Ideas of Exile

Understanding Enduring Exile in Terms of Exile Prolonged and Exile as Metaphor within the Context of the Relationship to the Divine

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Morning in Siberia

She rises early
when the clouds haven't yet
taken shape.
As every morning
so too today.

A Livonian woman
a wish on her cracked lips.

And then she sings about home
about longing
she hasn't forgotten
the springs of home
she hasn't forgotten
hope.

Hommik Siberis

Ta tõuseb vara
kui pilved veel ei ole
oma kuju võtnud
Nii nagu iga hommik
nii ka täna.

Üks liivi naine
pragunenud huultel soov.

Ja siis ta laulab kodust
igatsusest
ei ole unustanud
koduallikaid
ei ole unustanud
lootust.

Music by: Mari Kalkun & trad. Liivi

Contents

Abstract

This thesis focused on the so-called "enduring exile motif" and its development in the context of early Judaism. This motif brings to expression the view of an ongoing state of exile in post-exilic texts, after the ending of the historical events of the Babylonian exile. An understanding of this motif has been subject to debate, which is reflected in the various positions of the so-called enduring exile thesis as well as in work on the metaphorization of exile. Whereas the first, the enduring exile thesis, focuses predominantly on theological understandings of exile and theological interpretations of history, the latter, the metaphorization of exile thesis, focuses on the development of exile into a metaphor itself. In this context, a distinction has been made between two forms of the enduring exile motif: one that shows a concern with chronology ("exile prolonged") and one that shows a concern with metaphor ("exile as metaphor").

However, insufficient attention had been given to how those two forms of the enduring exile motif relate to each other and whether it is indeed adequate to make a strict distinction between chronology and exile, or theology and metaphor. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to investigate this matter with the help of a theoretical framework and several case-studies.

It is argued that, although in post-exilic times a concern for one form of the enduring exile motif above the other may be reflected in texts, it is more adequate to understand the development of those two forms of the enduring exile motif in relationship and conversation with each other. Furthermore, it is argued that central to the enduring exile motif is the so-called sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, which provides the foundation for both theological and metaphorical conceptualizations of exile. It is suggested that theological and metaphorical conceptualizations can be better understood as two different "languages" that enable to understand the Babylonian exile as an event that had existential implications.

INTRODUCTION

Inhabiting the World through Exile and Destruction

Background

Much has been written about the historiography of the Babylonian exile and the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple. Much has also been written about the development of scribal practices and the growth of biblical traditions during the Second Temple period.[1] While the former is a historical approach that is characterized mainly by an interest in what the exile was, the latter is a literary approach aimed at the reception of exile: it deals with what the exile became in later tradition.[2] Scholarship on what the exile became particularly concerns the discontinuities that were brought about by the exile. What died? What was born?[3] In this research, I am also concerned with what the exile became in later tradition. My interest, however, is not aimed so much at understanding the discontinuities. Rather, I am concerned with a broader dynamic: how literature on exile reflects a narrative of destruction and reconstruction, loss and recovery, exile and return. The concern with exile in post-exilic times in a number of texts reflects a complex temporal structure in which exile appears not to be ended, despite the ending of the historical

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[1] See, e.g., Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Hindy Najman, "The Symbolic Significance of Writing," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, eds. Hindy Najman and Judith Newman (JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 139-173.

[2] See also: Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future. An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-4.

[3] Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 4-5.

events. Only a reimagining of the exilic past in order to make the future possible seems to be a proper solution. This thesis is concerned with this so-called "enduring exile motif", its foundations, and with the relationship between chronology and metaphor within the overall narrative.

Problem Analysis

It has been noted by various scholars that a number of texts written after the historical events of the Babylonian exile seem to demonstrate a deep awareness of exile and destruction. This observation has contributed to the view that the exile and the destruction of the First Temple were never really overcome.[4] More specifically, the awareness of exile and destruction seems to reflect an ongoing state of exile. Various scholars have contributed to the discussion what this so-called enduring exile means and what it consists of, e.g., whether the exile itself was understood to continue or whether something else continued beyond the experience of the historical events.[5] The discussion itself regarding those issues has come to be known as the "enduring exile thesis." The so-called "enduring exile motif" has a central place in this enduring exile thesis. One of the main claims is that there is an "underlying narrative framework" in post-exilic texts, i.e., that there was only one story of Israel, which needed resolution. This narrative is understood to be primarily concerned with the chronology of exile. Furthermore, this concern finds expression in the so-called sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, that has its foundation in Deuteronomy 27-30, and in the reworking of Jeremiah's 70 years to 70 weeks of years in Daniel 9:24.[6]

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[4] See: Michael A. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983), 99-117; Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *Heythrop Journal* 17 (1976), 253-272; Nicholas T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God. IV. Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 160-162.

[5] Scholarly positions are situated on a spectrum from opponents to defenders. Views vary on the basis of diverse and complex conceptions of exile, ranging from the belief in an ongoing state of exile to the metaphorization of exile. The *loci classici* of this debate are texts such as Dan. 9, 1 En. 85-90; 93; 91, CD 1, Jub. 1, Tob. 14. Later, other texts were added, like Bar. 2-3. For an overview regarding the various views on the notion of 'enduring exile' and a summary of the scholarship, see: Nicholas G. Piotrowski, "The Concept of Exile in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Review of Recent Scholarship," *Currents in Biblical Research* 15 no. 2 (2017), 214-247.

[6] For an analysis of the metaphorical conceptualization of the exile, see: Martien Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

The "enduring exile thesis" consists of various positions that have developed over time. In light of criticism, some of those positions have been further refined, which led towards more precise considerations of the thesis. A main development regarding the enduring exile thesis is the reconsideration that the "enduring exile motif" in fact consists of two forms. The first form is understood to be concerned primarily with chronology, which leads to a view of enduring exile in terms of "exile prolonged", while the second form is understood to be concerned with metaphorical conceptualizations of exile, which leads to an understanding of enduring exile in terms of "exile as metaphor." In the latter, exile itself is understood to become a metaphor for a variety of alienations.

This distinction has been introduced by Martien Halvorson-Taylor in her work on the metaphorization of exile, where she in fact presupposes the enduring exile thesis but instead offers arguments for a foundation of this thesis.[7] This is done by arguing for a metaphorization of exile in the throes of the Babylonian exile, which can already be found in biblical books themselves instead of in non-biblical post-exilic literature. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the roots of this metaphorization can already be found in pre-exilic conceptualizations of exile, namely in the ancient Near Eastern thought-world. By also including pre-exilic and exilic sources, the enduring exile thesis, which in fact is concerned only with post-exilic sources, has gained a much stronger foundation.

However, at present, the work of Halvorson-Taylor on the metaphorization of exile has not been related back to the other positions in the enduring exile thesis. Because of this, insufficient attention has been given to the relationship between the two forms of this enduring exile thesis: "exile prolonged" and "exile as metaphor", and how elements of both forms are reflected in texts that are concerned with exile. This thesis is therefore aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of the enduring exile motif and its development. There are several indications for a need to take up this topic.

Particularly Halvorson-Taylor's work on the foundation of the enduring exile motif in post-exilic texts, by including how pre-exilic conceptualizations of exile found their way in how Israel conceived of and interpreted exile, poses the question how chronology and metaphor are related to each other. More specifically, in Halvorson-Taylor's understanding, the concern for chronology can be found in the reworking of Jeremiah's 70 years to 70 weeks of years in Daniel 9:24. How also the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern reflects a concern for chronology

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[7] Martien Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

has therefore been neglected. Moreover, if indeed the pre-exilic conceptualizations of exile provide the basis for interpretations of and the development of attitudes towards exile by Israel, it seems that also the concern for chronology finds its basis in those pre-exilic understandings and that, ultimately, chronology and metaphor are in some way related to each other.

Method

This project consists of both literature study and exegetical analysis. The literature study is aimed at developing a theoretical framework on the current state-of-affairs in research on the so-called "enduring exile motif". This theoretical framework will be developed in chapter 1 and 2. In the first chapter, an overview is given of the development of the enduring exile thesis and its various positions. In chapter 2, an overview is given of the main positions regarding the thesis on the metaphorization of exile and the way in which this thesis has resulted in new themes of concern regarding the interpretation of and development of attitudes towards exile. Then, at the end of this chapter, the central aspects from both the enduring exile thesis and the metaphorization of exile thesis will be brought in conversation with each other to further clarify the problem and the following steps.

The second part of this thesis consists of an exegetical analysis. In chapter 3 and 4, three texts from the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish traditions are analyzed as case-studies. The case-studies has been determined by the criteria to allow a diachronic analysis of texts, i.e., texts that contain pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic elements. To allow for this, three texts have been chosen that are understood to belong to the corpus of Jeremiah traditions: Jeremiah 12:1-13 and two confessional prayers from post-exilic times, Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8. While the latter two texts are central sources in the enduring exile thesis, the first text is important in understanding the relationship between pre-exilic conceptualizations of exile and biblical texts.

Finally, the results of this analysis will be coupled back and brought in conversation with the theoretical framework that has been developed in chapter 1 and 2 to see how the analysis of the case-studies informs a deeper understanding of the enduring exile motif in early Judaism. In so doing, the implications will be elaborated, both for an understanding of enduring exile itself as well as for an understanding of enduring exile within the context of the development of traditions, particularly the emergence of new genres in post-exilic times.

Main Research Question

How can the relationship between a concern for chronology (i.e., "exile prolonged") and a concern for metaphor (i.e., "exile as metaphor") in the context of the enduring exile motif in early Jewish texts be understood?

Operationalisation: Subquestions

0. *Introduction*

1. *The Enduring Exile Thesis*
   What is the state-of-the-art in the debate concerning the enduring exile thesis? How has the thesis developed and what are its various positions?

2. *Two Forms of the Enduring Exile Motif*
   What are the two forms of the enduring exile motif and how has this distinction been used to understand the metaphorization of exile? What issues are left open in comparing the main positions within the enduring exile thesis with the thesis on the metaphorization of exile?

3. *"How Long Will the Earth Mourn?" (Jer. 12)*
   How is the case-study of Jeremiah 12:1-13 related to the sin-exile-repentance/return motif? How does a concern for chronology and metaphor appear in the text and what does the text reveal regarding the relation between chronology and metaphor in the development of attitudes towards exile?

4. *"Open Your Eyes and Look at Our Desolation…" (Dan. 9 and Bar. 1-3)*
   How are the case-studies of Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8 related to the sin-exile-repentance/return motif? How does a concern for chronology and metaphor appear in the texts and what do the texts reveal regarding the relation between chronology and metaphor in the development of attitudes towards exile?

5. *Implications for Understanding Exile as Enduring*

What are the implications for understanding the enduring exile motif itself and within the context of the development of traditions?

6. *Conclusion*

1

The Enduring Exile Thesis

An Exploration of the Various Positions

1.0 Chapter Overview

It has been noted that several texts written after the historical events of the Babylonian exile, in the post-exilic or Second Temple period, seem to demonstrate and reflect a deep awareness of exile and destruction. It has been suggested that this awareness is not simply a matter of memory of the historical exile, but rather an enduring sense of exile even in post-exilic times. This observation has puzzled scholars to a great extent. It led scholars to suggest that the exile did not come to an end when the historical events had passed but rather that, in some way, exile continued even into post-exilic times.

The issue of how exile, as a historical event, can at the same time be understood as enduring is at the heart of the so-called enduring exile thesis. This thesis aims to construct an understanding of how exile, as addressed in post-exilic texts, can be understood as an ongoing event. Various positions (here called: "ideas of exile") can be identified which, in various ways, contain both literary and historical as well as theological understandings. This chapter focuses on the various positions within the enduring exile thesis and aims to give an overview of both the positions in favor and against the thesis that the exile endured well into Second Temple times, as reflected in post-exilic scriptural traditions.

1.1 Literary-Theological Approaches to Enduring Exile in Post-Exilic Texts

1.1.1 Early Observations on the Reworking of Traditions in Post-Exilic Texts

The first scholars who bring forward the idea that the exile has persisted in the Second Temple thought-world focus on elements in the texts themselves. More specifically, their approaches are aimed at showing how earlier textual traditions have been taken up in post-exilic texts. This leads to two main findings. The first is that of the prophetic use of the Deuteronomic view of history in terms of sin-exile-repentance/return, the second concerns the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years in Daniel 9:24.

Odil H. Steck is the first scholar to notice a reliance on the so-called pattern of sin-exile-repentance/return across the prophetic tradition. This pattern, which has its foundation in Deuteronomy 27-30, has been deployed frequently in later traditions for theological interpretations of history. Steck demonstrates his ideas on the pervasive use of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern with the help of various examples. He points to Nehemiah 9:26, Ezra 9:11, Sirach, Tobit, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:12-17; 85-90, Jubilees, Baruch 3:9-5:9, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Psalms of Solomon, Assumption of Moses, Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch.[8] The large number of texts in which he recognizes the Deuteronomic view of history makes him conclude that the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern is not one theological motif among many others, but the comprehensive frame that organizes all else. That is, according to Steck, Israel's entire post-exilic history is described as the persistent judgment of 722 and 586 BCE.

Peter R. Ackroyd, working independently from Steck, examines the historical experience of exile and the influence of the understanding of exile in early Judaism. More specifically, he gives attention to the way in which different genres of post-exilic texts interpret the present and create expectations for the future, thereby looking beyond the concrete historical events to the thought of a period as a historical factor.[9] Ackroyd argues that the idea of exile which continues beyond the historic return consists in the fact that the events of the historic

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[8] Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes in Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT, 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 184-189.

[9] Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Relation between History and Thought: Reflections on the Subtitle of Peter Ackroyd's *Exile and Restoration*," in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd*, eds. Gary N. Knoppers, Lester L. Grabbe and Deirdre N. Fulton (LSTS, 73; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 152-165 (160-162).

exile "themselves necessitating rethinking, have provoked the development of new lines of thought."[10] Since the fact that the Babylonian exile "inevitably exerted a great influence upon the development of theological thinking," one must focus not simply on reconstructing the history of that period, but on "attempting to understand an attitude, or more properly a variety of attitudes, taken up towards that historic fact."[11] Ackroyd demonstrates this further by pointing to another peculiarity of the way in which earlier traditions have been taken up in post-exilic texts: the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years in Daniel 9:24, where the 70 years of Jeremiah 25:11-12 and Jeremiah 29:10-14 are adapted to become 70 *weeks of years*.[12] This reinterpretation draws on the idea, expressed in Leviticus 26:34 and applied in 2 Chronicles 36:21, that the exilic period would end only once "the land has paid off its Sabbaths." The product of these influences yields a chronology in which the period that began with the Babylonian exile would endure for a total of 490 years.[13] Ackroyd writes in this regard: "It is in effect an exile lasting 490 years, and with this we reach an understanding of exile and restoration which takes us well beyond the consideration of the sixth century. Here the exile is no longer a historic event to be dated in one period; it is much nearer to being a condition from which only the final age will bring release. Though bound to the historic reality of an exile which actually took place in the sixth century, the experience of exile *as such* has become the symbol of a period, viewed in terms of punishment but also in terms of promise."[14] In other words, Ackroyd regards Daniel 9 as a key window into post-exilic understandings of what started in the sixth century BCE.

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[10] Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Significance of the Exile and Restoration," in Peter Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 232-256 (233).

[11] Ackroyd, "The Significance of the Exile and Restoration," 237-238.

[12] According to most critical scholars, a "seven" or "week" represents seven literal years. Seventy of these seven-year weeks total 490 years. Hebrew *davar* (v. 25) does not denote a decree of a king but the prophetic word to Jeremiah about the Babylonian exile (Jer. 25:1, 11). To make their chronological scheme work, however, critical scholars often inconsistently claim the seven weeks (49 years) begin with Jerusalem's fall in 586 BC, rather than Jeremiah's prophecy given in 605 BC. See: https://tinyurl.com/y6btdlqe

[13] In this scheme, the duration of Jerusalem's devastation is given as "seven weeks" (Daniel 9:25), or forty-nine years – a period that roughly corresponds to the span between the destruction of Jerusalem and the edict of Cyrus. The reference is significant because it effectively denies that Cyrus's proclamation ended the exile. For the author of Daniel 9, the period of the Babylonian exile was just the first phase of a much longer exilic period that would come to an end during the crisis under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. See: Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 9.

[14] Ackroyd, "The Significance of the Exile and Restoration," 242.

