmann*³

THE BOOK OF EXODUS contains what may well be considered the most grandiose and influential story ever told. Its theme is a watershed in the history of the human race, comparable only to such momentous milestones on the road to modernity as the invention of writing and the emergence of states: the shift from polytheism to monotheism. This was an evolutionary caesura of the first importance, at least for the Judeo-Christian-Islamic world. Even if it would take the Christianization and Islamization of the ancient world to reveal the full extent of its revolutionary impact, the story told in the Book of Exodus represents its founding myth. Exodus is thus not just the founding myth of Israel but that of monotheism as such, a key constituent of the modern world. The historian Gottfried Schramm, for one, sees in the departure from Egypt the first of “five crossroads in world history.”⁴

To write the reception history of the Book of Exodus is therefore an impossible undertaking: its influence has been immeasurably vast, its impact all but ubiquitous. I propose instead to consider the source of that unique impact and lay bare the mythic core from which it draws its appeal. Myths lend themselves to countless retellings and revisions. They have the power to reveal new dimensions of life, to reorient human existence or even set it on a new footing, shedding light on situations and experiences that they invest with meaning. Myths are nar-

rative elements that, configured and reconfigured in various ways, allow societies, groups, and individuals to create an identity for themselves—that is, to know who they are and where they belong—and to navigate complex predicaments and existential crises. With the help of the Osiris myth, for example, the Egyptians worked through the problem of death in their culture, while Sigmund Freud understood and treated his patients' neuroses in light of the Oedipus myth.

The Book of Exodus is devoted to the two most important questions on which human minds have dwelled since time immemorial: the question of the role played by the divine in our lives and the question of who “we” are. Both questions take on a specific form in the light of the Exodus myth and they are inextricably intertwined, since who “we” are is determined largely by what God has in mind for “us.” The Egyptians appear never to have asked themselves such questions. They considered themselves not as “Egyptians” but simply as human beings, having emerged from God together with every other living thing (including deities) at the origin of the cosmos. God, for his part, has no special plan or destiny in mind for us; his sole purpose is to keep the universe on track, a task in which we humans can support him by performing religious rites. History did not appear to the Egyptians as a project structured around promises and their fulfillment, but rather as an ongoing process that had to be kept in harmony with primordial mythic patterns through cultural practice and so preserved from change. The Exodus myth, by contrast, relates how God freed the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, singling them out from all the other peoples in order that they might jointly realize the project of a just society. A greater difference can hardly be imagined. Whereas the Egyptian myth tells a story about how the universe was created, the biblical myth of Exodus recounts how something wholly new came to be established within a world that had been created long ago. As presented in the myth, this groundbreaking new order arose in two ways: through revolution and revelation. In order to free the children of Israel, God first had to break the power of their oppressors; and in order to make them his chosen people and covenant partners in a new religion, he first had to reveal himself to them and proclaim his will.

A clear distinction needs to be made between the Exodus story and the Book of Exodus. The Exodus story goes far beyond what is dealt

with in the Book of Exodus, for without the motif of the Promised Land that story cannot yield its full meaning. The escape from Egypt can be narrated only retrospectively, from the place foreseen at the time of departure as the ultimate destination. This is a story told by those who have arrived, not by those still wandering in the wilderness; by those who have been confirmed in their possession of the new, not by those who have only been emancipated from the old. The motifs of departure and Promised Land thus already belong together in the original myth before being subjected to literary development in the second to fifth books of Moses, as well as in the Book of Joshua. In the Torah, which prefaces this “Ur-Pentateuch” with the Book of Genesis and leaves out the Book of Joshua with the advent in the Promised Land, the Exodus story was confined to the biography of Moses, whose death marks its endpoint. The Exodus story centers on the three primal motifs of departure, covenant, and Promised Land. Those are the mythic kernels from which the account of Israel’s departure from Egypt draws its transformative power across all its countless retellings. The Book of Exodus, by contrast, is restricted to the motifs of departure and covenant. It ends not with the Israelites’ entry into the Promised Land but with God’s entry into a form of symbiosis with his chosen people.

Accordingly, the Book of Exodus is split into three parts. The first part, chapters 1–15, tells the story of *liberation* from Egyptian captivity. The second, chapters 16–24, concerns the *binding* of the Israelites to the new covenant offered them by God. Interestingly, their oppression in Egypt and the religion that liberates them from it are both given the same Hebrew word here: *‘ābōdâ* or “service.” Human service signifies oppression, divine service denotes freedom. Revelation is the overall theme that shapes both parts, however. The third part, which follows in chapters 25–40, stands in for the Promised Land, understood as the goal that inspired the children of Israel to set out from Egypt.⁵ This concluding part of the book is also the longest, although it has enjoyed nothing like the historical influence of the other two. It describes how the Temple (or Tabernacle), priesthood, and cult were set up. In other words, it concerns the institutionalization of the covenant in the form of a new religion. It is now widely accepted that this third part was added by the Priestly Source, which collated the Books of Genesis and

Exodus into a comprehensive historical narrative toward the end of the sixth century BCE.