1.1.2 Towards a More Confident and Precise Formulation of the Thesis

The two ways in which earlier traditions have been reused in post-exilic texts – the prophetic use of the Deuteronomic sin-exile-repentance/return pattern and the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years – from that moment on provide the basis for what started to develop into the enduring exile thesis. Based on these elements, it is with Michael A. Knibb that a more confident and precise thesis is formulated. His approach is to examine the way in which Old Testament exilic imagery was constantly reused and reinterpreted in various post-exilic texts. In so doing, Knibb further developed the arguments of Steck and Ackroyd in a more profound way. He is the first to observe that "the majority" of passages dealing with exile in the literature of the intertestamental period did not view exile as a past event.[15]

Knibb begins his review of Second Temple references to exile with Daniel 9, which reinterprets Jeremiah's "seventy years" (v. 2) as a period of "seventy weeks" of years (v. 24). Knibb argues that widespread use of Jer. 29:10-14 and Jer. 25:11-12 – 'when seventy years are completed' – was made by later generations to theorize/theologize an end to the exile. He agrees with Ackroyd that a unique interpretation of the 70 years appears in Daniel 9:24-27, while furthering the case by pointing out the author's awareness of the historic return, evinced in verse 25, all the while presenting an ongoing exile up to the time of Antiochus's persecution.[16] A similar fusing of the exilic and postexilic periods occurs in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90), in which seventy shepherds are assigned to oversee Israel between the exile and the Maccabean revolt. The number seventy suggests that Daniel 9's reinterpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years has defined the terms in which the vision is constructed. Here as well, the exilic period proper is associated with a distinct phase of the shepherd's oversight ("twelve hours," 89:72), but there is no radical distinction made between the exilic and postexilic phases of the shepherd's rule.[17] Besides this, Knibb also examines other texts that reuse Jeremiah's 70 years or that share the same negative judgment upon the post-exilic period: 1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17 (the Apocalypse of Weeks)[18], the Testament of Levi 16-17, Ep. Jer. 3, and As. Mos. 3:14. Knibb concludes that these texts all have one main idea in common: that the exile continues up to the time when God interrupts history with a new universal reign. He writes: "What we have here

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[15] Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period", *Heythrop Journal* 17 (1976), 253-272 (253).

[16] Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 254-255.

[17] Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 256-257.

[18] The Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks also has no regard for the restoration after the seventh week (1 En. 93:9).

in fact, exactly as in Dan. 9, is an understanding of the exilic and post-exilic periods as a unified era which is only to be ended when God comes to the earth to establish the messianic age."[19]

Moreover, Knibb extends his argument by examining other elements. He focuses on the way in which Ezekiel 4:5-6 is taken up in the Damascus Document, CD 1:5-11. Ezekiel's declaration of a finite exile specified 40 years of punishment for Judah (4:6) and a total of 390 years of punishment for the northern kingdom of Israel (4:5). This latter figure is taken up in the Damascus Document to define the period between the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar and the emergence of a repentant remnant, a "root of planting," twenty years before the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness. In contrast to Daniel 9 and the Animal Apocalypse, the 390 years are treated as a single period in the Damascus Document, without subdivisions. That is, the Damascus Document makes no mention to the return of the exiles under Cyrus, in effect denying that any sort of restoration occurred prior to the emergence of the "root of planting."[20] Knibb sees in the Damascus Document a community that understands history in terms of stages, where the exilic stage is pushed right up against the eschaton.

In each of the three texts mentioned above – Daniel 9, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Damascus Document – the author, drawing on Jeremian or Ezekielian tradition, imagines a prolonged exilic period whose resolution is shortly anticipated, as in Daniel 9, or has already taken place. In other Second Temple texts that reflect the "enduring exile" motif, however, there is no appeal to the biblical traditions of a finite exile, because there is no definite end in sight; the authors can only look forward to future divine intervention. Regarding this, Knibb states: "Despite many differences in presentation the writings that we have been considering all seem to share the view that Israel remained in a state of exile long after the sixth century, and that the exile would only be brought to an end when God intervened in this world in order to establish his rule."[21] This he argues on the basis of an examination of Baruch, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, three works he contests "were based entirely on the assumption that Israel was in a state of exile," and on the basis of the occurrence of sin-exile-return passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Jub. 1:9-18, Tob. 14:4-7. For instance, in Jub. 1:15-18, God's promise of a restoration is not to be identified as a reference to the sixth century BCE, but as an

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[19] Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 256.

[20] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 10.

[21] See: Michael A. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," 99-117; Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period", *Heythrop Journal* 17 (1976), 253-272; Nicholas T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God. IV. Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 160-162.

anticipation of an eschatological event.[22] Similarly, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs look forward to a return that had not yet been accomplished in the author's day but is reserved for the end of time.[23]

1.2 Theological-Historical Approaches to Enduring Exile in Post-Exilic Texts

1.2.1 Enduring Exile as Awaiting God's Intervention in History

The line of thought from Steck, Ackroyd, and Knibb has led to a number of texts that have become the *loci classici* of the debate: Daniel 9, 1 Enoch 85-90; 93; 91, CD 1, Jubilees 1, Tobit 14. With varying degrees of nuance, it appears in other arguments throughout subsequent scholarship. Particularly James M. Scott and Rodney A. Werline can be regarded as followers of this line of thought. Scott agrees with Knibb that there is substantial evidence across the literature that Second Temple Jews believed the effects of the exile have gone unmitigated, still awaiting God's intervention in history.[24] In his two edited volumes on exile and restoration he argues on the basis of existing work that the 'curse' and the 'wrath' of Deuteronomy 27-32 are refracted through Dan. 9:11, 15-19 into subsequent penitential prayers (Bar. 1:15-3:8; Pr. Azar. [LXX Dan. 3:26-45]; Sir. 36:1-17; T. Mos. 3:14; 10:1-10; cf. also Ezra 9:6-15 and Neh. 9:5-37), just as the hope of Deut. 32:36-43 – also channeled through Daniel 9 – pervades Second Temple literature (2 Macc. 7; 1 En. 85-90; 93:1-10; 91:11-17; T. Levi 14-18). Werline notices how several groups placed their own second-century BCE origins within the Deuteronomic cycle: Jubilees 1 and 23; 1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17 and CD 1-3 each review Israel's history in a way that places the fulfillment of Deuteronomy 4 and 30 in the author's own time by either ignoring the early Second Temple period or dismissing it as an era of sin.[25]

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[22] Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 267.

[23] Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 264-266.

[24] James M. Scott, "'For as many as are of works of the law are under a curse' (Galatians 3:10)," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders (JSNTSup, 83, SSEJC, 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 187-221 (213).

[25] Rodney A. Werline, "Penitential Prayer and Biblical Interpretation among the Qumran Sectarians and Similar Groups," in *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLEJL, 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 109-159 (109-131).

1.2.2 Enduring Exile in Relation to Other Theological Concerns

The influence of the line of thought that has been elaborated in the previous paragraph was immediately evident. Once the enduring exile thesis had been worked out in a more confident and precise way, a shift of attention can be noticed from the texts themselves to how the idea of exile is integrated within the nexus of other theological concerns. The idea of exile particularly came to play a role in discussions of hopes for restoration[26] and ideas on apocalypticism.[27] Other themes were related to the idea of exile as well, such as national autonomy, Jewish solidarity and geography, and the state of the temple.[28] Particular mention in this regard needs to be made of Nicholas T. Wright, who uses the enduring exile thesis in a manner crucial for his larger work on Early Christianity and New Testament studies and was the first to relate the idea of exile to theological themes beside sin and restoration. For Wright, exile is far more than a geographic concern; rather it encompasses all the fortunes of Israel, that which was lost in the exile and still yet to be restored.[29] In this context, he uses the term "exile" as a shorthand for 'the time of desolation' begun by the Babylonian destruction.[30] He argues for the persistence of exile in 'all sorts of senses.' He writes:

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[26] See, e.g., George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 18.

[27] Donald E. Gowan, "The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam*, eds. Arthur L. Merrill and Thomas W. Overholt (PTMS, 17; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1977), 205-223; Christoph Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeption im Antiken Judentum* (BZAW, 363; Berlin: de Gruyter), 2006; James C. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (JSJSup, 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 89-109; David E. Aune and Eric C. Stewart, "From the Idealized Past to the Imaginary Future: Eschatological Restoration in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott (JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 147-177.

[28] See, e.g., Norman Perrin, "Exile," in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*, eds. Joel B. Green and Lee M. McDonald (Grand Rapids: Baker Academy, 2013), 25-37; Bruce D. Chilton and Craig A. Evans, *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, and Restoration* (AGJU 39; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 263-293; Michael E. Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-Gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts* (BZNW, 138; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2006).

[29] Nicholas T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God*. I. *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 268-272, 299-301; Nicholas T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God*. II. *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), xvii-xviii, 203-206, 246-251, 576-577.

[30] Nicholas T. Wright, "*Theology, History, and Jesus: A Response to Maurice Casey and Clive Marsh*," JSNT 69 (1998), 105-112 (111-112).

> Most Jews of this period, it seems, would have answered the question 'where are we?' in language which, reduced to its simplest form, meant: we are still in exile. They believed that, in all the senses which mattered, Israel's exile was still in progress. Although she had come back from Babylon, the glorious message of the prophets remained unfulfilled. Israel still remained in thrall to foreigners; worse, Israel's god had not returned to Zion.[31]

The senses that Wright is aiming at consist of Zion's vacancy, the imperfect temple, the dominance of the pagans (i.e., Babylon), and the age of wrath until there be repentance.[32] Wright sees these elements comprising a dominant first-century Jewish worldview: a current state of exile and hope for restoration. Apart from theological concerns, however, Wright makes clear historical claims. It is from this moment on that criticism starts to emerge.

1.3 Further Refining the Enduring Exile Thesis

1.3.1 Lines of Opposition

The first scholar to make a critical notice regarding how widespread the self-perception of being in a continual exile was, is Mark A. Seifrid. He is particularly skeptical towards Wright when he writes: "The abstract pattern of the same "text" or worldview behind virtually all the traditions of Second Temple Judaism obscures the distinction between literature and life."[33] Moreover, certain texts already seem to contain the view that the end of exile had already progressed.[34] Furthermore, Charles Marsh writes that Wright's conclusions are too tidy; history does not work that way.[35] Maurice Casey reacts specifically in regard to the first-century Jewish understanding of the exile. In response to Wright's notion that the exile persisted because 'Israel's god had not yet returned to Zion', he points to the sacrifices that were made twice daily in the temple, 'a special symbol of God's presence with Israel.'[36] Furthermore, in Johnson's

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[31] Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 268-269.

[32] Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 268-269; Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, xvii.

[33] Mark A. Seifrid, "Blind Alleys in the Controversy over the Paul of History," *TynBul* 45 (1994): 73-95 (86).

[34] Piotrowski, "The Concept of Exile in Late Second Temple Judaism," 221.

[35] Charles Marsh, "Theological History? N.T. Wright's *Jesus and the Victory of God*," *JSNT* 69 (1998): 77-94 (84-85, 88-90).

[36] Maurice Casey, "Where Wright is Wrong: A Critical Review of N.T. Wright's *Jesus and the Victory of God*," *JSNT* 69 (1998): 95-103 (99).

estimation, Wright over-employs the term "exile" and draws too many equations and inferences from it. To Johnson, Wright has elided 'from the literary to the empirical'[37] and committed several fallacies of historiography. He comments that: "We must still note that [Wright] excludes the possibility that the very issue of fulfilling these promises may not have been posed by most Jews in the first place, not least because they did not inhabit the eschatological story line that he has made normative."[38]

Later on, also other lines of opposition developed. Ivor H. Jones, for instance, questions Knibb as to how common reinterpretations of Jer. 25:11-14; 29:10-11 and Ez. 4:4-8 were. Instead, he suggests that texts representing a reinterpretation strand such as Dan. 9:24-27, CD 1:3-11 and the Testament of Levi may have been isolated to specific groups and produced only in light of particular historical situations, and thus not a general and pervasive, consistent and diachronic phenomenon.[39] This again calls into question the notion that a theology of ongoing exile was widespread. He also takes into account 2 Maccabees 1:27-29 and 2 Maccabees 2 and, in a reaction to Wright's 'senses which mattered', brings these passages forward in order to make a case for a realized theocratic order, a dedicated altar, and divine approval and appearance. Furthermore, the book of Baruch assumes an operationally effective temple. Jones therefore sees the end of the exile as a far more complex event, operating "not as a movement on a single temporal line to a single set of events but on different levels, in different modes and at different times."[40] According to Jones, the way the enduring exile thesis has been presented so far is too simplistic and too quickly applied all over the first century.

Francis G. Downing as well as Steven M. Bryan press the opposition even further. Downing contends that an enduring exile thesis drawn from second-century BCE texts is entirely based on silence.[41] The core of his complaint is how quickly proponents of the thesis infer more than the data allows, while overlooking generally positive attitudes toward Jewish institutions. As with Bryan, Downing challenges the *loci classici* of the argument. He

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[37] Luke T. Johnson, "A Historiographical Response to Wright's Jesus," in *Jesus and the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N.T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God*, ed. Carey C. Newman (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 206-224 (211).

[38] Johnson, "A Historiographical Response to Wright's Jesus," 212.

[39] Ivor H. Jones, "Disputed Questions in Biblical Studies: 4. Exile and Eschatology," *ExpTim* 112 (2001), 401-402.

[40] Jones, "Disputed Questions in Biblical Studies," 402.

[41] Francis G. Downing, "Exile in Formative Judaism," in *Making Sense in (and of) the First Christian Century* (JSNTSup 197, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 148-168 (154-160).

consistently argues that in each of these texts the reason for the incomplete restoration is never explicitly stated to be continuing punishment or exile: "Texts in which exile language occurs are rare."[42] Moreover, as suggested by Bryan, the problem of unfulfilled expectations does not signify an ongoing exile, but rather an incomplete restoration.[43] Furthermore, Downing particularly mentions that at that time the temple had a central theological and social role as the place where God dwells and grants forgiveness. Moreover, he writes: "It is incredible that 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra (both often cited for the 'ongoing exile' thesis) should see the events of 60-70 CE as a catastrophic repetition of 586 BCE, if Herod's rebuilt Temple had no positive significance, comparable to that of Solomon's."[44]

1.3.2 Towards More Careful Consideration

The fruitful dialogue that is stirred up by Wright's work did not only result in opposition but also in more careful identification of elements that possibly reflect an enduring exile. The main themes in this line of thought are sectarianism and apocalypticism. Gradually the idea came to development that what is meant by enduring exile needs to be restricted to specific groups who thought of themselves in exile, or even to different meanings of exile within groups. In this sense, exile can be understood in a variety of ways under different circumstances and expressed in unique terms depending on the genre employed. For scholars such as Hanson, Carroll, and Albertz the constant theme across a large amount of literature is that the historic exile caused a sort of cognitive dissidence that still affected writers – particularly apocalypticists – centuries later.[45] Such varieties of interpretation are thought to have caused and/or fueled further Second Temple sectarianism.[46] In this respect, the case of the Qumran community appears to be a point

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[42] Steven M. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (SNTSMS 117, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13.

[43] Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*, 16. See also: J.A. Dennis, *Jesus' Death and the Gathering of True Israel: The Johannine Appropriation of Restoration Theology in the Light of John 11.47-52* (WUNT, 2.217; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 83-85.

[44] Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*, 161-162.

[45] Paul D. Hanson, "The Phenomenon of Apocalyptic in Israel: Its Background and Setting," in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Seabury, 1979), 204-213.

[46] Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: Seabury, 1979).

of consensus within the enduring exile debate, though not with complete unanimity.[47] A number of scholars share the view that at Qumran we have a group that viewed the exile as *having ended*, but only several centuries after the historic return, or a group where the exile is *starting to end*.[48] However, still then the question remains open which texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls share these views on the exile. It is argued that a more consistent theological position can be found particularly in the sectarian texts from Qumran.[49] At the same time, it is recognized that the heterogeneity across the entire collection of the Dead Sea Scrolls seems to mirror some of the diversity across the rest of the Second Temple landscape.

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[47] Shemaryahu Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes / Leiden: Brill, 1989); Martin G. Abegg Jr., "Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in: *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill), 1997.

[48] Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies.* Jerusalem: Magnes / Leiden: Brill, 1989.

[49] Abegg, "Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 115-125.

2

Two Forms of the Enduring Exile Motif

The Relation Between Prolonged Exile and Exile as Metaphor

2.0 Chapter Overview

Besides the enduring exile thesis, which is concerned with post-exilic texts, there is another thesis that must be taken into account. This concerns the so-called metaphorization of exile thesis, which is developed by Martien Halvorson-Taylor. Instead of being concerned with post-exilic texts, the metaphorization of exile thesis is primarily concerned with the framework that determines how exile was conceived of in pre-exilic times. Furthermore, it is concerned with the way in which exile as a term developed into a metaphor the throes of the events of the Babylonian exile. This chapter first explores the position by Halvorson-Taylor regarding the metaphorization of exile. Then, the enduring exile thesis and the thesis concerning the metaphorization of exile are brought in conversation with each other. It will be argued that the enduring exile thesis is primarily concerned with prolonged exile, i.e., with a form of the enduring exile motif that is concerned with the chronology of exile, whereas the metaphorization of exile thesis is primarily concerned with exile as metaphor. However, despite the sharp distinction that Halvorson-Taylor makes in this regard, it is suggested that there is more to those two forms of the enduring exile motif and that further investigation is needed to see how the two forms of the enduring exile motif relate to each other and whether, and if so, how, they interact with each other.

2.1 The Extension of Exile's Meaning Beyond Geographic Displacement

2.1.1 Enduring Exile: Exile Prolonged

An overview of the various positions within the enduring exile thesis shows that literary, theological, and historical perspectives are intertwined in different ways. A development can be noticed that starts from observations within several post-exilic texts (i.e., a literary perspective), which raise the question of an enduring exile. Those literary observations are closely related to theological issues. That is, both the Deuteronomic sin-exile-repentance/return pattern and the reinterpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years in Daniel 9:24 are related to theological interpretations of history (i.e., a theological perspective). In both cases, a view on exile and restoration is developed that goes well beyond the sixth century. In this way, exile has come to have a meaning beyond geographical displacement: it is concerned with a comprehensive frame that organizes everything else (Steck), with an attitude that is taken up towards a historic fact (Ackroyd), and with a condition that is only to be ended when God interrupts history (Knibb).

Both the Deuteronomic sin-exile-repentance/return pattern and the Danielic reinterpretation of history in 70 weeks of years, being theological interpretations of history, convey a rejection of the periodization of Israelite history advanced in 2 Chronicles 36 and Ezra 1-2. Despite the declaration in those texts that the Babylonian exile had effectively ended with the edict of Cyrus in 538 BCE, pre-exilic texts that in some way or another draw on the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern and/or on the Danielic reinterpretation of history in 70 weeks of years show that a vital stream of tradition maintained that the exile persisted beyond that moment, and even beyond the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple in 515 BCE.[50] Importantly, such texts seem to be primarily concerned with the chronology of exile. Enduring exile, thus, in this sense comes to have the meaning of a prolonged exile.

This understanding of enduring exile inevitably raises the question how it is related to the historical situation (i.e., a historical perspective). That is, whether those people thought of themselves as still being in exile despite of the historical ending of the Babylonian exile and if so, how widespread such an attitude or condition was. As we have seen, the various proponents of the enduring exile thesis formulate various answers to those questions. In some cases, this resulted in criticism, which led to reformulations and more careful considerations, such as regarding the Qumran community. Still, however, a unanimous view on this is lacking.

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[50] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 9.

2.1.2 Enduring Exile: Exile as Metaphor

Besides the understanding of enduring exile that has been elaborated above, which is primarily concerned with the chronology of exile, there is also another perspective on enduring exile. In this latter perspective, which is developed by Martien Halvorson-Taylor, the enduring exile thesis itself is presupposed. Instead, Halvorson-Taylor seeks to identify the antecedents of the second-century BCE motif of enduring exile. She does so by focusing on the early questioning of the duration and meaning of exile, i.e., in pre-exilic times up until the third century BCE. This results in a different conception of enduring exile compared to what the enduring exile thesis so far touches upon. Just as the proponents of the enduring exile thesis, Halvorson-Taylor is interested in how the extension of exile's basic meaning – geographic displacement – comes to include other forms of distress.[51] However, she is not primarily concerned with enduring exile as prolonged exile.

Instead, Halvorson-Taylor distinguishes between two forms of the motif of enduring exile. Whereas in the first form, the chronology of exile is a primary concern, this is not the case in the second form. In the latter, Halvorson-Taylor maintains, exile becomes a metaphor for political disenfranchisement, social inequality, and alienation from God.[52] It is this second form that marks a profound transformation in the interpretation of exilic experience. In post-exilic times, Halvorson-Taylor sees this particularly at play in Fourth Ezra, the Jewish apocalypse that forms the central portion of 2 Esdras. This text uses the sixth-century BCE exile to Babylon as a trope to discuss the status of those living in Judea in the late first century CE. The text demonstrates that the author of 4 Ezra speaks to his contemporaries from within the exile itself, where exile is a metaphor for disillusionment within the present day and a sense of alienation from God.[53] Importantly, it is this second form – exile as metaphor – that is the primary focus of Halvorson-Taylor's study. She seeks to identify the antecedents of this form of the enduring exile motif both in pre-exilic times and in post-exilic biblical literature from the late sixth through the third century BCE.

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[51] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 8.

[52] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 8.

[53] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 12.

2.2 Exile as a Metaphor in Post-Exilic Texts

2.2.1 Pre-Exilic Conceptions of Exile

One of the main ideas of Halvorson-Taylor is that the extension of exile's meaning, which allowed it to focus as a metaphor, is not an exilic or post-exilic innovation but that it is in fact rooted in pre-exilic thinking about the threat of exile. For this reason, Halvorson-Taylor first focuses on the biblical covenantal curses in Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26, which she situates within the broader ancient Near Eastern context. In so doing, she argues that the biblical covenantal curses are in fact echoes of ancient Near Eastern treaties, particularly Neo-Assyrian treaties.[54] In ancient Near Eastern treaty curses, she demonstrates, exile figures as one of the many ways in which the gods would eradicate the rebellious vassal. Because the vassal had incurred fatal and inescapable divine anger, the vassal would suffer a form of annihilation through dislocation, dispersion, dissipation, and, even more disruptively, the denial of divine presence.[55] Halvorson-Taylor thus argues how the Hebrew Bible owes its notion of exile both in shape and in function to this ancient Near Eastern understanding of exile as a form of obliteration by divine wrath. In other words, Israel inherited a concept of exile that already had extended meaning before Judah's experience of deportation.[56] In both the ancient Near Eastern and the biblical treaties, exile was already construed as an expression of divine wrath against the cursed. It was the ultimate punishment for a people that rebelled against imperial or divine authority.[57] This concept of exile, which was thus already fraught with negative associations, was an expression – one of many expressions – of divine anger.

2.2.2 Metaphorization of Exile in Light of the Babylonian Exile

Halvorson-Taylor's understanding of pre-exilic conceptions of exile in terms of divine wrath plays a crucial role in her further argument. Based on the view that exile was already associated with the divine long before the actual Babylonian exile took place, she argues that pre-exilic thinking about the threat of exile provides the roots for a long and complex process in which the Babylonian exile came to have a meaning beyond forced migration and geographic

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[54] Moshe Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and its Influence on the West," *JAOS* 93 (1973), 190-199.

[55] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 23.

[56] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 23.

[57] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 16. See also Leviticus 26.

displacement. It is this process that she understands in terms of a metaphorization of exile in later times.[58]

In what follows, then, Halvorson-Taylor focuses on the early phases of this metaphorization. She maintains that this process has taken place in the various phases of redaction of biblical books themselves. In order to provide evidence for this, she focuses on prophetic literature, where exile – whether future, present or past – is a pervasive concern. More specifically, her study centers on three of the prophetic biblical books: Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Zechariah. Each of those books reflect on the exilic period; their vantage point on the period is not only significant but unique for elucidating the roots of the metaphorization of exile. The first text, the poetic cycle of Jeremiah's Book of Consolation, Jeremiah 30-31, purports to anticipate both the exile and the restoration by which exile will be resolved. The second and third texts, Isaiah 40-55 and Zechariah 1-8, come at the end of the exile; both primarily anticipate the restoration, but in so doing implicitly reflect back on the exilic period.[59] All three books have in common a complex redactional history both in and of themselves. That is, in both their content and formation, those books provide insight into the shifting currency of exilic language.

Considering the redaction of exile in Jeremiah's Book of Consolation (31:15-22), for instance, Halvorson-Taylor argues that Rachel's lament contains at least two layers of meaning. First, in its earliest discernible prehistory, Rachel's lament was over her children who, either because she has none or they have died, do not exist. Second, Rachel's lament was interpreted and redacted to apply to the situation of Judah after the events of the sixth century.[60] Tracing the development of Rachel's lament thus illuminates the process by which death becomes a metaphor for the exile of Rachel's children. Halvorson-Taylor argues that the use of death as a metaphor for exile in Jeremiah 31:15-17 can be productively compared with the conception of exile in Leviticus 26, as in this text, exile also functions as a form of death: one among many different iterations of how YHWH will annihilate the rebellious vassal. Israel's time in exile is thus presented as a metaphoric descent into death. The key difference between the texts, according to Halvorson-Taylor, is a directional difference in the understandings of exile. While

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[58] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 9.

[59] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 39.

[60] Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, "There is No One!": The Redaction of Exile in Jeremiah's Book of Consolation (31:15-22)," in: *By the Irrigation Canals of Babylon. Approaches to the Study of the Exile* (ed. John J. Ahn and Jill Middlemas; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 526; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 107-122 (113).

Leviticus 26 presents exile as a form of death, Jeremiah 31:16-17 makes the reference to the death of the children in Jeremiah 31:15 into a metaphor for exile.[61]

In Halvorson-Taylor's view, the rich literary activity in the Second Temple period consolidated this process of metaphorization, marking a change in the understanding of exile itself. She argues that exile, which before the Babylonian exile already had an extended meaning, in the throes of the exile came to be used as a metaphor that signified a variety of alienations: political disenfranchisement within Yehud, deep dissatisfaction with the status quo, and a feeling of separation or alienation from God.[62] In developing her views on the second form of the enduring exile motif, exile as metaphor, Halvorson-Taylor provides additional support in favor of the enduring exile thesis. In so doing, she shows how post-exilic texts do not only contain theological interpretations of history regarding exile but how they also contain a much broader understanding of and framework for exile. That is, post-exilic times do not only show a concern with the chronology of exile but, as a metaphor, exile also came to express different kinds of alienations that reflect how people at later times found themselves in the world in later times. In this context, exile as a metaphor for alienation from divine affection has a central place.[63]

Halvorson-Taylor summarizes her argument in the following way:

> In this new interpretation of exile, which was not limited to its geographical dimension, exile persisted despite repatriation; it was a condition that could not be resolved simply by returning to the land, as the jubilant promises of Second Isaiah promised. The motif of a protracted and ongoing exile appears in its fuller form in a variety of texts beginning in the second century B.C.E. and would in turn provide the basis for significant trajectories in the thought world of ancient Judaism and early Christianity; indeed, the ongoing legacy of this motif is still manifest in Judaism and Christianity today.[64]

Importantly, by providing insight in the underlying connotations of the notion of exile and how this idea of exile gradually turned into a metaphor, Halvorson-Taylor's perspective can be characterized as existential-literary. That is, she paves the way for understanding an existential condition that is characterized by certain alienations, which are articulated in terms of exile.

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[61] Halvorson-Taylor, "There is No One!", 117-118.

[62] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 1.

[63] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 23.

[64] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 1.

2.3 Exile as Metaphor in Relation to Prolonged Exile

2.3.1 The Role of Deuteronomy 28

The two different conceptions of enduring exile as elaborated in the enduring exile thesis by various scholars and in the thesis on the metaphorization of exile by Halvorson-Taylor raises the question how the two forms of the enduring exile motif relate to each other and whether, and if so, how, they possibly interact with each other. This question naturally follows from what has been set out so far. That is, it has been shown that the enduring exile thesis is primarily concerned with the interpretation of the events of the Babylonian exile and the development of certain attitudes towards this historical event. In so doing, it focuses predominantly on enduring exile as concerned with the chronology of exile itself, thereby viewing enduring exile in terms of exile prolonged. Two elements have been related to this topic: a concern with the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern in later prophetic texts and a concern with the 70 weeks of years as developed in Daniel 9:24. Halvorson-Taylor, instead, focuses on enduring exile in terms of exile as metaphor. In so doing, in her work, not the development of attitudes towards the historical event of the Babylonian exile is central but the way in which the term exile itself becomes a metaphor to denote a variety of alienations.

Although Halvorson-Taylor presents the two forms of the enduring exile motif as distinct from each other, which allows her to focus only on the second form of the enduring exile motif, there seems to be more to this distinction between chronology and metaphor. In the context of the chronology of exile, Halvorson-Taylor only focuses on the traditions associated with Daniel 9. More specifically, she bases her perspective on three texts that draw on Jeremiah and Ezekielian traditions: Daniel 9, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Damascus Document.[65] In each of these texts, the author imagines a prolonged exile whose resolution is shortly anticipated, as in Daniel 9, or has already taken place. How the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern figures as another element of the form of the enduring exile motif that is concerned with exile prolonged is therefore not clear. Halvorson-Taylor herself does not explicitly mention the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern as part of exile prolonged. She only considers themes such as sin and repentance insofar they play a role in the metaphorization of exile.

However, there seems to be an overlap in the two forms of the enduring exile motif, exile prolonged and exile as metaphor, when it comes to the role of Deuteronomy 28. What becomes clear in Halvorson-Taylor's efforts in tracing the idea of exile back to pre-exilic times

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[65] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 9-11.

is that Deuteronomy 28 is underlying both the first form of the enduring exile motif, i.e., prolonged exile, as well as the second form, i.e., exile as metaphor. She convincingly shows that the book of Deuteronomy, in particular the covenantal curses, is already based on ancient Near Eastern treaties. In so doing, Halvorson-Taylor makes clear that (the threat of) the events of the Babylonian exile were not conceived of in a neutral way, but that exile was already fraught with negative associations, i.e., within the framework of a relationship between the "rebellious vassal" and the divine, and with themes such as death and punishment. It is this framework that further developed in the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, which has its foundation in Deuteronomy 27-30. This framework also enables the later developments in which exile turns into a metaphor. What thus remains unclear is how the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern plays a role in both forms of the enduring exile motif: exile prolonged and exile as metaphor.

2.3.2 Conceptualizing Exile Between Theology and Metaphor

More specifically, the fact that exile prolonged and exile as metaphor find common roots in Deuteronomy 28 (and Leviticus 26) asks for a more profound understanding of how those two forms of the enduring exile motif developed in the throes of the Babylonian exile. For instance, whether the understanding of exile as metaphor is the result of an earlier development into exile prolonged, in which the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern play a role, or whether those forms developed separately from each other. This also requires investigating whether those two forms of enduring exile appear together in post-exilic texts or whether some texts contain one form while other texts tend towards the other. The relevance of these questions also follows from the fact that Halvorson-Taylor sees the use of exile as metaphor predominantly at play in 4 Ezra. As she herself does not mention other post-exilic material, thereby stating only that "the rich literary activity in the Second Temple period consolidated this process of metaphorization"[66], it is questionable how widespread the second form of the enduring exile motif really is.

In fact, in addressing this issue, what is essentially considered is how theology (i.e., the concern of chronology) and metaphor (i.e., the concern of exile as metaphor) are related to each other in the context of enduring exile. This relationship is strengthened by the fact that Deuteronomy 28 is of central importance in viewing exile in association with the divine. Both forms of the enduring exile motif touch upon this association. In the form that is concerned with

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[66] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 1.

the chronology of exile, enduring exile is understood in terms of a theological interpretation of history that is concerned with a disturbed relationship with the divine that needs repentance. In the form that is concerned with exile as metaphor, it is argued that exile is used metaphorically to denote, among other things, an alienation from the divine.

In what follows, with the help of several case-studies the relationship between exile prolonged and exile as metaphor will be investigated. This pursuit requires not only a synchronic attempt to discern how exile functions as a figure, but also a diachronic study to get a sense of the redactional processes by which exile was shaped and reshaped. Therefore, the first case-study focuses on Jeremiah 12, a text that contains pre-exilic material but that has also been reshaped by the addition of exilic and post-exilic strands. This text provides insight in how the events of the Babylonian exile were conceived of both regarding inherited associations as well as regarding later attitudes. The two other case-studies focus prayers of ritual mourning that are dated to post-exilic times: the confessional prayers of Baruch and Daniel. Having originated in the second century BCE, in those texts the enduring exile motif appears in fuller form. Both texts engage the Jeremiah tradition in a time when the Jeremiah tradition was still fluid. In all three texts, the relationship between exile prolonged and exile as metaphor will be investigated. It will be argued that lament has a central role in the development of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, that in turn provides the basis for the two forms of the enduring exile motif.

3

"How Long Will the Earth Mourn?"

Chronology and Metaphor Concerning Exile in Jeremiah 12:1-13

3.0 Chapter Overview

How the view on prolonged exile, with a concern for chronology, and the development towards exile as metaphor relate to each other, and the extent to which they interact with each other, is not clear. Therefore, in this chapter, this issue will be further explored with the help of a case-study that contains metaphor regarding exile while it also contains elements of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern. For this purpose, the biblical book of Jeremiah will be focused upon. More specifically, Jeremiah 12:1-13 will be taken as a case-study. This text contains both pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic material and is thus an early example of how the Babylonian exile was conceived. As such, this text gives insight in the relationship between an inherited concept of exile and post-exilic understandings of the events of the Babylonian exile. By focusing on different elements in its redaction history, it will be argued that the role of lament in Jeremiah 12:1-13 provides a central connection between both theological and metaphorical conceptualizations of exile. Although, in this text, exile is not yet fully developed as metaphor, it does contain the roots of this metaphorization. Together with theological interpretations of exile, this text thus   contains early expressions of both forms of the enduring exile motif. Both serve to address the close relationship between exile and the divine.