The Exodus story is also referred to outside the Book of Exodus in surprisingly few biblical texts. Apart from passing allusions in some of the prophets, there are a handful of psalms indicating that tales of God's saving deeds had a fixed place in the liturgy of the postexilic cult of the Second Temple. Here, two points become quite clear: these tales are commemorative acts, intended to preserve past events from oblivion by handing them down to future generations; and, in addition to the three core mythic motifs of departure, covenant, and Promised Land mentioned above, we find here a fourth: the sins of the fathers, which the chosen people had to expiate by wandering in the wilderness for forty years after making the covenant at Sinai until their descendants finally reached the Promised Land. The histories of salvation and damnation go hand in hand, the former brought to mind amid the pangs of the latter. The great liturgy recited in the interconnected Psalms 105–7 begins by recapitulating the tale of the forefathers and Joseph, invoking God's promise "to give the land of Canaan" to Abraham and his seed (105:7–24), before recalling the exodus and the plagues of Egypt. Psalm 106 continues with the parting of the Red Sea and the various pitfalls into which the ill-tempered Israelites stumbled during their years in the wilderness, culminating in the gravest sin of all: the adoption of Canaanite customs in the Promised Land, upon which God drove them out and scattered them among the peoples. Psalm 107 is then the hymn of thanksgiving offered by those whom God brought back from "out of the lands, from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the south" (107:3).

The Exodus story thus singles out the chosen people in three ways. It distinguishes them from Egypt as the epitome of the old system, which they are enjoined to abandon definitively and unconditionally; from their Canaanite neighbors in the Promised Land, who represent a false, blasphemous religion; and from the "fathers," who remind the Israelites of their own sinful past. It is this final motif, with its dual injunction to both repudiate the "sins of the fathers" and assume collective responsibility for them, that has come to seem uniquely significant in Germany today.

Although the Exodus myth had been told considerably earlier—as allusions in Hosea, Amos, and Micah, dating from the eighth century BCE, make abundantly clear—the era of its literary elaboration and cultic institutionalization only dawned in the sixth century BCE, the period of Babylonian captivity. In particular, its great moment came with the return from exile, when “Israel” had to be reinvented as an ethnic and religious identity and established on the basis of a political, social, and religious constitution. With the help of the Exodus story, those faced with this task succeeded in creating a memory that defined them as a group, anchoring them in the depths of time while also committing them to a common future. What they were doing was more than just history-writing; they were declaring their allegiance to an identity, fashioning a collectively binding self-definition in the medium of narrative and memory. In the two forms of storytelling and lawgiving, the narrative and the normative, the Book of Exodus codifies the *one* all-transforming, truly epochal revelation in which God emerged from his inscrutable concealment—for the Jews, once and for all; for Christians and Muslims, for the first time—to manifest his will to his people, so establishing a completely new relationship to the world, to time, and to the divine.

The revelation on Sinai provides the model for all later revelations, the foundation for a new form of religion that rests on the twin pillars of revelation and covenant and can therefore be termed a “religion of revelation,” in sharp contrast to the “natural” religions that have flourished since time immemorial without reference to any such foundational event. Michael Walzer has read the Exodus tradition in its political dimension as the matrix of all revolutions;⁶ analogously, I would like to interpret it in this book as the matrix of all revelations.

“Exodus” is not just the name given to a book in the Bible, however. It is also a symbol that can stand for any radical departure, any decampment for something entirely new and different. When Augustine, in his commentary to Psalm 64, remarks, *incipit exire qui incipit amare* (“the one who begins to love begins to leave”), he has in mind leaving behind the *civitas terrena*, the realm of worldly affairs and preoccupations, to enter the *civitas Dei*, the kingdom of God. This is not a physical movement from one place to another but rather an internal, spiritual exo-

dus: *exeuntium pedes sunt cordis affectus* (“the feet of those leaving are the affections of the heart”). Accordingly, “Egypt” refers to the mundane world where the pious dwell as strangers and suffer persecution for their faith, as recalled in the aria of a Bach cantata, sung on the second Sunday of Advent to words by Salomon Franck (BWV 70), that looks forward to Christ’s second coming: “When will the day come when we leave the Egypt of this world?” When Kant famously declares enlightenment to be “man’s exit from his self-incurred immaturity,” he is likewise drawing on the symbolism of Exodus.⁷

When talking about a turning point in the history of the entire human race, the idea of an “Axial Age” immediately springs to mind. The philosopher Karl Jaspers used this idea to encapsulate reflections that go back to the late-eighteenth-century Iranologist Anquetil-Duperron, the discoverer of the Zend-Avesta.⁸ Anquetil-Duperron, recognizing that a number of movements like Zoroastrianism had arisen at roughly the same time in different parts of the ancient world, from China to Greece, spoke of a “great revolution of the human race.”⁹ From the outset, the biblical shift to monotheism was also placed in this context. Indeed this shift, extending from the appearance of the early prophets in the eighth century (Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah) to the completion of the Torah some four to five centuries later, falls neatly within the time frame of 500 BCE +/- 300 years identified by Jaspers as the Axial Age. In brief, the Axial Age is marked by the discovery of transcendence. Around this time, a series of charismatic figures—Confucius, Laozi, Mencius, Buddha, Zoroaster, Isaiah and the other prophets, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Anaximander, and others—subjected traditional institutions and concepts to a radical critique on the basis of newly discovered absolute truths, which they had arrived at either through revelation or through methodical reflection.¹⁰ The shift described in the Exodus story would thus present only one of many symptoms of a contemporary global development that saw humankind as a whole making a giant leap forward, as Jaspers asserts.

I take Jaspers’s Axial Age theory to be one of the great scientific myths of the twentieth century, comparable to Freud’s theory of the Oedipus complex. Like Freud’s doctrine, it has the virtue of uncovering overarching patterns that had previously gone unnoticed; but it can also—and this is the other side of the coin—go too far in its tendency

to lump together disparate phenomena under a catch-all category, overlooking important differences in the process.¹¹ The concept of the Axial Age refers to cultures and worldviews that distinguish between immanence (the this-worldly realm, home to the conditional and contingent) and transcendence (the other-worldly realm, home to the unconditional and absolute). On that basis, they tend to take a critical stance toward the world as it actually exists. Yet this is a question less of an “age” than of the presence of certain media conditions for recording intellectual breakthroughs and making them accessible to later generations. These include writing, of course, but also processes of canonization and commentary that endeavor to stabilize textual meaning. Once secured in this way, ideas can be disseminated in space as well as in time. It seems clear to me that, during the Persian period, Zoroastrianism and the pre-Socratic philosophers influenced the universalistic monotheism that was being developed in Jerusalem in the wake of the great prophets of exile, Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel. Yet the Exodus story, with its “monotheism of loyalty,” must be regarded as a phenomenon *sui generis*. As such, it needs to be appreciated in its specificity and not prematurely filed under the all-encompassing rubric of a global “Axial Age.” What is incontestable, at any rate, is that this story laid the foundations for a decisive shift that is entirely typical of the Axial Age. That shift is fully accomplished when the meaning of the divine covenant is expanded to cover the “kingdom of God” and the exodus from Egypt becomes the cipher for the soul’s exodus from “this world,” the *civitas terrena*, into the City of God.

INDEX

Names and concepts that recur throughout the book, or those discussed in chapters of their own, are not included in the index: covenant, Egypt, exodus, faith, god, liberation, law, memory, monotheism, Moses, pharaoh, prophets, redemption, religion, revelation, Sinai, temple, and Torah.

- Aaron, 14–17, 20–21, 24–26, 30, 51, 61, 72, 129–131, 139–142, 144, 234, 256, 258, 260–263, 266–267, 269, 296, 304–305, 313, 317, 321
- Abel, 70, 277
- Abihu, 24, 234, 260
- Abiram, 124, 261, 267
- Abraham, 4, 14–16, 18, 20, 30, 46, 68–69, 71–72, 81–82, 104, 107, 117–125, 131, 146, 170, 187–188, 190, 198, 233, 254, 298–299
- Abydos, 151, 247
- Adam, 30, 68, 72, 240
- Adoniram, 97
- adoption, 47, 110, 114, 198, 203, 355n27
- adultery, 52, 197, 199, 201–202, 214–215, 223, 241, 246
- Ahijah, 51
- Ahmose, 159
- Akhenaten, 33, 36, 40, 42–43, 153, 159, 273–275
- Akki, 110
- allochthony, 46, 82, 104, 335
- altar, 21, 25–27, 82, 87, 173, 226, 229, 234–235, 270, 290–299, 305
- Amalek, 21, 25, 31, 107, 181
- Amarna period, 36, 40–44, 156, 159–161, 324
- ambivalence, 280–281, 309, 336
- Amenmesse, 33
- Amenophis III, 155–157, 159
- Amorites, 65, 69, 97, 123, 151, 199, 228–229, 231
- Amos, 5–6, 19, 45, 50, 64–66, 177, 196–197, 283, 332
- Amram, 111
- Anaximander, 6
- angel, 26, 70, 117–118, 167, 228, 277, 313
- Anquetil-Duperron, Abraham Hyacinthe, 6
- anthropology (negative/positive), 192–193
- anti-Canaanism, 86–88, 346n66
- anti-Semitism, 12, 78, 81, 103, 189, 230
- Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 269–270, 293
- Apion, 38
- apiru*, 43–45
- Apophis, 36
- Aristeas letter, 81
- Ark of the Covenant, 25, 27, 290–293, 295–296
- Ashurbanipal, 59, 85, 166, 205, 311
- assimilation, 82, 89, 231
- Assmann, Aleida, 1, 63, 105, 196, 237
- Assyrian, Assyrians, 39, 43–44, 64, 67–68, 85, 105, 110, 122, 159–160, 165, 199, 205, 232, 291, 311, 323–325, 345nn54–55
- Aten hymn, 42
- Augustine, 5, 130, 196, 336, 354n23
- Avaris, 35–36, 39, 152, 155
- Axial Age, 6–7, 252
- Babylon, Babylonia, 30, 42–45, 65, 68, 70–71, 86, 105, 125, 199, 208, 286, 291, 330, 336–337; Jewish exile in, 5, 52–53, 66, 122, 172, 195, 202, 222, 231–232, 283, 313, 324–325, 332, 354n23