3.1 Jeremiah Between Pre-Exilic and Post-Exilic Traditions

3.1.1 The Complex Composition and Dating of the Book of Jeremiah

Jeremiah is one of the prophets of Israel most associated with the Babylonian exile. His prophetic activity occurs during the final kings of Judah: Josiah, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. According to the introduction to the book of Jeremiah (1:4-19), Jeremiah begins to prophesy in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Josiah, 626 BCE.[67] The final verses of the book link the end of his activity with the release of King Jehoiachin from imprisonment in Babylon in 562. According to the two bookends of the book of Jeremiah, his prophecies begin in Judah and end in Babylon.[68] The person Jeremiah is thus clearly associated with the pre-exilic situation as well as with the exile itself. The book of Jeremiah, however, shows a much more complicated history. It is understood to contain several layers of redaction that may predate but also postdate the events of the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Jerusalem.[69] The result is a complex composition that shows clear signs of editorial activity.

One of the ways in which this comes to expression is in the structure of the book, which is more interwoven than linear. In a general sense, chapters 1-25 contain poetry that presents the theme of judgment, while chapters 26-52 contain prose narrative that turns to hopes for restoration. However, prose narrative and hope are also interwoven in chapters 1-25, while poetry and judgment can likewise be found in chapters 26-52. Conventionally interpreters recognize within the book of Jeremiah three layers of material, often abbreviated A, B, and C. Category A represents the poetic material, found mainly within chapters 1-25, that is thought to stem from the historical prophet Jeremiah. Category B, found mainly in chapters 26-45, refers to a type of biographical prose attributed to the authorship of Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, or to a wider scribal circle. Among other things, these parts include accounts written about Jeremiah and his activities from the perspective of a third-person eyewitness. Category C is made up of prose sections that resemble the language and the literary style of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic History, with concerns of particular interest to the community in exile in Babylon.[70]

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[67] Jill Middlemas, *The Templeless Age. An Introduction to the History, Literature, and Theology of the "Exile"* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 67.

[68] In the story itself, however, the person Jeremiah was taken to Egypt. See: Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 67.

[69] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 43-44.

[70] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 68-69.

The complexity of the development of the text of Jeremiah is also demonstrated by the differences between the Masoretic Text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX) editions of Jeremiah.[71] With regard to the overall length, the order of the material, and numerous details the Greek translation of Jeremiah included in the Septuagint collection is significantly different from that of the MT version. The discovery of biblical Jeremiah manuscripts at Qumran has further confirmed the early development of these differences during the Greco-Roman period: the manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate that some of the differences between the Greek and the Masoretic text did not result from the process of translation into the Greek, or during the Greek transmission, but were already found in Hebrew texts which could have served as a *Vorlage* for the Greek translator.[72]

3.1.2 The Poetic Oracles of Jeremiah 1-25 and the Insertion of Lament

In spite of the differences, the biblical book of Jeremiah as a whole has a coherent message: the prophet declares judgment on Judah and presents reasons to believe in a future beyond destruction. These thematic and literary lines are in line with the opening of the book, which recounts the divine call and commissioning of the prophet (1:4-19). YHWH appoints Jeremiah to be a prophet to the nations (vv. 9-10) and to announce destruction ("to pluck up and to pull

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[71] Emmanuel Tov as well as Eugene Ulrich argued for the existence of two "editions" of Jeremiah in the Greco-Roman period: one resembling the wording and order of the MT, the other closer to the Septuagint version of Jeremiah. The differing sequences provide a distinctive character to each of the editions. In the Hebrew MT version of Jeremiah, the oracles against the nations are placed at the end of the collection (chs. 45-46). In the Greek LXX text they are situated, with some inner variations, in the middle of the book (chs. 26-31). The Greek LXX version of Jeremiah ends with Jeremiah's final admonition to the exiles in Egypt (LXX ch. 51). Especially notable is the placing of a prophecy to Baruch at the conclusion of the prophetic sections in the Greek translation (LXX 51:31-35 = MT 45:1-5). This placement has been interpreted in various ways regarding the role of Baruch in the Septuagint ordering of Jeremiah. See: Emmanuel Tov, *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible Third Edition Revised and Expanded* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 286-294.

[72] Some of the Qumran copies of Jeremiah – 4QJer[a] (4Q70) and 4QJer[c] (4Q72) – contain a long version of Jeremiah that is close to the Hebrew Masoretic Text. Two others – 4QJer[b] (4Q71) and 4QJer[d] (4Q72a) – correspond to the textual form of the shorter Septuagint (LXX) Greek translation of this prophetic book. See: Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "Jeremiah's Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition," in *Jeremiah's Scriptures. Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation,* eds. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (JSJS, 173; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 289-306 (289). Three small fragments from different manuscripts – 4Q71 (4QJer[b]), 4Q72a (4QJer[b]) and the Schøyen fragment – are in some ways closer to the shorter (LXX) version than to the longer MT version.

down, to destroy and to overthrow"), but to indicate also a foundation for renewal ("to build and to plant").[73] The poetic material, which can mainly be found in Jeremiah 1-25, is situated in a pre-exilic context and is concerned with the threat of exile. More specifically, the oracles in these chapters intend to explain the upcoming disaster as the judgment of YHWH. In the formulation of these oracles, Jeremiah seems to draw on the language of judgment found in the prophets who preceded him, such as Amos and Hosea.[74] The two main themes that Jeremiah takes over from the earlier prophets is that of social injustice and the worship of deities other than YHWH. Like those other prophets, Jeremiah understands that communal sin brought about divine judgment. Although the oracles of Jeremiah are used sometimes to exhort the people to change patterns of behavior before it is too late, they are just as often declarative statements announcing doom and destruction.[75]

At the same time, "radical differences in literary form between the prophetic witness of the book of Jeremiah and that of earlier prophets" have been observed.[76] Gerhard von Rad speaks of the breaking up of the classic forms of accusation and announcement of judgment and the insinuation of new forms of first-person speech for both God and prophet as well as the indirect presentation of Israel's deviance through divine lament.[77] Particularly, studies of Jeremiah 11-20 have stressed the "dialogic" and dramatic character of the so-called confessions of Jeremiah by relating the prophetic confessions to the divine speeches with which they are interspersed.[78] A.R. Pete Diamond, for example, conceives of Jeremiah 11-20 as a "prophetic drama" that "relies primarily upon dialogue in order to create a sense of narrative development" and "that portrays Jeremiah's prophetic mission as a dialogue in which prophet, YHWH, and

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[73] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 67.

[74] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 69-70.

[75] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 70.

[76] Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; 2 vols.; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 2:193.

[77] Katherine M. Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments: The Chorus of Lament in Jeremiah and Joel," in: *Seeking the Favor of God: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline; vol. 1; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 119.

[78] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 119. See: Kathleen M. O'Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1-25* (SBLDS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984); A.R. Pete Diamond, *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context: Scenes of Prophetic Drama* (JSOTSup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987); Mark S. Smith, *The Laments of Jeremiah and Their Contexts* (SBLMS 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), esp. 50-53, 61-64.

nation are participants.[79] Other studies find dramatic interaction more broadly. Mark Biddle, for example, identifies dramatic personae and interactions throughout Jeremiah 7-20.[80]

Although early studies concentrated on the confessions of Jeremiah in isolation from the book as a whole, it is clear at present that the prophetic laments provide one of the clearest examples of editorial activity that can be found in the book of Jeremiah.[81] The editorial activity of the insertion of lament particularly becomes visible in certain sections of Jeremiah 1-25, namely 11:18-12:6; 15:10-21; 17:14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-13. Lament is therefore inserted in those parts that are understood to contain authentic elements. The insertion of lament is first and foremost understood to have a role in establishing the authenticity of the prophet as a mediator of the divine word. In addition, the insertions play a vital role in the overall scheme of the redactor. They clarify the radical nature of the accusations made against Israel. More specifically, they attribute the disaster to punishment for sin. Furthermore, the location of the confessions within the book as a whole brings to expression the idea that divine retribution is inevitable, as lament is accompanied by a continual rejection of the prophet and by repeated covenant violations.[82]

3.2 Pre-Exilic and Post-Exilic Ideas of Exile in Jeremiah 12:1-13

3.2.1 An Interaction of Voices: Jeremiah 12:1-13 in Context

The difficulty of identifying the speakers of particular speeches in the book of Jeremiah is widely noted, which is as well reflected by the conflicting analyses in commentaries.[83] The divine and prophetic voices often seem to merge due to the interweaving of divine, prophetic, and communal speech. Moreover, the distinction between the prophet delivering the first-person speech of YHWH and obeying the divine mandate to prophesy by speaking himself in

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[79] A.R. Diamond, *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context: Scenes of Prophetic Drama* (JSOTSup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 181-182.

[80] See: Mark Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony in Prophetic Literature: Rereading Jeremiah 7-20* (SOTI 2; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1996).

[81] See particularly: O'Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1-25* (SBLDS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984).

[82] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 70-71.

[83] Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony*, 22, 80-81; O'Connor, *Confessions of Jeremiah*, 140 n. 77. See, e.g., differences in identification of the speakers in Jer. 4:19-22, Jer. 8:18-9:2 and 9:9 as discussed in: Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony*, 20-21, 28-32.

the first person appears fluid.[84] Sometimes, too, the people's voice and that of the prophet seem to blend, especially in passages where the first-person plural is used. The interweaving of divine, prophetic, and communal speech is particularly reflected in Jeremiah 1-12. An overall predominant thread in these chapters is that of lament, which occurs in a way that is not always easy or possible to sort out. The people are summoned to lament (4:8; 6:26; 7:29; 9:17; 19) and, either as a collective or as personified Zion, raise their voices in lament (4:13; 4:19-21, 31; 6:4b, 24-25; 8:14-15, 19-20; 9:18, 20; 10:19-20). In several places, prophetic and divine laments seem to merge or converge (8:18-9:2; 9:9-10; 12:1-13).[85] However, lament takes different forms among these different voices. Linked to the people's expressions of woe and lament is their failure to value and turn to the God they have forsaken (2:13, 19, 27, 32; 3:21; 5:7-8, 23-24; 6:10, 16-17; 8:5-6). This failure brings them into the crossfire of God's judgment unwittingly, since they do not recognize their wrongdoing (2:23, 34-35; 4:22; 6:15; 8:8; 11-12).[86]

The interaction between the different voices in Jeremiah in the context of lament becomes particularly clear in Jeremiah 12:1-13. This passage consists of two interrelated poems, Jeremiah 12:1-6 and 12:7-13, in which prophetic and divine lament is juxtaposed and contrasted with the indifference of the people. The poem of Jeremiah 12:7-13 is mostly understood as a lament by YHWH over his lost possession, answering the prophetic lament in Jeremiah 12:1-6. Although Jeremiah 12:7-13 can perhaps also be heard as the prophet's response to his own lament, or as carrying that undertone,[87] the first-person possessive forms ("my house," "my possession," "my own beloved," "my vineyard," "my field") rather seem to evoke YHWH's claim over the people and land of Israel.[88] The sequence of the poems creates a dialogue that takes place around an additional persona: that of the mourning earth, which appears in Jeremiah 12:4 and 12:11.[89]

The passage as a whole can be understood to contain pre-exilic as well as post-exilic conceptions of exile. That is, some of the poetic material in the passage, i.e., language, images, motifs, and a focus on judgment, is thought to be authentic and related to the historical prophet

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[84] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 122.

[85] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 125.

[86] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 125.

[87] See: Naama Zahavi-Ely, "Multiple Speaking Voices in the Book of Jeremiah: A Survey of a Poetic Convention and Its Effects," 2005 (paper delivered at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Philadelphia).

[88] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 126-127.

[89] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127.

Jeremiah. This material reflects pre-exilic conceptions of exile, in which Jeremiah's oracles are aimed at denouncing sin and proclaiming judgment. The insertion of lament, which structures the two dialogues, is one sign of the presence of post-exilic conceptions of exile. The post-exilic elements attribute the events of the Babylonian exile to punishment for the sin that was denounced previously. In what follows, the prophetic and divine laments will be analyzed with respect to underlying pre-exilic and post-exilic conceptions of exile. The persona of the mourning earth in 12:4, 11 will afterwards be addressed separately.

3.2.2 Analysis of the Poems in Jeremiah 12:1-6 and 7:13

3.2.2.1 The Prophetic Lament in Jeremiah 12:1-6

The biblical text of Jeremiah 12:1-6 forms a unit with the preceding verses that start at Jeremiah 11:18. However, there are strong reasons to assume that the unity of the passage has been achieved secondarily and that in their original form Jeremiah 11:18-23 and 12:1-6 were separate units.[90] It has been argued that v. 6 of Jeremiah 12:1-6 has been added to 12:1-5 as a way to connect 11:18-23 to 12:1-6. The passage of 12:1-6 itself contains a complaint of Jeremiah in 12:1-4 and a reply of YHWH in 12:5-6.[91] The basic parallelism between the two sections is the two questions of Jeremiah, "why?" (v. 1) and "how long?" (v. 4), and the two counterquestions of YHWH ("how?" twice). However, the divine response in Jeremiah 12:5-6 answers the prophetic lament in Jeremiah 12:1-4 only obscurely. There appears to be no close link between Jeremiah's first question and YHWH's first counterquestion, and the repetition of "land" in Jeremiah's second question and YHWH's second counterquestion is only a small matter.[92]

Jeremiah's complaint in 12:1-4 begins in 12:1a with legal idioms: the prophet has a dispute with YHWH (אריב) and wishes to take up a case (משפטים אדבר).[93] A pair of questions follows that open the dialogue and beg a response: "Why does the way of the wicked prosper? Why are all who deal treacherously at ease?" (12:1b). The question "why?" is frequent in lament. It appears as well in, e.g., Hab 1:3; Pss 10:1; 22:2; 43:2. However, the word in those passages is למה, while here it is מדוע. Of sixty-one occurrences of this word in the Hebrew Bible, sixteen are in Jeremiah. The word may carry a reproachful tone; the material in vv. 1b-2 is

[90] William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25*, ed. Paul D. Hanson (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1986), 365.

[91] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 366.

[92] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 367.

[93] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127.

essentially an accusation to YHWH of not adhering to his covenant promises.[94] More specifically, Jeremiah's concern here is the delay of divine justice and the apparent divine tolerance of the wicked.[95] Jeremiah makes use of material from Psalm 1 in v. 2a to set forth his accusation.[96] God has not only planted these people in the land but has allowed them to take root and bear fruit, in essence multiplying wickedness. God is far from their affections and sensibilities (מכליותיהם), however often they use God language (12:2b; cf. 5:2).[97] Jeremiah, in contrast, is known by the Lord, and his will or mind (לב) has been tested: it is with YHWH (12:3a). It is not entirely clear who the opponents, the guilty (רשעים) exactly are. Many suggestions have been made, including the whole people of Judah.[98] However, since the name of YHWH is on their lips (v. 2), it has been argued as well that they are Jeremiah's prophetic opponents, the optimistic prophets.[99] The passage makes clear that the distinction between the prophet and the wicked inhabitants of the land, whether Israel or other prophets, consists in knowing, or recognition: in being known by YHWH and in knowing YHWH, that is, having one's heart and mind with God.[100]

3.2.2.2 The Divine Lament in Jeremiah 12:7-13

The questions that are raised in the prophetic lament in Jeremiah 12:1-4 are only indirectly answered in the divine response in Jeremiah 12:5-6. A more explicit answer is provided by the divine speech in Jeremiah 12:7-13. It has been noted that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the original form of the passage.[101] In this context, it has been suggested that the divine speech in Jeremiah 12:7-12 (as well as 13:1-12a and 13:12a-14) has been added as a

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[94] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 368-369.

[95] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127. See also: Diamond, *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context*, 48. Cf. Ps. 94:1-11.

[96] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 369.

[97] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127.

[98] See: Diamond, *Confessions of Jeremiah*, 46-47.

[99] The last colon of v. 4 is form-critically comparable to the quotations in 5:12 and 23:17, and 5:12-13 and 23:16-17 deal with the optimistic prophets. See: Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 370; Han. W. Hertzberg, *Prophet und Gott. Eine Studie zur Religiosität des vorexilischen Prophetentums* (BFCT 28/3; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923), 218.

[100] Note the paralleling of כליות and לב in Jer. 11:20; 17:10; 20:12; Pss 7:10; 26:2. See: Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127.