- Bach, Johann Sebastian, 6, 167, 202
Baki, 250
Baltzer, Klaus, 282
ban, 96, 102, 223–225, 246, 249; on assimilation, 82; on foreign gods, 82, 212, 215–217, 219–220, 222, 225, 228, 231, 267; on graven images, 82, 131, 212, 215–217, 219–220, 222, 228, 267, 304, 310, 314, 318–321l ḥērem, 87, 229–230. *See also* taboo
Bark, Franziska, 322, 324
Beja, 33
Belshazzar, 139
Bergson, Henri, 49, 52, 74, 89
Bernier, Christoph, 56, 61
Bethel, 50–52, 298–299, 309–310
Bethlehem, 108, 111
betrayal, 78–79, 202, 219, 271, 277, 302, 304, 309, 314, 325, 336
Bezalel, 25, 28
Bietak, Manfred, 152
blasphemy, 4, 40, 43, 99, 223, 243, 246, 277
blood, 192, 198, 200–201, 223, 247–248, 315; communion, 24, 234–236; on doorposts, 18, 163–165, 167, 309; plague of, 14, 17, 130, 139–140, 142, 171
Blumenberg, Hans, 32, 74, 77
Bocchoris, 157–158
Boers, 88, 229, 327, 334
boils, plague of, 17, 142, 144, 161, 171
bondage. *See* servitude
Book of the Covenant, 184, 224, 234
Book of the Temple, 322–324
bride, bridal metaphor, 64–65, 68, 190, 196–204, 336
Brinkschröder, Michael, 38
Buber, Martin, 78
Buddha, 6
bull, 159, 236, 309–310
bureaucracy, 182–183
burnt offering, 25, 27, 295, 305
burning bush, 14, 16, 22, 27, 30, 70–71, 116–123, 128, 133, 136, 330
Caleb, 258–259, 272
Canaan, 4, 16, 36, 44–46, 71, 82, 104, 123–126, 199, 234, 253, 273, 298, 302
Canaanites, 37, 40, 42–46, 51, 54, 87–90, 96–97, 152, 161, 225–226, 228–231, 266, 315, 317
canon(ization), 7, 23, 56–61, 63, 68, 70, 76–77, 202, 240, 308, 311, 329, 338
Caphtor, 45, 66
Caroline, Queen of England, 174
Carr, David, 62
Cassirer, Ernst, 221
catalog, 25, 29, 83, 124, 287–290
catastrophe, 64–67, 152–154, 188, 232, 281, 284, 323–326, 351n18
Catholicism, 74, 77, 214–215
Chaeremon, 157, 352n23
cherubim, 290–295
chosen people, 2–4, 13, 24, 31, 59, 64, 68–73, 115, 120, 138, 169, 186, 188, 190–193, 202–203, 229–230, 252, 281, 285, 333, 335
Christ. *See* Jesus
Christianity, 1, 11, 17–18, 74, 76–78, 84, 94, 121, 130, 138, 163, 165, 167, 202, 216, 219, 223, 230, 235, 249, 252, 293, 331, 333
chronotope, 188
Clement of Alexandria, 76
codex, 239–240, 249
Codex Hammurabi, 237, 357n36
codification, 58, 195, 239
colonialism, 44, 64, 105, 229, 334
commentary, 5, 7, 58–59, 61, 63, 75, 77, 219, 282
confession, 89, 194, 242, 247, 281, 284
contracts, 86, 143, 179, 192, 205–206, 233–234, 251, 322
conversion, 80, 87–88, 121–122, 271, 282, 309–311
Corpus Hermeticum, 132–135
cosmogony, 58, 72
cosmotheism, 43, 333–334
counterhistory, 156
covenant ceremony, 24, 184, 209, 233–236
Covenant Code. *See* Book of the Covenant
covenant theology, 73, 84, 136, 179, 188–189, 205–208, 217, 219, 257, 314, 336
creation, 24, 29–31, 57–59, 68, 71–72, 81, 86, 120, 187, 204, 220–221, 294, 299–300, 324, 331, 336, 338
creation theology, 72, 221, 339n4
creator, 23, 42, 68, 72, 84–86, 133, 136, 190–191, 208, 231, 237, 336–337