[101] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 384-386.

group into the corpus of Jeremianic material.[102] On this basis, the setting of the passage has been suggested to a time in 605 or just thereafter.[103] It is not clear whether the passage offers a description of an actual invasion or whether the described events are envisioned.[104]

Most of the passage consists of simple statements of fact, for which the perfect tense is used. In 12:7, YHWH states that he has abandoned his people, that foreign invaders have taken over (vv. 10-12). A command is expressed in 12:9 – "Go, gather all the wild animals/bring them to devour!" – that unequivocally answers the prophet's plea "How long?" in 12:1.[105] The focus of the passage is therefore the devastation of the land by military invasion. However, these verses do not carry any of the traditional vocabulary of a lament ("weep," "lament"); the only possible exception is the use of "caravan-tracks" in the desert in v. 12, which is associated with "weeping" in Jeremiah 3:21. A reason for this may be that the lament is at the same time a judgment oracle, which can be seen mainly at the end of the passage (v. 12 and the last colon of v. 13). The result is an expression of deep ambivalence on the part of YHWH. In his references to the people in 12:7-8 he expresses both love and hate: they are "my house" (ביתי), "my possession" (נחלתי), and "beloved of my soul" (נפשי ידדות) in v. 7 and 10, while v. 8 describes how the people have turned divine love into hate.

The language of Jeremiah 12:7-13 suggests an inherent relationship between the people and the earth, beginning in 12:7 with YHWH's references to the people. For instance, נחלה is used widely of both the land given to Israel by YHWH and of the people themselves as belonging to YHWH. The "house" of YHWH evokes both the temple and the house of Israel/Judah. Yet in Hosea 9:15b, in a similar context of judgment, ביתי seems to refer to the land. In this matrix of associations, the designation נפשי ידדות which YHWH has "given into the hands of her enemies," takes on a dual reference as well.[106] In 12:9b, YHWH vocalizes the shock and intensity of the process of separation from the people in a question: "Is my possession a hyena's den to me? / Are birds of prey circling over her?" Again, the question is posed to the

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[102] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 384-385. Jeremiah 12:13 presents a particular difficult problem because of the shift of subject in the verbs from the devastators (vv. 7-12) to the Judean farmers (v. 13), and in general because of the shift from military devastation to a drought. Duhm has judged v. 13 to be the reflection of a reader.

[103] It has been noted that vv. 7-12 took shape earlier than v. 13. See: Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 386.

[104] See: Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 386. Cornell and Volz understand the passage to be a description of an actual invasion, while Rudolph leaves open whether this is the case.

[105] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 129.

[106] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 131.

witnessing audience, drawing them into the prophetic drama.[107] The association of the land with people recurs in 12:10, which speaks of shepherds destroying כרמי "my vineyard," חלקתי "my field" or "my portion." In a concrete sense, this verse depicts damage done to the cultivated land. Yet כרם is clearly evocative of the people of Israel and lends this association to its parallel, חלקה. The first-person suffixes on the nouns in this verse echo the earlier expressions נחלתי, ביתי, and נפשי ידדות with their multiple associations.[108]

3.2.3 Influences of Pre-Exilic Ideas of Exile in Jeremiah 12:1-13

Jeremiah 12:1-13 offers an insight into issues that were part of the events that preceded the Babylonian exile as well as the way in which the threat of exile was envisioned. Authentic elements of the passage that are related to Jeremiah himself reflect a pre-exilic conception of exile that demonstrates similarities with ancient Near Eastern conceptions of exile that Israel is understood to have inherited through the biblical covenantal curses in Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26. One of the first similarities concerns the dynamic that comes to expression within the passage as a whole. This dynamic is clearly concerned with the relationships between the prophet Jeremiah, the divine, and – although in an indirect way – the inhabitants of the land. In a biblical context, these relationships are to be understood within the context of the covenant between God and his people, the prophet being the interlocutor and mediator who stands in between those personae. Although the word covenant is not mentioned explicitly, this underlying theme does become clear in the relationship between YHWH and the prophet. Jeremiah describes that his will or mind (לב) is with YHWH, while that of the other people is not.

By simultaneously confirming his own righteousness in the prophetic lament, Jeremiah introduces the theme of the wicked behavior of the people. He even calls God to slaughter the inhabitants, whom he describes as the sheep. The divine command in 12:9 – "Go, gather all the wild animals/bring them to devour!" is an expression of God's decision to punish the people by abandoning them and bring about severe suffering. The dynamic of relationships presents a clear echo of the ancient Near Eastern treaties that are inherited in Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26, in which the vassal stands in relationship with the gods.[109] Moreover, the central

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[107] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 130.

[108] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 131.

[109] The idea of a religious covenant has been influenced by historical-political structures at the time of the Assyrian empire, in which Israel was a vassal of the Assyrian ruler. The covenant between God and the people of the land

theme of sin and punishment further confirms this echo: YHWH's abandonment of the inhabitants and his command to let them be eaten by the wild animals presents clear similarities with the ancient Near Eastern treaty curses, in which inescapable divine anger results in punishment for the rebellious vassal. From this it is clear that the exile as understood by Jeremiah already had extended meaning beyond the actual events of the exile. His oracles on the threat of the Babylonian exile reflect a pre-exilic understanding of exile in which the threat of divine wrath stood central.

Moreover, it is apparent that Jeremiah's understanding of exile was fraught with negative associations. Besides sin, another clear expression of this is the role of death, as expressed in 12:3 and 12:9. This implies that pre-exilic conceptions of exile in an Israeli/Judean context already stretched beyond the land and deportation. Instead, the centrality of the theme of punishment shows that the threat of the Babylonian exile was already associated with the threat of a damaged relationship with the divine. In the divine lament, this is reflected by a change in attitude from affection to punishment, and from love to hate, as a result of the behavior of the people. In other words, the text shows that, at the time of the Babylonian exile, there was already an inherited understanding of exile that played a role in Jeremiah's activities. This inherited understanding, which consisted of a framework in which sin was severely punished by the divine, has been further confirmed and developed in post-exilic times through the role of lament. The sin-exile-repentance/return pattern is thus partly present in Jeremiah 12:1-13, that is, with a predominant focus on sin and exile.

3.3 The Earth Laments: An Existential-Literary Framework for Exile

3.3.1 The Mourning Earth in Jeremiah 12:4, 11

The dynamic between God, the prophet Jeremiah, and the inhabitants of the land in Jeremiah 12:1-13 is accompanied by an additional persona: that of the mourning earth. This image is introduced as belonging to Jeremiah's questions in his prophetic lament, in 12:4, and is referred to again in the divine lament in 12:11, where the same root appears: אבל "dry up." Jeremiah implies in 12:4 that the wicked inhabitants have plunged the land into mourning:

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of Israel is a direct adaptation of this historical-political structure. See: David M. Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament. Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2010).

> How long will the earth mourn (תאבל)
>> and the grass of every field wither? (ייבש)
> From the wickedness (מרעת) of those who live in it,
>> animals and birds are swept away,
> For they say: "He cannot see our end."

In commentaries, the first four cola of 12:4 appear so much to be a non sequitur that most commentators have excised them. Among the major commentators barely no one assumes their authenticity.[110] Because of the clear connotation of lament, this passage can be understood as a later addition to the text. The metaphor is widely known as a common prophetic motif. It appears in a comparable passage in Hosea 4:3 as well as in Amos 1:2; Isaiah 24:4; 33:9; and Joel 1:10, and three times elsewhere in Jeremiah 4:28; 12:11; 33:10.[111] The train of thought in Jeremiah 12:4 may also have been reinforced by Amos 9:4-5, which has the same sequence of הרג "kill" and understood as עבל "mourn" as 12:3-4. In Amos 9:5 the subject of "mourn" is also "those who dwell in it," (בָה יוֹשְׁבֵי) which occurs in the third colon of 12:4.[112]

The use of the verb עבל in the context of the metaphor of the mourning earth is doubly effective because of the dual associations of the verb: it means both "mourn" and "be(come) dry." The meaning "to mourn" is used with human subjects in various depictions of grief and anguish. Where the earth, or an aspect of the earth, is the subject of עבל, the context is physical devastation.[113] In some instances, as in 12:4, עבל is used in parallelism with, or close proximity to, the verb יבש "to wither" or "dry up." It is uncertain whether there are two homonymous verbs, one of which being a cognate of the Akkadian *abālu*, or a single verb denoting both physical and psychological manifestations. However, the usage of עבל in the Hebrew Bible suggests that the primary meaning "mourn" accommodates the meaning "drying up." One might thus see the desiccation of the land and decimation of its creatures in Jeremiah 12:4 as physical signs of the earth's mourning and loss.[114]

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[110] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 378. According to Holladay, only Condamin assumes the authenticity of these cola.

[111] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 127-128.

[112] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 378.

[113] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 128.

[114] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 128.

In 12:4, the mourning of the earth is contrasted with the unperturbed confidence of those who say of YHWH: "He cannot see our end."[115] Earth thus not simply suffers from, but recognizes the wickedness, of its inhabitants and, implicitly, its woeful outcome. The closing cola of v. 4 are therefore a reference to YHWH's judgment on those who are contemptuous of him (compare 5:12-13; Zeph 1:12).[116] The question at the start of v. 4, "how long?" like the question "why?" appears more than once in the Psalms, particularly in laments. However, its use in the context of drought suggests a specific adaptation of the form by Jeremiah. Earth's mourning can be seen as the inevitability of greater mourning to come. In this way, the image of the mourning earth fits in the greater context of the book of Jeremiah, in which the message of the prophet turns increasingly to the irrevocability of judgment on a people who have sinned for breaking the conditions of the Yahwistic covenant and for rejecting the prophetic messenger of the divine word.[117] Ironically, however, the people display their own blindness by failing to see both the reality of divine justice (cf. Ps. 94:8-11) and the warning of a bleak future in earth's distress.

In 12:11, being part of the divine lament, the mourning of the earth reflects not the prophet's oracle, but divine distress. It is again set in opposition to the human lack of recognition:

> It has been made a desolation;
>   it mourns to me, desolate.
> All the earth is made desolate,
>   yet no man lays it to heart.

The first colon of 12a, "it has been made a desolation," is echoed in 12b, "all the earth is made desolate." At the same time, the structure of this verse deepens the contrast between the second cola of each line: the phrase אבלה עלי "it mourns to (or upon) me, desolate," which implies a turning toward God, is contrasted with: "yet no man lays it to heart."

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[115] Some scholars have explained the subject as Jeremiah. However, there is textual evidence for the identification of the subject of the verb as YHWH: the Septuagint has "God" in this clause, and 4QJer^a has *yh[wh* just after the verb. One or the other of these readings could represent the original text; or they could be glosses to identify the subject. See: Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 379.

[116] This colon is comparable to one in Ps 10:4, a psalm which offers diction much like the whole complaint of Jeremiah's.

[117] Middlemas, *The Templeless Age*, 72.

In the first poem the voice of the lamenting earth echoes the lament of the prophet; in the second it is directed towards YHWH where it parallels the divine lament. The two laments themselves correspond to each other, the prophetic anger in 12:1-4 being matched by the divine passion of 12:7-13. Parallels in vocabulary and semantic field as well as word play link the divine lament with the preceding prophetic outburst: לב ("heart") אבל ("mourn"); צאן/רעים ("sheep"/ "shepherds"); חטים נטע, שרש שרש, פרי/זרע, תבאות ("plant," "take root," "fruit"/"sow," "wheat," "harvest"); and יבש/בוש ("dry up"/"be ashamed").[118] The people stand outside this circle of voices that call out to, respond, and echo each other. The interaction among the other voices does not affect them: they are both oblivious and hostile.[119] In this way, the language, images, motifs, and a focus on definitive judgment against the people of Israel/Judah that the poems in 12:1-6 and 12:7-13 share together illustrates reasons for the fall of the nation. As a whole, the passage functions as theodicy.

3.3.2 Influences of Post-Exilic Ideas of Exile in Jeremiah 12:1-13

The addition of the image of the mourning earth addresses the theme of exile from the perspective of the land itself. In the broader perspective of the book of Jeremiah, in which the image of the mourning earth is used four times in total, the earth or the land depicts a "system" that is symbolic of YHWH's relationship with Judah. The role of place is stressed in this respect. This "system" stands in a direct relationship with the act of creation: the connotation of Adam (אדם) being created from the red, dusty earth (אדמה) echoes in the background of the passage in Jeremiah, the current inhabitants of the earth being the descendants from the first human being. However, in the image of the mourning earth there are no signs of an intimate connection between, or an intertwining of, the inhabitants and the land. To the contrary, the earth mourns. Suffering from and recognizing the wickedness of the people (מרעת יושבי־בה), the land laments its own diminishment.[120] At the same time, the mourning of the land is related to the mourning that is yet to come.

Compared to the rest of the passage, the introduction of the verb עבל is the clearest expression of lament while, as has been elaborated, the other elements of the two poems have a more indirect relationship to lament via a number of Psalms. The aspect of lament in the metaphor has been brought in close connection with biblical mourning rituals, in which

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[118] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 129.

[119] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 131.

[120] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 129.

activities such as fasting, stripping or tearing of clothing, the cutting of hair, sprinkling the body with dust, and bowing down toward the ground all bear resemblance to the withering, stripping, and diminishment of the earth and its plant and animal life in times of drought.[121] In this understanding, the later addition of the image corresponds with a post-exilic situation in which lament reflects the attribution of the disaster to punishment for sin.

What is characteristic for the metaphor of the mourning earth within the poetic passage as a whole is that a historical consciousness comes to expression through the persona of the earth. That is, the earth does not only dry up, but she herself mourns. Such imagery does not express a projection of lament by the people but, instead, it serves as a confirmation of the sin of the people. The metaphor of the mourning earth opens up a space in which the relations between people, the rest of creation, and the divine can be further explored. In so doing, the metaphor of the mourning earth underlines the dynamic that is being developed in Jeremiah 12:1-13 between the prophet, the divine, and the inhabitants.

3.3.3 Concluding Remarks: Theology and Metaphor in Jeremiah 12:1-13

Jeremiah 12:1-13 shows a complex case of redactional layers in which pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic material is contained. Pre-exilic material in the passage makes clear that the passage is rooted in a pre-exilic conception of exile as punishment for sin. The addition of exilic and post-exilic material confirms this understanding of exile and reflects the attitude that was taken up specifically towards the events of the Babylonian exile. Particularly the insertion of lament, retrospectively, attributes the disaster of the Babylonian exile to punishment for sin. In so doing, it builds upon the close association of exile with death. This is particularly evident in the metaphor of the mourning earth. Foreseeing what is about to happen, the dry and mourning earth is a metaphor for the death that comes with exile.

Interestingly, by building upon the pre-exilic, inherited association of exile with death, this metaphor brings together elements of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern as well as an early metaphorical conceptualization of exile. As such, it functions as a bridge between a development towards enduring exile as prolonged exile and exile as metaphor. Regarding prolonged exile, the metaphor of the mourning earth is brought in connection with the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern through its integration in the prophetic and divine laments where

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[121] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 128. See also: Hayes, *The Earth Mourns*, 2; Saul Olyan, *Biblical Mourning: Ritual and Social Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 19-24.

death is related to sin and punishment. Regarding exile as metaphor, the metaphor of the mourning earth can be understood to extend the pre-exilic framework. This is because, besides the connotations of death, the image is also related to infertility, desolation, and wilderness. For instance, in 12:11, the land's mourning is related to the behavior of the people who are accused of having made the whole land desolate (נשמה כל־הארץ). This verse follows on a description in v. 10 of how the inhabitants have made God's pleasant portion a desolate desert or wilderness (נתנו את־חלקת חמדתי למדבר שממה).

The concept of a desolate desert or wilderness contains important aspects of the Second Temple period. Although in the traditions of the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism, wilderness is often described by terms that denote a material context and a physical location or place (such as מדבר, ערבה or מחנה, which indicate a dry region, a desert or a place of encampment), the notion of wilderness also goes beyond a physical location. That is, it often simultaneously denotes a variety of psychological states and spiritual experiences. Experiences of wilderness may range from suffering to purification and eventually to transformation through vision, revelation, and divine conversation.[122] In the case of suffering, the concept of wilderness is often used as a synonym for exile and can therefore be understood within the framework of punishment after sin. The concept of wilderness is used in a particular way in the stories and poetry of the prophets, in which the term is often used as an expression of a rupture between human beings and other elements of nature.[123]

In describing exile by means of the concept of wilderness – and related concepts such as desolation and infertility – within Jeremiah 12:1-13 thus evokes a whole cluster of meanings. Exile itself, in this way, takes on those associations; it comes to convey not simply geopolitical dislocation, but a more complex crisis that requires multileveled restoration.[124] Exile thus comes to play a role in a much bigger narrative that concerns associated ideas such as suffering, exile, loss, isolation, mourning, death, recovery, and healing.[125] Thus, what Jeremiah 12:1-13 makes clear is that theological conceptualizations of exile regarding sin and punishment developed alongside metaphorical conceptualizations of exile. In other words, the roots of a concern for chronology and for metaphor exist simultaneously in Jeremiah 12:1-13.

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[122] Hindy Najman, "Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13:1 (2006): 99-113.

[123] Joerstad, *The Hebrew Bible and Environmental Ethics*, 2019.

[124] Halvorson-Taylor, *Enduring Exile*, 40.

[125] Hindy Najman, "Conceptualizing Wilderness: Poetic Processes and Reading Practices in the Hodayot and the Apostrophe to Zion (Unpublished Draft)," 2-3.