- cultural texts, 60–62
curtain, 288–290, 295–298
- Dan, 50–52, 309–310
Daniel, 83, 139
Darius I, 52, 74
darkness, plague of, 17, 143–144, 146, 161, 171, 176
Dathan, 124, 261, 267
David, 50, 198, 205–206, 254, 291–293
Dead, Book of the, 56, 59, 242–244, 249–251
Dead, Judgment of the, 240, 243, 249–252, 332
Decalogue. *See* Ten Commandments
democracy, 179, 182–184, 205, 208, 330, 334
demotic, 115, 139, 143, 323
Deutero-Isaiah, 7, 83, 277, 279, 282, 285, 359n18
Deuteronomy, 57, 67–74, 80, 85, 88, 100–101, 185, 188, 191, 194–195, 204–205, 212–214, 219–221, 229–231, 240, 248
Deuteronomist history, 59, 70, 268, 284, 325–326
diaspora, 63, 82, 105, 166, 173, 187, 338
Diodorus, 115, 155, 159, 351n10
disloyalty, 54, 85, 253, 326
Dodecalogue, 27, 225, 315
donkey, 38, 159
Douglas, Mary, 73
- Eden, 68
Edom, 46
education, 60, 62, 80, 114–115, 194, 222
Elijah, 120, 172, 278, 285
Elohim, 25–26, 107, 220, 282
Elohist, 57, 71
empathy, 102–105, 193, 207
Enlightenment, 6, 32, 78, 131, 230, 313
Esarhaddon, 85, 165, 166, 205, 311
Esau, 70, 299
Esther, 33, 81
ethnogenesis, 135, 186, 221, 334
excarnation, 236–239, 358n43
exegesis, 56, 62
exile, 5, 51–54, 59, 66–68, 74, 84, 105, 122, 195, 202, 222, 231–232, 239, 252, 279, 285, 309–310, 313, 322, 325–326, 331–332, 338
- Ezekiel, 7, 52, 54, 65, 68, 88, 177, 197, 199, 203, 227, 231, 268, 324, 326, 329, 345n52
Ezra, 62, 279
- famine, 68, 72, 139, 143, 153, 157
fictionality, 47, 136, 327–329
filial metaphor, 64–65, 190, 196–199, 202–203
finger of God, 25, 142, 212, 350n3
Finkelstein, Israel, 50
fire, 24, 117, 120–121, 128, 143–144, 164, 201, 209, 227, 229, 245, 256, 260, 297; pillar of, 18, 28, 130, 321
firstborn, 203, 227, 309, 315; Israel as, 15, 17, 65, 203; slaughter of, 15, 18, 65, 108, 142, 161–165, 171, 177, 192, 203
Flavius Josephus, 38–40, 62–63, 77, 112–113, 152, 155–157, 284, 341n21, 348n22, 352n23
fleshpots of Egypt, 20, 124, 255, 266
flood, 30, 68, 70, 72, 86, 120, 187
foreigners. *See* strangers
forgetting, 75, 191, 194, 274
Fortschreibung, 58, 61
Franck, Salomon, 6, 91
freedom, 3, 69, 76–79, 101–103, 168, 179, 209, 282, 285, 309, 328–329, 333, 337
Freemasonry, 134–135
Freud, Sigmund, 1–2, 6, 40, 78, 110, 113, 154, 189, 192, 271, 273–276, 278–281, 284, 319–320, 327, 348n33, 359nn15, 17, and 18, 360n20
friend and enemy, 79, 82–83, 85–88, 219, 230–232, 281, 285, 309, 312
frogs, plague of, 17–18, 141–142, 161, 171, 176
Funkenstein, Amos, 156
- Genesis, 3, 24, 29–31, 36, 57–58, 61, 68–73, 86, 123–124, 187, 202, 221, 231, 233, 253, 272, 322, 336, 338
genocide, 11, 32, 69, 104, 106–107
Girgashites, 69, 123, 229, 231
glory, 13, 24, 28, 46, 198, 258, 263, 296, 301, 310, 313, 317, 325–326, 337
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 56, 209, 253, 255, 265, 271–273, 282–283, 359n10
Golden Calf, 18, 26, 29, 51, 70, 79, 83, 86, 131, 257, 259, 267, 269–271, 280–281, 295, 302–322

- Goltz, Hermann, 178
Gomorrhah, 68, 70, 86
Goshen, 35, 93
grace, 54, 85–86, 88, 122, 129–130, 134, 138,
290; formula of, 86, 314
grumbling. *See* murmuring
Grund, Alexandra, 223
guilt, 54, 242, 274–275, 279–286, 325–326
- habiru*. *See* *apiru*
Haggadah, 70, 76–77, 91, 161–173, 176
Haggai, 52, 74, 89, 122, 177, 326
hail, plague of, 17, 144, 146, 161, 171, 178
Halacha, 71, 76
Haman, 81
Hammurabi, 237, 240, 330, 357n36
Handel, George Frideric, 139, 173–178,
353nn56–63
harlotry, 52, 65, 197, 199–201, 259, 268
Hatti, 44, 151, 161
heathen, 82, 89, 173, 200, 220, 230, 298,
300–301
Hebrews, letter to, 235–236
Hecataeus of Abdera, 115, 155, 157
Heine, Heinrich, 77, 188–189, 223, 317,
354n9
Heinrich, Klaus, 302
Hendel, Ronald, 44
Herder, Johann Gottfried, 230
Hermes Trismegistus, 132, 136
Herod, 111–112
Herodotus, 112, 198, 355n29
hieroglyphics, 115, 240, 242
Hirsch, Samson Raphael, 82
Hittites, 36, 45, 97, 123, 150, 160–161, 228–
229, 330
Hivites, 97, 123, 228–229,
Hobbes, Thomas, 192–193, 209
holiness code (Leviticus), 247, 302, 331
Holocaust. *See* Shoah
holy people, 82, 181, 184–185, 187–189, 206,
229–230, 232, 235, 252, 302
holy war, 87–8, 230, 266, 308
Horeb, 14, 117, 120, 128, 264
Horemheb, 159
Hosea, 5–6, 19, 50, 52, 64–66, 68, 87–88,
177, 194, 196–197, 199, 201–205, 216, 231,
267–268, 276–279, 309–310, 326,
343n18, 345nn52 and 54, 346n66
Huizinga, Johan, 137
human rights, 106, 220
Hume, David, 272
Hur, 21, 25
Hyksos, 34–40, 43, 152, 155–156, 159–161,
324, 341n21, 351n18
identity, 2, 5, 44, 50, 52, 57, 60–61, 64, 69,
75, 137, 167–168, 170, 186, 189, 195, 231,
328, 331, 338, 344n49
idols, idolatry, 51–52, 83–84, 90, 131, 170–
171, 216, 220, 231, 259, 268, 270, 304–
305, 310–311, 318–319, 321, 326
immanence, 7, 301, 334
Inaros I, 159
incarnation, 15, 238–239
incense, 27, 197, 200, 261, 290, 293, 295–
296, 301
initiation, 115, 126, 134, 168, 192–193, 207
Institoris, Heinrich, 226
intolerance, 80, 232, 272
Isaac, 30, 70, 119, 124, 162, 299, 309
Isaiah, 6, 50, 66, 276, 312, 332
Islam, 1, 11, 94, 121, 163, 190, 265, 272
Israel in Egypt, 139, 173–178
Jacob, Benno, 216–217, 222
Jacob, 69–70, 81, 120–122, 124, 171, 299,
308–309, 346n2
Jacob's ladder, 120–121, 124, 299
Janowski, Bernd, 76, 299, 349n2, 355n34
Jaspers, Karl, 6
jealousy. *See* zeal
Jebusites, 69, 97, 123, 228–229, 231
Jehovist, 57–58
Jennens, Charles, 173, 176
Jeremiah, 52, 65, 67, 177, 197, 199, 201, 203,
231, 268, 283–284, 350n16, 354n23
Jeroboam I, 50–52
Jerusalem, 7, 39, 50, 96, 156, 158–159, 179,
199, 203, 205, 276–277, 281, 291, 309, 315,
318; fall of, 53–54, 59, 72, 89, 313; New
Jerusalem, 289, 323; priesthood, 73, 221;
return to, 52, 173, 195, 283, 324; temple,
289, 293, 324
Jesus, 24, 76, 121, 162, 193, 212, 221, 235, 259,
276–277, 285, 331, 350n3
John, 134, 331
Jordan, 170, 188, 268, 272