4

"Open Your Eyes and Look at Our Desolation…"

Chronology and Metaphor in the Confessional Prayers of Daniel and Baruch

4.0 Chapter Overview

In the previous chapter, it has been argued that the roots of a concern with the chronology of exile as well as exile as metaphor can be found simultaneously in the case-study of Jeremiah 12:1-13. As such, this passage is valuable in understanding early phases of the enduring exile motif. Central to the enduring exile motif is the disturbed relationship with the divine, which finds expression in theological as well as in metaphorical language. It is on this basis that inherited conceptualizations of exile, from pre-exilic times, further develops into the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern. With this existential-religious understanding of exile in mind, that is open to both theological and metaphorical conceptualizations, it becomes possible to have a new look at post-exilic texts.

In the current chapter, two texts that play a central role in the enduring exile thesis will be examined: Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8. Both texts, which are dated in post-exilic times, are understood to engage the Jeremiah tradition when this tradition was still fluid. Furthermore, they are both confessional prayers. The emergence of this genre has been related to a development from lament to confession. As such, the confessional prayers of Daniel and Baruch are related to the previous case-study through their relationship with the Jeremiah traditions and the role of lament. This chapter investigates which forms of the enduring exile motif the confessional prayers display in order to get a better sense of the relationship between exile prolonged and exile as metaphor in post-exilic times.

4.1 From Lament to Confessional Prayer

4.1.1 Elements of Lament and the Confession of Sin in Jeremiah 1-12

The prophetic drama enacted in Jeremiah 12:1-13 draws its audience to recognize the reality of irrecoverable loss in the drama they are witnessing as well as the human failure that lies behind this reversal.[126] The mourning earth displays a response to the onset of reversal that is sensitive to the effects of human misbehavior and indifference. This response accords with the distress of both prophet and deity, but clashes with the attitude of the people, who do not see the hand of God in what is happening around them. The expression of grief is fundamental in this respect. In Jeremiah 12:1-13, the expression of grief allows a catharsis in which the painful dimensions of tragedy are acknowledged and mourned by the witnessing audience.[127] In this respect, Jeremiah 12:1-13 is exemplary for Jeremiah 1-12 as a whole. In Jeremiah, foretellings and voicings of lament predominate. There are only a few articulations of confession and when elements of confession and penitence are present, they are presented as reflecting fear, confusion, and mistaken expectations rather than the community's recognition of failure to know YHWH for who He is.[128] The people are shown to be incapable of full confession of their sinfulness and cannot see the dimensions of their own blindness.[129] In this context, Hayes has pointed to Jeremiah 3:22b-25, which in the book of Jeremiah contains a unique communal acknowledgement of wrongdoing. In this passage, YHWH is identified as the source of salvation for Israel. Furthermore, the passage contains a declaration of shame and dishonor, a claim of responsibility for having sinned (חטא) both in present and past generations, and of having failed to listen to the voice of God.[130] It has been suggested that this passage serves as an illustration for what is lacking in the precrisis prophetic audience and as a model for the postcrisis readership of the book.[131]

Furthermore, the two laments of Jeremiah 14 (14:8-9a, 19) include flashes of confession, that is, of the recognition of sin and of the true character of YHWH as the hope and savior of Israel (14:8), who resides in the midst of the people (14:9) and is the only cosmic power

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[126] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 138.

[127] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 138.

[128] See, e.g., Jeremiah 5:4-5; 8:7; 9:2, 5.

[129] See, e.g., Jeremiah 2:34-35; 6:15; 8:12.

[130] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 139.

[131] See also: Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony*, 4; Zahavi-Elly, "Multiple Speaking Voices"; Seitz, "Place of the Reader," 71.

(14:22).[132] Yet, the confessions are counterbalanced by the people's faulty perceptions of their situation and their God. As prayers of confession, they are thus incomplete, revealing the same sense of confusion found in earlier appeals of the people to YHWH.[133] The response of YHWH to these laments in 14:10-12 and 15:1-4 further suggests that there is a point where words are not enough: there is a failure to elicit a divine reprieve. In responses to the prophet YHWH faults the people for their actions, which speak against their words. They have "loved to wander" and "have not held back their feet" from doing so (14:10). Similarly, in 15:1-4 the divine insistence on the fourfold destruction of the people is explained on the basis of what King Manasseh did in Jerusalem (15:4).

Thus, the book of Jeremiah does not contain a clear expression of confession. Moreover, in the second part of the book it is even made clear in the prophet's letter to the exiles (Jeremiah 29) that the community will have to endure a lengthy passage of time before they can hope to enter into an intimate relationship of prayer and response with God:

> [10] For thus says the LORD: Only when Babylon's seventy years are completed will I visit you, and I will fulfill to you my promise and bring you back to this place. [11] For surely I know the plans I have for you, says the LORD, plans for your welfare and not for harm, to give you a future with hope. [12] Then when you call upon me and come and pray to me, I will hear you. [13] When you search for me, you will find me; if you seek me with all your heart, [14] I will let you find me, says the LORD, and I will restore your fortunes and gather you from all the nations and all the places where I have driven you, says the LORD, and I will bring you back to the place from which I sent you into exile.[134]

It has been suggested that the insertion of words of YHWH relates to a shift that is informed by Deuteronomic and Priestly theology (cf. Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 4, 30; 1 Kings 8) which, as will be shown, also plays a role in later traditions of confessional prayer. The words of YHWH have been shown to play an important role in shaping the form within a setting, which is a development that can be noticed already in biblical texts such as Jeremiah and narrative

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[132] Mark J. Boda, "From Complaint to Contrition: Peering Through the Liturgical Window of Jer 14,1-15,4," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 197.

[133] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 139.

[134] New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), Jer. 29:10-14; cf. Jer. 25:11-12: [11] This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. [12] Then after seventy years are completed, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, says the LORD, making the land an everlasting waste.

traditions of prayer.[135] The combination of these post-exilic additions and a primacy of lament has been understood as a necessary gap between the crisis of exile and the full restoration of relationship with YHWH, which consists of processes of experiencing, recognizing, and mourning.[136] This understanding falls within the scope of the broader study of emotion in early Jewish texts, that has proved particularly useful in understanding the shaping of beliefs and rituals.[137]

4.1.2 The Development of Confessional Prayer by Means of Lament

The element of lament as present in scriptural traditions, such as the biblical book of Jeremiah, has been connected to a later development in the Second Temple period: that of a confessional prayer tradition.[138] It has been argued that the emphasis on lament suggests a dynamic with implications for the emergence of confessional prayer. Confessional prayers are confessions, cast in the first-person plural even when offered by an individual, which are concerned with a process aimed at restoration or reconciliation. They are characterized by an emphasis on the confession of sin and of the righteous character of God.[139] Confessional prayers have often been compared to and distinguished from communal laments of the Psalter, in the sense that such laments do not admit culpability for the negative situation of the lamenter. Instead, while communal laments in the Psalter are mostly concerned with questions such as "Why?" and "How long?", confessional prayers present an extended and repeated confession of sin in the context of reviewing the history of Israel and including a petition for forgiveness. In this context, it has been argued that other texts containing elements of lament, such as Jeremiah 14:1-15:4 (particularly 14:19-21) and Lamentations 3, present evidence for a transition from

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[135] See, for instance, the evidence in Joshua 7: Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 189-190.

[136] Hayes, "When None Repents, Earth Laments," 140.

[137] See especially: Françoise Mirguet, "The Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts: Review and Perspectives," *JSJ* 50 4-5 (2019), 557-603.

[138] The following prayers are usually included in a list of confessional prayers: Ezra 9:5-15; Nehemiah 1:4-11; 9:6-37; Daniel 9:4-19; Baruch 1:15-3:8; the Prayer of Azariah; Tobit 3:1-6; 3 Maccabees 2:1-10; 4Q393 (Communal Confession) and 4Q504 2 v-vi (the Words of the Heavenly Lights). Related texts include Solomon's prayer of dedication at the Temple 1 Kings 8:22-53 and the later Prayer of Manasseh.

[139] For a concise summary of scholarship on confessional prayers, see: Mark J. Boda, "Confession as Theological Expression," in *Seeking the Favor of God: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline (SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 21-45.

communal lament to confessional prayer.[140] This is, however, not unanimously accepted. It has also been argued that the genre in fact stays the same. Such a view understands confessional prayer simply as "post-exilic lament"[141] but with a dominance of the penitential element.[142]

Furthermore, confessional prayers seem to present an ideological shift in prayer form compared to other biblical prayers. It has been noted that Deuteronomic and Priestly theology (cf. Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 4, 30; 1 Kings 8) played a key role in the development of confessional prayer in terms of their contents; confessional prayers reflect a theological perspective that is informed by the values in these texts. This has also raised questions regarding the context of use of confessional prayers. In a general sense, confessional prayers are related to a so-called "liturgy of repentance."[143] Evidence for this is drawn from texts such as Zechariah 7:3, 5; 8:19; Lamentations 2:10-11; Jeremiah 41:5. On the basis of these texts, it has been generally agreed upon that the confessional prayer tradition has arisen out of the setting of a regular fasting rhythm that was established throughout the exile. However, what the liturgical context may have looked like in which the prayers were used is not clear. Mark Boda has argued that there is a link between a few confessional prayers and some form of covenant ceremony in the Persian period.[144] Furthermore, in the late pre-exilic period a text such as Jeremiah 14:1-15:4 shows that liturgical settings were already incorporating a significant element of confession of sin. For this reason, it has been suggested that fasting has continued to be the occasion for confessional prayer, which may have been linked to various liturgical events, including the possibility of ceremonies that have a covenantal character.[145]

A more recent understanding of confessional prayers understands these texts to stand in a continuum of prayer expression that moves from lament on the one side to penitence on the other. In this view, there is an enduring tradition of 'lament' beyond the Babylonian period even

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[140] Mark J. Boda, "From Complaint to Contrition. Peering through the Liturgical Window of Jer. 14:1-15:4," *ZAW* 113 (2001), 186-197 (197).

[141] See, e.g.: Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002); Bautch, *Developments in Genre.*

[142] Richard J. Bautch, *Developments in Genre between Post-exilic Penitential Prayers and the Psalms of Communal Lament* (SBL AcBib; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 21, 159.

[143] Mark J. Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition: Penitential Prayer and Lament, *Sitz im Leben* and Form," in *Seeking the Favor of God: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline (SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 181-192 (185).

[144] The idea of a covenant ceremony has been challenged by Richard Bautch. See: Bautch, *Developments in Genre*, 2003.

[145] Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 188-189.

if there is clearly a dominance of 'confessional prayer.' This view gives expression to the way in which exile represents a key moment historically and theologically for the people of Israel that was accompanied by a development in the history of request prayer that is unique. According to Boda, "Calling these forms confessional prayer recognizes the unique character of forms within the larger prayer tradition, while reminding us of the dominance this form will exert within the liturgical life of Israel."[146] This view acknowledges the shift of perspective that characterizes confessional prayers. The prayers seem to have moved from a place where there is ambiguity over the cause of the predicament to one where there is certainty, and that certainty is that the people now believe they are implicated and that God is exonerated.[147] The shift in perspective is understood to explain the change in form from lament to confession while historical circumstances and even the liturgical context may have stayed the same.[148]

Key to the setting of confessional prayer is that it arose from a people who had experienced the pain of the loss of state. For this reason, Bob Becking suggests that it is likely "that the *Sitz im Leben* of confessional prayers is more psychological of character: prayers like this function in the context of a human being or a community that is wanting to settle accounts of the past in order to make a fresh start in life."[149] In the existential *Sitz Im Leben*, existential experiences of exile are accompanied by theological views that are informed by Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 4, 30; 1 Kings 8. For this reason, Boda suggests distinguishing the *Sitz im Leben* from an *Ausblick aufs Leben* in order to express that particularly the perspective or outlook on the circumstances has changed radically.[150] In what follows, two confessional prayers will be discussed: Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8. Both confessional prayers are understood to engage the Jeremiah tradition that emerged when the Jeremiah tradition was still fluid.[151]

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[146] Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 188.

[147] Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 188.

[148] Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 188-189.

[149] Bob Becking, "Nehemiah 9 and the Problematic Concept of Context (Sitz im Leben)," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 253-265.

[150] Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition," 189.

[151] Scholars have long recognized the verbal parallels between the prayers in Daniel 9:4-20 and Baruch 1:14-3:8. Odil H. Steck is representative in assuming that Baruch was dependent on Daniel 9. However, the manuscript evidence from Qumran relating to Daniel 9 that might support this view, is ambiguous. Despite similar petitions, such as in Baruch 2:13 and Daniel 9:16, it seems impossible to determine clear literary dependence in either direction. See: Judith H. Newman, "Confessing in Exile: The Reception and Composition of Jeremiah in (Daniel

4.2 The Confessional Prayer in Daniel 9:4-19

4.2.1 Contents of the Prayer

The use of Jeremiah in Daniel 9 is both explicit and thematic. The passage begins with Daniel consulting the books of the sixth-century BCE prophet Jeremiah in the hopes of seeking an answer to the question of the end of exile. Daniel "perceives in the scrolls the number of years that, according to the word of the Lord to Jeremiah must be fulfilled for the devastation of Jerusalem: seventy years" (Daniel 9:2). Despite the mention of Jeremiah's writings, the use of Jeremiah in Daniel does not derive from the language of Jeremiah beyond the seventy-years concept. It is only on that basis that scholars have connected it to specific passages in Jeremiah (Jeremiah 25:11-12; Jeremiah 29:10).[152] After engaging in funerary rites of fasting and donning sackcloth and ashes, Daniel offers a confessional prayer that seeks to put an end to the negative conditions resulting from the exile, or, implicitly, in a later era, to the situation of Diaspora (Daniel 9:4b-19). The prayer is followed by a vision of the angel Gabriel who answers Daniel (Daniel 9:20-23) and reveals an interpretation of the Jeremian prophecy (Daniel 9:20-27) through an angelically-mediated revelation. Daniel "perceives in the scrolls the number of years that, according to the world of the Lord to Jeremiah must be fulfilled for the devastation of Jerusalem: seventy years" (Daniel 9:2). In Daniel 9:24, Jeremiah's 70 years are reinterpreted.

> [24] Seventy weeks are decreed for your people and your holy city: to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to atone for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal both vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place.[153]

In Daniel 9:24, the 70 years of Jeremiah are thus adapted to become 70 weeks of years (490 years). The confession itself will not effect the end of exile, nor alter the divine eschatological plan.[154] In light of the central theme of the passage, which is the question of how long the exile will last, it is remarkable that the confessional prayer of Daniel 9:4-19 was composed in the second century BCE, while it is set in Babylon in the early years of exile. Because of the issue

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and) Baruch", in *Jeremiah's Scriptures. Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation,* eds. H. Najman, K. Schmid (JSJS 173; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 231-252 (241-242).

[152] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 235.

[153] New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), Dan. 9:24.

[154] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 237.

of the dating of the text as well as the central theme, the text is regarded as one of the key compositions that suggest the notion of an "enduring exile."[155]

4.2.2 Elements of Chronology and Metaphor

As with all other known confessional prayers, the prayer is cast in the first-person plural even though it is offered by an individual. Furthermore, it is characterized by its extended and repeated confession of sin in the context of reviewing the history of Israel and its inclusion of a petition for forgiveness. Unlike the rest of Daniel, the prayer contains Deuteronomic and other traditional phraseology composed in Hebrew, free of Aramaisms. Its distinctive character is reflected in that the divine name YHWH appears six times within the prayer as a mark of the traditional covenant relationship between God and Israel. The Tetragrammaton occurs nowhere in the book outside of Daniel 9.[156] Although, as has been elaborated in the previous paragraph, there has for a long time been a focus on form criticism and historical criticism in the study of confessional prayer, Daniel 9 has recently been studied with the help of performance studies as well.[157] This sheds a light on various aspects of religious experience in Daniel 9, such as the ways in which the text presents several modes of divine encounter, including prayer and vision.

An analysis of the contents of these modes of divine encounter indicates that the confessional prayer in Daniel 9:4-19, in terms of religious experience, can be understood to have the function of ritual mourning. The following example demonstrates how the affective component of the confessional prayer reflects emotional feelings such as sorrow, remorse, and guilt, which are contained in the prayer as a scripted experience:[158]

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[155] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 234.

[156] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 236.

[157] Angela K. Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, eds. Mika Pajunen and Jeremy Penner (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 80-101 (81).

[158] See: Catherine Bell, "The Ritualization of Text and the Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy," *HR* (1988): 366-392. Later, this term has been adapted to the study of Early Judaism. See: Judith H. Newman, "Ritualizing the Text in Early Judaism: Two Examples of Innovation," in *Ritual and Innovation in Biblical and Ancient Jewish Discourse*, eds. Nathan McDonald et al (HeBAI, 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 449-465.