- Joseph, 30, 50, 57–58, 68–70, 72, 77, 89, 93, 98, 139, 156–158, 176, 221
Josephus. *See* Flavius Josephus
Joshua, 21, 123, 170, 234, 258–259, 272, 326
Josiah, 52–53, 67, 195, 201, 343n24
Judaism, 52, 60, 63, 76, 84, 130, 196, 198–199, 215–216, 220, 222–223, 252, 278, 310, 312, 315, 329, 331
Judea, 39, 90, 222, 270
justice, 22, 65, 69, 73, 78–80, 90, 105–106, 130, 154, 181, 206–208, 238, 325, 330–332
- Kadesh, Battle of, 148, 151, 351n12
Kadmonites, 69, 123, 231
Kant, Immanuel, 6, 135
Keel, Othmar, 38, 62, 87–88, 345n55
Khaemweset, 143
Khufu, 111–112, 159–160
king lists, 38, 59, 68, 72, 137
kingdom of God, 5, 7, 252, 350n3
kingdom of priests, 184, 187, 206, 235, 252, 301–302
Korah, 124, 260–261
- Lactantius, 86, 133–134
lampstand, 25, 290, 293, 295–296
Lang, Bernhard, 81, 323, 341n21, 357n24
last supper, 24, 165
latency, 273–274, 281, 321
lawgiver, 156, 207, 237, 265
lay theologians, 73–74, 221
legal kingship, 238–240
legal literature, 226, 236–240
Leibowitz, Nehama, 105, 349n1
Leo the Great, 11
lepers, leprosy, 40, 130, 155–159, 256, 266
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 134
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 137
Levites, 52, 62, 66, 72, 162, 205, 260, 270, 301, 308, 311, 315, 360n23
liberation theology, 74, 80, 221, 327
lice, plague of, 142, 144, 161, 176
livestock (fifth plague), 144, 161
locusts, plague of, 17, 144, 161, 176
love (of God), 65, 83, 85, 130, 185–186, 191, 193, 197–198, 202, 212, 219, 230, 248, 267–268, 336
loyalty, 66, 104, 124, 205, 253, 255, 270, 281, 283, 286, 302, 307–309, 325; monotheism of, 7, 78–88, 137, 190–191, 196, 202, 217, 231–232, 282, 311–315, 333, 336–337. *See also* oath
Luke, 161, 276–277, 281, 350n3
Luther, Martin, 167, 290
Lysimachos, 157
- Ma'at, 154, 238–239, 243, 246, 250, 252
Maccabees, 81–82, 269
magic, 14–15, 17, 59–61, 63, 139–144, 220, 263, 350n1
Manasseh of Judah, 205
Manetho, 38–40, 155–159
Mann, Thomas, 77–78, 157, 221, 309, 348n33, 352n23
manna, 20, 30, 172, 181, 255–256, 259, 266–267
Marah, 20, 255, 266
Margalit, Avishai, 304
Markl, Dominik, 56
Marsham, John, 240–242
Massah(-Meribah), 31, 255, 265–267, 308
Mattathias, 270
Matthew, 108, 277, 287
matzah, 18, 169, 172, 240
Memorial (Pascal), 121, 133
memory culture, 74, 194, 196, 286
memory, history of. *See* mnemohistory
mercy, 27, 49, 83, 85, 89, 122, 130, 132, 173, 186, 213, 219, 229–230, 268, 311, 314–315
mercy seat, 25, 290
Mesha of Moab, 87
Mesopotamia, 46, 55, 60, 69, 82, 104, 110, 137, 187, 202, 206–207, 236–237, 240, 299, 317, 332
Meyer, Eduard, 159
Micah, 5–6, 50, 66, 177, 332
Michaelis, Johann David, 230
Michelangelo Buonarroti, 317
Midian, 12, 30, 51, 117
midwives, 106–107, 114, 118
milk and honey, 14, 104, 123–125, 130, 261, 267, 302
miracle, 15, 17, 19, 21, 30–31, 61, 130, 138–139, 142, 146–147, 152, 158, 173, 176, 258, 263, 273, 293
Miriam, 19, 48–49, 151, 256, 266
Mitanni, 35, 44
mnemohistory, 34, 57, 348n33