¹⁸ "Incline your ear, O my God, and hear. Open your eyes and look at our desolation and the city that bears your name. We do not present our supplication before you on the ground of our righteousness, but on the ground of your great mercies. ¹⁹ O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, listen and act and do not delay! For your own sake, O my God, because your city and your people bear your name!"[159]

The confessional prayer as a whole can be understood as an attempt to enlarge the possibility space from a limited situation of sin and alienation to a sense of its solution by means of confession and through access to the otherworldly realm through prayer and vision. As such, the confessional prayer shows an active attempt to communicate with the divine. It is in this respect that the form of enduring exile that is most present in this text is exile prolonged; the main concern concerns the chronology of exile. A sense of trust amidst alienation is reflected in the text, in the sense that there is hope that God "inclines his ear and hears, opens his eyes and looks." The performance of the prayer plays a crucial role in this regard. It has been noted that such ritual experiences can be understood as social mechanisms that created an awareness of God's presence during a period in which an alienation from God or even an absence of God was especially felt during uncertain times.[160] The performance of such prayers and rituals can thus be understood as a body technique that potentially effects transformations in subjective and intersubjective states.[161]

One of the main features of the confessional prayer and its petition is that the character of the temple rises almost to the level of personification. Daniel petitions God to "let your face shine upon your desolate sanctuary" (Daniel 9:17b). This is a unique feature, in the sense that God's beaming face and the divine blessing from Numbers 6:24-26 are elsewhere trained only on people, and nowhere else on the Jerusalem Temple itself.[162] The expression in Daniel 9:17b can be read as the expression of a wish or an expectation in which God is requested to enter into the experience of the world, more specifically the Jerusalem Temple, so that the content – that of an ended exile – comes to be embodied in the Temple as it appears. In Daniel 9:18, the desolation is extended to be concerned with the city: "Incline your ear, O my God, and hear. Open your eyes and look at our desolation and the city that bears your name." Those verses of the text are noteworthy when it comes to the role of metaphor. There is a reference to desolation

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[159] New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), Daniel 9:18-19.

[160] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 87-90.

[161] See also: Nick Crossley, "Ritual, body technique, and (inter)subjectivity," in *Thinking Through Rituals: Philosophical Perspectives,* ed. Kevin Schilbrack (New York/London: Routledge, 2004), 31-51.

[162] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 236-237.

which, as has been elaborated in the previous chapter, is part of the extended framework for exile. It is clear here that exile does not simply convey geopolitical dislocation but instead social dislocation, and that it is a more complex crisis that requires multileveled restoration.

The sense of possibility gets an unpredictable and unexpected twist when Daniel receives a revelation from the angel Gabriel. Even though the practices and prayers are necessary conditions for this possibility,[163] it turns out that the confession itself will not effect the end of exile. Instead, an angelically-mediated revelation is used to reveal the deeper meaning of the prophetic text of Jeremiah.[164] This shows that angelic revelation and prophecy were considered to be an ongoing means of discovering divine reality.[165] Moreover, it is Daniel who vividly accesses this otherworldly realm. He negotiates multiple realms of experience and, in so doing, he reminds readers that there is more than this world.[166] In other words, Daniel himself personifies changes in possibility by being receptive to revelations from divine reality. This reveals a side of the confessional prayer that is not only concerned with the ending of exile, but also with the restoration of divine encounter.

4.3 The Confessional Prayer in Baruch 1:15-3:8

4.3.1 Contents of the Prayer

The introduction (Baruch 1:1-14) provides the frame for contextualizing the confessional prayer in Baruch 1:15-3:8. These contextual elements resonate with Jeremiah in terms of language and worldview. Baruch is related to five generations of figures known in connection with their Levitical origins and scribal culture.[167] It informs that the prayer book was written in Babylon during the early years of exile (587/6 BCE), when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans and burned with fire (Baruch 1:2b). This motif of written communication between the Diaspora and

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[163] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 81.

[164] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 237.

[165] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 232. See also: Hindy Najman, "The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 36-51.

[166] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 99-100.

[167] See: Kipp Davis, "Prophets of Exile: 4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, Apocryphal Baruch, and the Efficacy of the Second Temple," *JSJ* (2013): 497-529 (502); Leo G. Perdue, "Baruch among the Sages," in *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen*, ed. John Goldingay (LHB/OTS 459; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2007), 260-290 (275-276).

Jerusalem resonates with Jeremiah 29:1-3/LXX 36:1-3, in which Jeremiah's letter is being sent "from Jerusalem to the remaining elders among the exiles". The book of Baruch, however, goes from Babylon to Jerusalem. Baruch is said to have read "the words of this book" to Jeconiah, king of Judah and to all the people in Babylon by the river Soud (Baruch 1:3-4). He then sends the scroll to the high priest and people in Jerusalem with instructions to pray for Nebuchadnezzar (Baruch 1:11) and to pray for the exiles (Baruch 1:13), in order to "make [their] confession in the house of the Lord on the days of the festivals and at appointed times" (Baruch 1:14). The sending of the prayer book is associated with the return of the temple vessels, which is a motif that connotes the restoration of the cult[168] while the confessional prayer seems to presuppose that the temple lies in ruins (Baruch 2:26). Although Baruch has been composed in the second century BCE, the time frame of Babylonian rule (597-539 BCE) is superimposed, just as in the confessional prayer in Daniel.[169] This element creates a certain tension in the narrative: the fact that the historical-political events of exile had come to an end and that the cult has been restored in the Persian period (ca. 516 BCE, during the reign of the Persian emperor Darius II) here as well suggests the notion of an "enduring exile."

The language of the confessional prayer itself reflects connections between Jeremiah and Baruch traditions. The first part of the prayer consists of an admission of guilt (1:15-2:10).[170] The second part of the prayer, starting at Baruch 2:11, is marked by the transitional "and now." This is a common feature of confessional prayers, which signals the turn to the current situation.[171] The second part consists of a prayer for mercy (2:11-3:8).[172] In this part, God is acknowledged as liberator in the exodus, followed by a threefold confession (Baruch 2:12) and a petition for deliverance from the situation of exile: "we have sinned."[173] The second

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[168] Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Temple Vessels—A Continuity Theme," in *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 166–81.

[169] Sean A. Adams (ed.), *Studies on Baruch: Composition, Literary Relations, and Reception* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Studies 23; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

[170] This admission of guilt can be divided into two sections. The first section, Baruch 1:15-2:5, starts with a statement about the present situation (Baruch 1:15-16), followed by an explanation for this (Baruch 1:17-2:5).

[171] Mark J. Boda, "Confession as Theological Expression, 21-50.

[172] Just as the section on the admission of guilt can be divided into two sections, the prayer for mercy can also be divided into two subsections: an acknowledgement of God as liberator in the exodus followed by a confession (2:11-35) and the fulfillment of oracles (2:36-3:8).

[173] In terms of rhetorical strategy, a similar structure can be found in the first parts of the prayer for mercy and the admission of guilt. Whereas the admission of guilt in the first subsection reflects self-accusations which are the result of reading Israel's history in light of the Law and the Prophets, the request for God's anger to "turn away"

part of the prayer for mercy contains three divine oracles, which have been fulfilled in the process of the exile and the destruction of the Temple. These elements of the confessional prayer of Baruch, which consist of four citation formulas that use language introducing Mosaic or prophetic oracles, present a unique feature that is absent from all other confessional prayers.[174]

4.3.2 Elements of Chronology and Metaphor

In the admission of guilt (1:15-2:10) emphasis is placed on the historical dimension of Israel's sinfulness. God's "righteousness" is contrasted with the people's "confusion of face." It is explained that the confusion of face is caused by the sins committed by the people and their ancestors. The people's sinfulness consists of "not heeding the voice of the Lord our God," which is defined first in terms of the Law ("not walking in the statutes of the Lord," Baruch 1:18b) and then in terms of the Prophets ("not heeding the words of the prophets whom he sent to us," Baruch 1:21a). As such, a view on the cause of the exile is developed, and it is made clear that this history of sinfulness extends chronologically from the exodus until "today" (Baruch 1:19a). As a result of their sinfulness, the people are now under the curse described in the law of Moses as the consequence of infidelity. This curse is exemplified in Baruch 2:3 by a description of cannibalistic behavior, which includes a citation formula:[175]

> [2] It was not done under the whole sky as he did in Ierousalem, according to that which is written in the law of Moyses – [3] that we should eat, a person the flesh of his son and a person the flesh of his daughter.

This citation reflects indirect discourse related to Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28 (Lev 26:29 and Deut 28:53), which both describe the negative consequences for not obeying God in terms of "eating the flesh of your sons and daughters." Furthermore, the Lord has

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in the prayer for mercy is also a result of reading Israel's history in light of God's word. See: Michael H. Floyd, "Penitential Prayer from the Second Temple Period from the Perspective of Baruch," in *Seeking the Favor of God: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, Rodney A. Werline (SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 51-88 (58).

[174] So far, only Newman has included this feature in the discussion on the connections between Jeremiah and Baruch. See: Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 231-252.

[175] The citations from Baruch are taken from the NETS: *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

"confirmed his [prophetic] word that he spoke against "us" by "giving them into subjection to all the kingdoms" (2:1a, 4a). Baruch 2:5 then consists of another allusion to Deuteronomy 28. Baruch describes that "they were made low and not high" as a result of their sinfulness, whereas Deuteronomy 28:13 contains the sentence "you will be high and not be low." In the next part of the admission of guilt, Baruch 2:6-10, the emphasis is not placed on the historical dimension of Israel's sinfulness, but on the "confusion of face" in terms of a condition. The "confusion of face" is regarded to characterize not only the present people but the ancestors as well (Bar 2:6; cf. Bar 1:15). This condition is described as a result of the failure to repent rather than as a result of sins actively committed. In other words, the people did not change their inner disposition of the heart. All those aspects serve to focus on the role of sin in relation to the chronology of exile.

The second part of the prayer for mercy, which is aimed at confessing sin, is similar to Daniel in its function of ritual mourning. Starting at Baruch 2:11, the affective component of the confessional prayer reflects emotional feelings such as sorrow, remorse, and guilt, which are contained in the prayer as a scripted experience. The requests are similar to those in Daniel 9:

> [16] O Lord, look down from your holy house, and think of us. Incline, O Lord, your ear, and listen. [17] Open your eyes, and see, for the dead in Hades, those whose spirit has been taken from their inward parts, will not give glory and justification to the Lord. [18] But the soul who is grieving over the magnitude, that walks bowed and is weak, and the eyes that are failing and the soul that is hungry – they shall give you glory and righteousness, O Lord.[176]

The requests are an attempt to communicate with God. It is salient that the theme of death is mentioned explicitly, which reflects the close association between exile and death. The confessional prayer can therefore, similar to Daniel 9, be understood as an attempt to enlarge the possibility space from a limited situation of sin and alienation to a sense of its solution by means of confession. In the final part of the prayer (Bar 3:1-8) a rhetorical shift can be discerned which gives voice to the current generation, the descendants of those wo have gone into exile. These people must confess the sins of their ancestors.

The citation formulas in the second part of the prayer that use language introducing Mosaic or prophetic oracles are presented as oracles that have been fulfilled in the process of

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[176] Baruch 2:16-18.

the exile and the destruction of the Temple. The fulfillment of oracles is crucial in making the prophecy continue to bear fruit. In the confessional prayer of Baruch, these citation formulas therefore seem to have a double function: they create an authoritative status for Baruch, while at the same time shaping the form within a setting. That is, as the exilic leader cast as the author of the prayer, Baruch is the one understood to identify and discern both those prophetic oracles that have been fulfilled and those still imminently awaiting fulfillment.[177] According to the Deuteronomic perspective, the assurance of true prophecy was ultimately found only in their fulfillment.[178] As we have seen, the insertion of words by YHWH relates to a shift that is informed by Deuteronomic and Priestly theology. The citation formulas thus reflect a theological view in which the messages of the prophets of the old are accompanied by Deuteronomic and Priestly views. Two citation formulas offer a quote of direct speech by YHWH. The first can be found in Baruch 20:20-23:

> [19] For it is not because of acts deemed righteous of our fathers and our kings that we throw our mercy before you, O Lord, our God. [20] For you have brought your anger and your wrath against us, as you had spoken by the hand of your servants the prophets, saying: [21] Thus did the Lord say: Incline your shoulder, and work for the king of Babylon, and sit upon the land which I gave to your fathers. [22] And if you do not obey the voice of the Lord to work for the king of Babylon, [23] I will make to fail from the towns of Iouda and from outside of Ierousalem a voice of merriment and a voice of delight, a voice of bridegroom and a voice of bride, and all the land will become untrodden by inhabitants.

The passage mainly relates to Jer 27:8-11 (LXX 34:8-11) and Jer 7:34. Particularly the passage in Bar 2:23 is almost identical with Jer 7:34: "I will make to cease from the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, for the land shall become a waste." Interestingly, here as well, just as in the confessional prayer of Daniel, exile is described through metaphors for desolation, thereby referring to social dislocation.

The other oracle that contains a quote of direct speech is presented in Baruch 2:29-35:

> [27] And you have done to us, O Lord, our God, according to all your fairness and according to all your great compassion [28] as you spoke by the hand of your servant Moyses in the day when you commanded him to write your law before the sons of Israel, saying, [29] "If you do not obey my voice,

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[177] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 245.

[178] Newman, "Confessing in Exile," 244.

surely this great, voluminous buzzing will turn into a small one among the nations, there where I will scatter them. [30] For I knew that they would not obey me, because the people are stiff-necked. And they will return to their heart in the land of their exile, [31] and they will know that I am the Lord their God. And I will give them a heart and hearing ears, [32] and they will praise me in the land of their exile, and they will remember my name, [33]and they will turn away from their hard back and from their wicked deeds, because they will remember the way of their fathers who sinned before the Lord. [34] And I will return them to the land, which I swore to their fathers, to Abraam and to Isaak and to Iakob, and they will rule over it, and I will multiply them, and they will not diminish. [35] I will establish with them an everlasting covenant, that I be God to them and they be a people to me, and I will not disturb again my people Israel from the land that I have given them."

This oracle recalls passages from Jeremiah, Deuteronomy and Leviticus: Jeremiah 24:6-7, 10, Deuteronomy 30:20, and Leviticus 26:44-45. Here again, the extent to which exile is understood as punishment for sin in these oracles, including the role of death, is salient. Death also appears in the oracle that can be found in Baruch 2:24b, which reflects the discourse from Jeremiah 8:1:

[24]And we did not obey your voice to work for the king of Babylon, and you have established your words which you spoke by the hands of your servants the prophets, that the bones of our kings and the bones of our fathers may be carried out from their place.

In comparison to Daniel 9, which aims to convey the message that a deeper meaning of the prophetic text of Jeremiah can be discovered through angelically-mediated revelation, in Baruch the message is conveyed that prophetic oracles on the exile have already come to fulfillment. While Daniel has access to the otherworldly realm, Baruch is presented as a successor of Jeremiah. Although in different ways, the message in the confessional prayers is thus that prophecy and angelically-mediated revelation continue to have means in the context of divine encounter.

5

Implications for Understanding Exile as Enduring

On Chronology, Metaphor, and Divine Encounter

5.0 Chapter Overview

Being related to the Jeremiah traditions, the case-studies from Jeremiah 12:1-13, Daniel 9:4-19, and Baruch 1:15-3:8 contain material from pre-exilic to post-exilic times. They offer the possibility of tracing relationships between, among other things, sin and punishment, lament and confession, inherited conceptualizations and later developments, and a concern with chronology and metaphor. As such, they give an insight in central elements within the development of the enduring exile motif. This final chapter aims to elaborate on the implications of those elements for the understanding of the enduring exile motif. This will be carried out in three parts.

First, it will be argued that the enduring exile motif must be understood within the context of an inherited conceptualization of exile and later developments in which themes that are central in this inherited conceptualization are further elaborated in a theological way, i.e., as concerning the relationship to the divine. Second, it is suggested that the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern is key to this theological understanding of exile. Lament – and its further elaboration towards confession – has a central place in the development of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern from inherited notions of exile to a full theological understanding of it. Third, it is argued that the theological understanding of the events of the Babylonian exile in terms of sin-exile-repentance/return fueled both a concern with chronology as well as with metaphor, which later developed in the two forms of the enduring exile motif: exile prolonged and exile as metaphor.

5.1 Understanding Views of and Attitudes Towards the Babylonian Exile

5.1.1 Exile and Theology: The Relationship with the Divine

The case-study of Jeremiah 12:1-13, which consists of pre-exilic material and later exilic and post-exilic additions, and the case-studies of Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8, which are post-exilic texts from a much later period, are common in that they all have a relationship with Jeremiah traditions when those traditions were still fluid. All three texts show a concern with the events of the Babylonian exile. More specifically, all three texts present the development of an attitude towards the events of the Babylonian exile. This attitude, which is characterized by sin, death, and punishment, provides insight into the development of the enduring exile motif as a whole as well as in its various forms.

The case-study of Jeremiah 12:1-13 shows clearly how this attitude, which is concerned with the threat of the Babylonian exile as well as with the actual events of the exile, finds its basis in pre-exilic understandings of exile. Being associated with sin, death, and punishment, exile was not religiously neutral, nor was it understood solely in terms of geographic displacement. Instead, as has also been argued on the basis of Jeremiah 12:1-13, also the events of the Babylonian exile were likely from the start associated with divine wrath. This provides the basis for the development of a theological attitude towards the Babylonian exile as well. Central to the development of this theological understanding of exile, which can be traced from pre-exilic to post-exilic times, is the relationship to the divine and how this is conceived.

The case-studies of Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8, which are also related to the Jeremiah traditions, show a full-fledged development of this association of exile with divine wrath in the context of the Babylonian exile. Furthermore, being written in the second century BCE, during a period when the actual events of the Babylonian exile had already come to an end, those two texts are also key for understanding the enduring exile motif. Those texts are characterized by the view that exile is not only concerned with punishment during the exilic events themselves, but instead that exile as enduring is characterized by a rupture in the relationship with the divine. In other words, putting an end to exile implies restoring the relationship to YHWH. It is this theological understanding that is at the core of how exile – and thereby enduring exile – is viewed.

5.1.2 Lament and Confession in the Sin-Exile-Repentance/Return Pattern

Key to the theological understanding of exile, in which the relationship to the divine has a central place, is the so-called sin-exile-repentance/return pattern. This pattern, which reflects the Deuteronomic view of history, finds its origin in Deuteronomy 27-30. As has been argued, those biblical covenantal curses are in fact echoes of the ancient Near Eastern treaties, particularly Neo-Assyrian treaties. The sin-exile-repentance/return pattern can thus be understood as a reworking of the inherited conceptualizations of exile in Deuteronomy in the context of Israel and YHWH. Prophetic texts make use of this sin-exile-repentance/return pattern as the central frame that organize everything else. It can therefore be found in many different texts that came to be written throughout the Second Temple period.

The case-studies of Jeremiah 12:1-13, Daniel 9:4-19, and Baruch 1:15-3:8 provide insight in the development of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern over time, from inherited notions to a full theological understanding of it. Central to this development is the role of lament and its further elaboration towards confession, which plays a role in different ways in each of the case-studies. For instance, in Jeremiah 12:1-13, not all aspects of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern are present. The text is concerned primarily with the role of sin in the context of exile. This aspect of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern is closely related to the role of lament. The insertion of lament in post-exilic times attributes the events of the Babylonian exile to punishment for sin and thus, in this way, strengthens the connection between exile and divine wrath.

Later texts show how lament came to be replaced by elements of confession. The case-studies of Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8 provide important examples of this. Those texts predominantly contain elements of confession above lament in the context of a communal prayer. As such, those texts present a further development of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern compared to Jeremiah 12:1-13. Those texts are not only concerned with the role of sin in the context of exile but they place a predominant focus on restoration, thereby requesting an ending to exile. As such, the element of repentance/return is fully present.

5.1.3 Attitudes Towards Exile: Between Chronology and Metaphor

The case-studies of Jeremiah 12:1-13, Daniel 9:4-19, and Baruch 1:15-3:8 are valuable for understanding the relationship between a theological understanding of the events of the Babylonian exile and the later development of the enduring exile motif, as present in texts from

the second century BCE onwards. That is because the case-studies make clear that the theological understanding of exile in terms of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern fueled both a concern with chronology as well as with metaphorical language.

It is important to note in this regard that the case-studies do not contain an understanding of exile as metaphor. In other words, because of their concern with chronology, the texts appear to be speaking about concrete events of exile. This can be seen both in the prophetic and divine laments in Jeremiah 12:1-13 where, besides the question "why?", also the question "how long?" is central, as well as in the confessional prayers of Daniel and Baruch. For instance, Daniel 9:14 reads: "So the Lord kept watch over this calamity until he brought it upon us." Similarly, Baruch 2:4 reads: "And he gave them into subjection to all the kingdoms around us, to be a reproach and a desolation among all the surrounding peoples, where the Lord has scattered them." This does not mean, however, that metaphor is not present in the case-studies.

Within the context of the development of attitudes towards the Babylonian exile, particularly Jeremiah 12:1-13 shows that there is a close relationship between language of chronology and metaphor. The use of metaphorical language for exile can be understood from the inherited notion of exile, that already went beyond geographic displacement and included the close association between exile as death in the context of sin. It is primarily this association that enables to address exile metaphorically. In prophetic biblical texts such as Jeremiah, this can, for instance, be seen in the use of the metaphor of the mourning earth. In this metaphor, the close association between death and exile is extended further in the context of drought. As a result of this, exile comes to be described with the help of a whole lot of other terms, such as desolation, infertility, and wilderness. In this regard, it has been argued by Hayes that texts that call on nonanimal nature to mourn tend to use "words with both a physical and literal, psychological and figurative meaning."[179] This is important, because it helps to understand how metaphor enables to give a meaning to exile beyond geographic displacement. When this cluster of meanings is then in turn related to the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, exile itself becomes part of a bigger narrative that is primarily psychological, and that is concerned with suffering, loss, isolation, recovery, and healing.

It is this bigger narrative that is also underlying the confessional prayers of Baruch and Daniel. The fact that both texts, besides their concern with chronology (or, in terms of the enduring exile motif, with prolonged exile) speak of exile in relation to desolation, shows that chronology and metaphor cannot be easily distinguished from each other. Desolation, which

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[179] Hayes, *The Earth Mourns*, 2.

refers either to the desolation of landscapes, cities, or the Temple, or to human emotional desolation, is a small but visible sign of the broader cluster of meanings that exile is associated with. This implies that the concern for chronology as well as the use of metaphorical language spring from the theological understanding of exile in terms of sin-exile-repentance/return. The two forms of the enduring exile motif – exile prolonged and exile as metaphor – may thus at their core be closely related to each other, although it does require further development for exile to develop into a metaphor in and of itself, as in 4 Ezra, where it becomes an existential condition.

5.2 Further Understanding the Enduring Exile Motif in Second Temple Texts

5.2.1 Enduring Exile in the Context of Prophecy and Liturgy

It has been widely noted that the Second Temple period evinces much literary activity when it comes to interpreting, reworking, and expanding scriptures. At the same time, it has been recognized that some practices ended and other transformed.[180] More specifically, it has been noted that there is an increasing textualization of Israelite religion in Early Judaism through the writing and rewriting of traditions, related to ritual. In this context, the confessional prayers of Daniel and Baruch have an important role. The genre of confessional prayers in general shows how there is an increasing engagement of scripture in a subcategory of ritual: liturgical practices. This results in texts that can be regarded as both prophecy and liturgy.[181] For instance, while Baruch is presented as a successor of Jeremiah, thereby writing his own prophecy, Daniel is not presented as a successor but receives a vision from the otherworldly realm.[182]

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[180] One could think of, e.g., the inheritance of prophecy in apocalypse and the introduction and development of the genre of confessional prayers. See: Hindy Najman, "The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (ed. J.J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 36-51; Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, Rodney A. Werline (eds.), *Seeking the Favor of God. The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Volume 1; EJL 22; Atlanta: SBL, 2006).

[181] See: Judith H. Newman, "Ritualizing the Text in Early Judaism: Two Examples of Innovation," in *Ritual and Innovation in Biblical and Ancient Jewish Discourse*, eds. Nathan McDonald et al (HeBAI 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 449-465; Judith H. Newman, "Confessing in Exile: The Reception and Composition of Jeremiah in (Daniel and) Baruch," in *Jeremiah's Scriptures. Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation,* eds. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (JSJS 173; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 231-252.

[182] Prophets being the mediators between the divine and human realm performed one of the ways in which Israel encountered God. In late ancient Judaism, precisely prophecy suffers. However, to simply state that prophecy as

Although the ritualization of text in the context of confessional prayer has been understood within the context of innovative scribal practices, also another question is raised by this genre: what the background is for the increase in liturgical texts in the Second Temple period. This question in line with Hindy Najman's comment that in order to understand how divine encounter was affected by exile and destruction, it is essential "to grasp not only the diversity of the phenomena, but also the diversity of their ends. What did each accomplish that others did not? What made some more readily accessible than others in extreme circumstances?"[183] Although it has been recognized that prophecy was never the only mode of divine encounter,[184] at present the role of confessional prayer in retrieving divine encounter in the context of exile and destruction has not been thoroughly discussed.

The enduring exile motif that is present in those texts may serve to cast light on this issue. That is, as we have seen, confessional prayers are both liturgical texts as well as texts that contain the enduring exile motif.[185] More specifically, against the background of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern, the central concern with chronology in those texts is an indication of the attempt to end this pattern. In terms of the relationship with God, this attempt may have a sense of a loss of intimacy with the divine at its basis. The attempt to retrieve divine encounter is what plays a role in the development of scribal practices and the growth of traditions in Second Temple times.

5.2.2 Enduring Exile and Religious Experience through Liturgy

The case-studies of the confessional prayers of Daniel and Baruch have a similar aim: to request God to listen, forgive, and act towards the people confessing their sins so that an ending is put to exile. However, as those prayers developed centuries after the end of the historical exile, there is a gap between the event of exile itself and the generations that lived when those texts were written. This raises the question how exactly those prayers functioned. In this regard, the work of Angela Kim Harkins is noteworthy. Harkins argues that ritualized grief is used to

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well as other types of divine encounter ended, risks oversimplification, which is illustrated by the confessional prayers of Daniel and Baruch. See also: Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 4-5.

[183] Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 5.

[184] Other types of divine encounter are prayer, songs, ritual, visionary ascent, as well as sacred writing and sacred reading. See: Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future*, 5.

[185] Piotrowski, "The Concept of Exile in Late Second Temple Judaism," 238.

induce emotions attached to past events and people. For this, she turns to performance studies, which in the view of Harkins are helpful in clarifying the kind of responses that these texts elicited in the one who prays them and in those people who witness and possibly participated in these prayer events.[186]

By adopting an approach to early Jewish texts that is informed by contemporary scientific findings on embodied cognition, she investigates how the emotional state of grief and rumination play a role in the performance of prayers of ritual mourning from the Second Temple period. Based on Daniel 9, which is used as a case-study, she demonstrates that emotions can evoke events as vividly as if they were experienced first-hand. Her thesis, then, is that prayers of ritual mourning strategically arouse grief in order to generate first-hand perceptions of foundational events.[187] She argues that the effects of practices that accompany the prayer, such as the enactment of petitions, confession of sinfulness, and confession of God's greatness, can predispose one to experientially reenact grief which can in turn lead to rumination, a cognitive state in which presence is made from absence.[188] In this way, she argues, such ritual experiences assist in generating an awareness of God's presence during a period in which the deity's absence was especially felt during times of political uncertainty.[189]

Although Harkins' work offers an insightful perspective in how emotions in the past may have functioned more in a collective way rather than an individual manner, the results from the present research show that this perspective is also incomplete. That is, Harkins aims to explain the gap between the actual historical events of exile and the performance of prayers of ritual mourning in the second century BCE. Such a perspective does not account for the continuity that also exists in how emotions were carried over through multiple generations. Of course, this is something that cannot be directly derived from the texts. However, the present

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[186] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 81.

[187] See, e.g., the following works: Angela K. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); Angela K. Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period* (eds. M. Pajunen and J. Penner; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 80-101. The first work examines the collection of prayers known as the Qumran Hodayot (= Thanksgiving Hymns) in light of ancient visionary traditions, new developments in neuropsychology, and post-structuralist understandings of the embodied subject. The second study falls under a larger category of embodied cognition and aims to understand how prayers and mourning practices functioned in the generation of apocalyptic visions in the Second Temple period.

[188] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 81.

[189] Harkins, "The Function of Prayers of Ritual Mourning in the Second Temple Period," 96-99.

research on enduring exile does show that, for generations, even to pre-exilic times, exile already had a certain meaning within a worldview: a meaning that was not religiously neutral but associated with sin, death, and punishment. The development of a theological attitude towards the events of the Babylonian exile in terms of sin-exile-repentance/return further confirms this. Combined with the role of metaphorical language for exile, things such as political uncertainty could easily be related to exile. The production of confessional prayers can therefore be better viewed as part of a continuum from pre-exilic to post-exilic times, as part of a worldview in which life was understood and experienced in connection with the divine. This implies that there is a close – perhaps even causal – association between, among other things, experiences of political uncertainty and an absence of God. Because of this, it is questionable to what extent confessional prayers are concerned with vividly evoking events from the past in order to create first-hand perceptions of it. Confessional prayers may also address an already felt experience of the world.

This is not to say that the past does not play an important role. It is precisely in continuity with the past that recovery can take place. Confessional prayers can be understood as one possible means to retrieve divine encounter at a time when prophecy started to diminish. Theologically understood, the retrieval of divine encounter is a necessary stage in the road to recovery from exile. Confessional prayers can therefore be understood to be aimed at recovering the future by way of the past.[190]

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[190] To a certain extent, this is in line with Hindy Najman's approach of discerning literary strategies in the texts that reflect how scribes tried to recover the future by way of the past. See: Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future. An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009).

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Concluding Remarks

This thesis aimed at bringing the positions in the enduring exile thesis in conversation with the thesis on the metaphorization of exile in order to understand how a concern for chronology and a concern for metaphor are related to each other in the context of the enduring exile motif. This has been carried out by developing a theoretical framework by providing an overview of both the enduring exile positions and their development as well as an overview of the main elements in the work by Halvorson-Taylor on the metaphorization of exile. Then, with the help of three case-studies, Jeremiah 12:1-13, Daniel 9:4-19, and Baruch 1:15-3:8, elements of chronology and metaphor in those texts have been investigated.

The first-case study, Jeremiah 12:1-13, which is a text that contains several layers of redactions from pre-exilic to post-exilic times, demonstrates a clear connection to an inherited understanding of exile that involves connotations with sin, punishment, and death. In this text, both a concern with chronology and a concern with metaphor is present. The concern with chronology finds expression in a theological reworking of the pre-inherited understanding of exile in the context of the experience of the Babylonian exile. In this way, elements of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern that are indicative of this theological attitude towards exile can already be found in this text. The concern with metaphor finds expression in the use of metaphorical language to describe the events of the Babylonian exile, particularly in the metaphor of the mourning earth. As such, the metaphors have a particular role in how the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern is developed. In other words, the text shows that the inherited understanding of exile is reworked both theologically and metaphorically, both with a concern for chronology and with a concern for metaphor, in the context of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern. They are two different kinds of "language" that are used and further

developed in light of the events of the Babylonian exile. Lament has a particular role in the development of a specific attitude, as it is used in both languages, thereby strengthening the view that Israel has sinned and needs to repent and at the same time relating exile to a broader narrative that is concerned with themes such as wilderness, infertility, and desolation.

The case-studies of Daniel 9:4-19 and Baruch 1:15-3:8, which are central in the enduring exile thesis, belong to the genre of confessional prayers. Those texts show a particular concern with the chronology of exile, as both texts request an ending of exile. As such, they demonstrate a predominant focus on the theological aspect of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern. This is particularly because they show a further development of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern to a predominant focus on the element of repentance. As has been argued, this element stands in close relationship to the role of lament. Although elements of metaphor are barely present, a close reading does reveal indications of the broader narrative that exile is part of. This further confirms the close relationship between a concern with chronology and metaphor, although it may also show that there is a focus on one form of the enduring exile motif above the other in later post-exilic texts.

As a conclusion, it can thus be noted that a strict distinction between chronology and metaphor may be helpful to understand the process of metaphorization of exile towards exile as a full metaphor, but that both forms of the enduring exile motif originate from a similar source. This concerns an inherited pre-exilic conception of exile, which found its way into Deuteronomy 27-30 and that, during the events of the Babylonian exile, was reworked in terms of the sin-exile-repentance/return pattern which was taken up in prophetic texts. It is this pattern that can be argued to provide the foundation for both theological and metaphorical conceptualizations of exile, namely, by using both "languages" in conversation with each other, which allowed for the development of a "full" theological conceptualization and a "full" metaphorical conceptualization of exile in later times. The implication of this is that the common aspect between the two ways of conceptualizing exile is the central theme of the relationship between exile and the divine. In using both theological and metaphorical language, it has become possible to get beyond a pure rational way of viewing exile by also including elements of feeling and perception. Furthermore, it has become possible to place exile within a broader narrative in which, besides the divine, also both the "subject" or the "self" and creation as a whole are a part, thereby viewing exile as an event with existential implications.

To feel as if you belong is one of the great triumphs of human existence — and especially to sustain a life of belonging and to invite others into that… But it's interesting to think that our sense of slight woundedness around not belonging is actually one of our core competencies; that though the crow is just itself and the stone is just itself and the mountain is just itself, and the cloud, and the sky is just itself — we are the one part of creation that knows what it's like to live in exile, and that the ability to turn your face towards home is one of the great human endeavors and the great human stories.

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