- mnemotechnics, 59, 88, 147, 192–193, 240, 249, 260, 307
- Moab, Moabites, 81, 87, 124, 234, 265, 268, 282
- monolatry, 84, 87, 217
- monotheism (cosmogonic), 85, 337. *See also* loyalty
- morality, 207, 225–226, 331–332
- Mosaic distinction, 79–83, 86–87, 230, 319
- Moses and Aron* (opera), 75, 126–131, 317–322
- murder (of Moses), 271–281, 284, 359n18
- murmuring, 20–21, 147, 253–286
- Mursili, 160–161
- mysteries, 12, 115–116, 125–126, 134–136, 168
- myth, 1–6, 19, 34, 44, 46, 50, 56–58, 64–71, 74–78, 85, 126, 167, 195, 221, 274–276, 333–336; founding, 1, 68, 195, 285, 334–335
- Nadab, 24, 234, 260
- Nathan, 293
- Nebuchadnezzar, 139
- Nehemiah, 54, 62, 64, 204, 277, 279, 281, 284
- new covenant, 24, 235
- Nicolaus of Cusa, 132–134
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 191–193, 195
- Nile, 11, 17, 95, 107, 152, 348n30
- Noah, 30, 68, 120, 190–191, 208, 254, 289, 347n2, 348n27
- nomads, 39, 46, 48
- Northern Kingdom, 50–52, 64, 66–67, 97, 122, 283, 298, 310–311, 318, 325
- Nubia, 66, 142–143, 157
- oath, 23, 186, 189, 247, 250; of loyalty, 85, 166, 205, 311, 345nn54–55, 356n16
- Odysseus, 132
- Oedipus, 2, 6, 153, 274
- oracle, 157–158
- Oral Torah, 63, 77
- orthodoxy, 74, 82, 215, 220
- Osarsiph, 40, 155–157, 159
- Osman, Ahmed, 40
- Otto, Eckart, 179
- Palestine, 33, 35, 38, 42, 45, 96, 155, 158, 160, 170
- paradise, 70, 86, 125, 249, 314, 333
- Paran, 46, 257
- parents, commandment to honor, 215, 219, 222–224, 241, 247
- particularism, 68, 72–73, 84
- Pascal, Blaise, 117, 121, 133
- Passover (Pesach), 18, 138, 161–173, 176, 191, 194, 240
- patriarchs, patriarchal history, 30–31, 57–58, 68, 71–72, 82, 89, 104, 270, 288, 298
- Paul, 198–199, 280, 290, 344n48
- performativity, 23–24, 212, 238–239, 327–328, 357n36
- Perizzites, 69, 97, 123, 228–229, 231
- Persia, 68, 74, 90, 252, 284, 310, 323, 331–332, 342n35
- Philo of Alexandria, 77, 114–115, 181, 313
- Philistines, 45–46, 64, 66, 228, 291
- Phinehas, 66, 269–270, 275
- Phritibantes, 157
- Pietism, 74, 327
- Plato, Platonic, 121, 132–133, 238, 358n43
- Plutarch, 38, 134, 348n27
- polytheism, 1, 132, 274, 333, 337
- Pompeius Trogus, 158
- poor, 49, 105, 130, 225, 246–247, 251; obligations towards, 102, 332
- Porphyry, 241
- “portable fatherland”, 181, 188–189, 191, 223
- prefiguration, 105, 108
- Priestly Source, 3, 22, 29–31, 57–58, 66, 68–74, 80, 101, 125, 139, 142, 148, 165, 183, 202, 204, 221, 225, 228, 288, 299–300, 311, 322, 324–326, 337–338
- primordial history, 30–31, 58, 288
- Promised Land, 3–4, 20, 26, 54, 69, 87, 89–90, 104, 123, 126, 130, 188, 230–231, 233, 252, 254, 258–259, 261, 265, 325, 334, 337
- prophecy, 56, 111–112, 156
- Protestantism, 74–75, 84, 139, 219, 327
- psychoanalysis, 273–276
- Ptolemy II, 38
- Puah, 106–107, 118
- punishment, 19, 54, 65, 130, 142, 155, 161, 188, 199, 240, 255–256, 265, 269, 276, 279–281, 283–284, 311

- Puritanism, 74, 88, 177, 229, 327, 334–335
pyramids, 103, 111–112, 134, 159–160, 189, 195
- Quack, Joachim, 323
quails, 21, 181, 266
Quran, 76, 84
- ram, 38, 159, 233, 309
Ramesses, 33, 156–157
Ramesses II, 36, 94, 112, 143, 149, 151, 238
Ramesses III, 143, 237,
Ramesses IV, 247
Ramses (city), 35, 93–94
Rank, Otto, 110
recapitulation, 54, 68, 114, 170–171, 204, 265, 296
Red Sea, 4, 13, 19, 29, 48, 147–149, 173–176, 328, 330
Rehoboam, 50–51, 97
Reinhold, Carl Leonhard, 77, 134–136
Renan, Ernest, 93
Rephaims, 69, 123, 231
Rephidim, 21, 255, 263
resonance, 36, 65, 110, 114, 191, 348n30
revolution, 1–2, 5–6, 42, 71, 84, 153, 196, 206, 208, 226, 228, 248, 254, 275, 282, 309, 327, 333–335
Rifkin, Jeremy, 106
ritual law, 225–227
Ryholt, Kim, 159
- Sabbath, 21, 27, 101, 168, 172, 220–223, 225, 248, 293–294, 315
sacral kingship, 47, 205, 208, 333–334
sacrifice of Isaac, 70, 124, 161–165, 309. *See also* firstborn
salvational history (*historia sacra*), 29, 103, 118, 204, 208, 326, 333
Samuel, 205
sanctification, 80, 82, 101, 162, 222, 233, 236, 263, 294, 302, 315
Sarah, 107
Sargon of Akkad, 110, 348n34
Schieder, Rolf, 179
Schiller, Friedrich, 77, 134–136
Schoenberg, Arnold, 126–131, 179, 317–321
Schramm, Gottfried, 1
secession, 49–52, 64, 334
Second Temple, 4, 58, 63, 74, 293, 309–310, 326, 331
Seder, 18, 139, 166–169
Sellin, Ernst, 78, 271, 275–284, 359n18, 360n20
Septuagint, 38, 106, 136, 290, 314, 317
Serbonis, Lake, 147–148
servitude, 39, 49–51, 73, 78–79, 85, 93–106, 117, 225, 332
Seth, 35–38, 43, 150
Shalev, Zeruya, 152, 154
Shechem, 86, 97, 234
Shiphrah, 106–107, 118
Shittim, 267–271, 275–276
Shoah, 105, 196, 347n4
signs and wonders, 15–16, 19, 22, 28, 142, 147
Sinai pericope, 20, 22, 24, 183, 204, 207, 209, 330–331
sins, 65, 89, 99, 188, 197, 219, 226, 236, 266–267, 277, 281, 312–313; of deed, 224, 243; of the fathers, 4, 53–54, 89, 130, 286; original, 280, 302, 336; of thought, 224, 243, 246–247; of word, 224, 243, 246–247
Sinuhe, 124–125
slavery, 15, 64, 68, 70, 100–102, 105, 168, 225, 332–333
Smend, Rudolf, 74
Smith, Ruth, 178
snakes, 14, 17, 21, 38, 130, 139, 142, 266–267
social commandments, 216, 223–227
Sodom, 68, 70, 86
Solomon, 47, 50–51, 96–98, 249, 287
son. *See* filial metaphor
sorcery. *See* magic
sovereignty, 160, 164, 206, 239, 331, 338
speech act, 22–23, 237–238, 328, 357n36
Spencer, John, 115–116
Sprenger, Jacobus, 226
Steck, Odil Hannes, 283–285
Stephen, 114, 204, 277
stoning, 114, 201, 278, 280
strangers, 6, 43, 96, 102, 105, 107, 150, 155–157, 207, 227, 332
sun god, 37, 47, 99, 111–112, 206, 238, 241, 246, 273, 330, 332

- Taberah, 256, 266
Tabernacle, 13, 18, 25–31, 53, 71, 119, 256, 261, 263, 269, 287–293, 295–303, 313–314, 330
tablets of the law, 24–26, 90, 119, 211–212, 216, 222–224, 237, 242, 287, 290–291, 306–307, 312–315, 320–321
taboo, 159, 222, 245, 248–249, 293, 301; on naming, 220, 247; on work, 222, 357n21.
See also ban
Tacitus, 158–159
Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor, 125
Talmud, 63, 283, 350n16
Tanakh, 57, 63, 329
temptation, 138, 233, 259, 359n7
Ten Commandments, 21, 24, 27, 31, 56, 147, 184, 209–224, 237, 240–252, 304, 312, 330–331
theocracy, 47
theodicy, 285
theologization (of the law), 206, 226, 236–240
theophany, 28, 120, 184, 209, 224–225, 287, 330–331
Thera (Santorini), 152–154, 151, 351n18
tongue (Moses), 14, 16, 128–129
totemism, 274
transcendence, 6–7, 58, 136, 186, 209, 273, 301, 321
trauma, 43, 74, 152, 154, 159–161, 173, 273–275, 278, 284–285, 324
trust, 209, 255, 257
Tück, Jan-Heiner, 11
Tutankhamun, 160

Udjahorresnet, 125
Uehlinger, Christoph, 309
unbelief, 89, 253, 255, 257, 270, 272, 282

United Monarchy, 50, 98
universalism, 7, 68, 72–73, 84
Urijah, 283

veil, 13, 27, 134–135, 313, 317
Velikovsky, Immanuel, 153
vermin, plague of, 17–18, 161
violence, 69, 83, 86–88, 96, 167, 170, 230–233, 243, 253, 270, 275–286, 307–308, 319
Voegelin, Erik, 59

Walzer, Michael, 5, 91, 254, 354n7
Weber, Max, 183, 335, 338
weights and measures, 245, 248, 251
Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de, 290
widows and orphans, 207, 224, 332
Winkler, Heinrich August, 1, 341n25
wisdom, 80–82, 114–115, 133, 142, 209, 240, 249, 331
wisdom literature, 154, 207, 226, 246, 352n22
wrath (of God), 83, 85–86, 89–90, 219, 255–256, 267–269, 307, 318, 336

Xenophanes of Colophon, 84, 130

Yahwist, 57–58, 71
Yerushalmi, Yosef, 62

zeal, zealotry, 82–83, 222, 269–270, 311, 315, 319
Zechariah, 52, 74, 277
Zion, 172–173, 202, 297–298
Zipporah, 15
Zoroastrianism, 6–7, 84
Zwikel, Wolfgang, 50