The Solomonic Kingdom as a Cultural Fantasy of the Imperialized Yehudites

By

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For my late mother, Rita Shun-Pik Tsoi

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produced consequential to the literary development of Greek historiography and that its political ambiguity was conditioned by Persian imperialism. I am indebted to Professor Marbury for helping me to form new perspectives on old issues. I would also like to thank him for his understanding, patience, and forbearance during the semester that I served as his teaching assistant. Even though my service was sporadically impeded by various issues, Professor Marbury has always been supportive and sympathetic.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, 1969
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARE	*Ancient Records of Egypt*. Edited by J. H. Breasted. 5 vols. Chicago, 1905–1907. Reprint, New York, 1962
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford, 1907
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.* Edited by J. Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEV	Contemporary English Version
COS	*The Context of Scripture.* Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–
DBY	The Darby Bible
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
ESB	English Standard Version
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Edited by Felix Jacoby. Leiden, 1954–1964
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

GTTOT	*The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament*. Edited by J. J. Simons. Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata 2. Leiden, 1959.
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. With revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LXX	The Septuagint
MT	The Masoretic Text
NAC	New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.* Edited by E. Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1993
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue biblique*

RSO	*Revista degli studi orientali*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SE	*The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Edited by J. Strachey.* 24 vols. London, 1953–1974
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–2006
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by E. Jenni, with assistance from C. Westermann. Translated by M. E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, Mass., 1997
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WHJP	World History of the Jewish People
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Issue

This study is a historical-critical approach to the investigation of the literary production of 1 Kings 1:1–12:24 (hereafter the Solomonic narrative) employing a new reading strategy of a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective. I will analyze it as an episodic story of the larger coherent literary unit of what Martin Noth calls "the Deuteronomistic History."[1] Due to the concern over the possibility of engendering genre confusion and unnecessary genre expectations for modern readers, the term "Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story" will be used instead.[2]

This study departs from traditional historical-critical methods in that, first, I reject a set of modernist assumptions on textual features to which traditional historical-critics have been accustomed in their diachronic readings. I will argue that such assumptions are hermeneutically unsound and preclude new insights from forming that would lead to a more plausible scenario for the Deuteronomist's signifying process. I will point out the methodological shortcomings and modernist assumptions behind the traditional historical-critical approach to the "Deuteronomistic History." Nevertheless, my critique can in no way undermine the contribution of the historic critics, whose insights this study will inevitably build on. Their meticulous internal analysis of the text and their observations on textual features have opened up a new era to the critical study of the literary integrity and disjunctions of the "Deuteronomistic History." They were the

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[1] Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (trans. J. Doull; 2nd ed.; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1991); trans. of *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: I. Die sammelnden und bearbeiten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Halle [Saale]: M. Niemeyer, 1943), 1–110.
[2] See pp. 29–61 for a detailed elaboration on this position.

trailblazers making breakthrough critical approaches and bringing in new perspectives to Deuteronomy–Kings.

Second, I employ postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories to illuminate how the flesh-and-blood experience under imperialism could induce psychic conflicts among the imperialized. These imperializer-induced psychic conflicts would have played a major role in the Deuteronomist's signifying process of the Solomonic narrative. Even though many biblical scholars agree that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story emerged from imperial contexts and that it was written by the subjugated Judeans or Yehudites, due attention has not been paid to the relations between imperialism, the psychology of the imperialized, and their signifying activities.[3] This study endeavors to fill these interpretive lacunae in the historical-critical approach. In the ancient Southwest Asian world, social relations were determined with respect to imperial hierarchy, and the Deuteronomist, in some manner complicit with the imperializer, belonged to a special category of people whose social and ethnic identity, along with their allegiance, was torn between two social forces. From a psychoanalytic perspective, they were split subjects. The unique social locations they occupied in relation to Persian imperialism created a liminal space that would inevitably have affected their signifying activities. In this regard, both postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories will be indispensable and powerful hermeneutic tools to elucidate their signifying process that resulted in the invention of the Solomonic Kingdom.

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[3] The collective term "Deuteronomist" is used to designate the people involved in the literary production and transimission of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. In this study, "Deuteronomist" will be treated as a collective entity with plural construction. The unconventional choice of "Deuteornomist" is intended to avoid any conceptual confusion with the plural term "Deuteronomists," which has been used to designate the multiple, identifiable writers, editors, redactors, and/or redactional layers. The present writer rejects the notion of identifiable redactions or redactional layers that are devoid of linguistic and ideological inconsistencies, contradictions, ambiguities, and tensions. For a detailed elaboration of the term and the Deuteronomist's identity and social location, see pp. 61–74 below.

A History of Deuteronomistic Scholarship

The Heyday of Historical-Critical Approaches to the Deuteronomistic History

The Solomonic-Kingdom narrative is a part of a larger conjectured literary unit of what has commonly been called the "Deuteronomistic History" by generations of biblical scholars since Martin Noth proposed the term in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I* in 1943.[4] In this seminal work, Noth convincingly argues that, based on literary unifying devices, chronological framework, and thematic affinities that he detected in the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, these books were originally a self-contained literary whole only to be later dissected into individual books along the chronological seams that separate them into major periods. Even though Noth's "Deuteronomistic History" remains as a theoretical construct, it has enjoyed general scholarly consensus if only with some modifications.[5] For this reason, it is important to consider how the construct of the "Deuteronomistic History" may have affected the pursuit of a textual analysis of even a small pericope such as the Solomonic-Kingdom narrative.[6] Before I proceed to provide a summary of Noth's arguments for and conception of the "Deuteronomistic History" and its subsequent development, I will give an overview of the prehistory of the "Deuteronomistic History" that begins a few centuries before Noth's time.

In his *Theologico-Political Treatise* (1670), Benedict de Spinoza (1632–1677) already opined that the book of Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets were composed by the same "historian," for whom Spinoza considered Ezra to be the best candidate.[7] In the beginning of the

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[4] See Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*.

[5] Insofar as archaeological evidence of such a masterpiece could not have been garnered due to the ancient archival practice and method of manuscript preservation, however cogent Noth's arguments are, his "Deuteronomistic History" remains a theoretical construct.

[6] For the meaning of "text" and the insistence on using the term "textual analysis" instead of "literary criticism," see pp. 103–108.

[7] Benedict de Spinoza, *A Theologico-Political Treatise* (South Bend, Ind.: Infomotions: 2001), 83–91; see also

nineteenth century, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) paved the way toward the theoretical construction of the "Deuteronomistic History" by making two keen observations. First, he aptly argued for the literary dependence of the book of Joshua on the book of Deuteronomy. Second, he also noticed that the references to the "Mosaic Law" or the "Book of the Law" in the Former Prophets, in particular those in the narrative on the lawbook discovery that spurred Josiah's reform (2 Kgs 22–23), seem to allude to the Deuteronomic lawcodes. Thus, he established a "Deuteronomistical" link of the Former Prophets to Deuteronomy.[8] A hundred years before Noth published his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I*, Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875) conjectured a double-compilation theory of the "historical" books: a pre-deportation compilation of Samuel–Kings inspired by "Deuteronomic ideas" and a Deuteronomic redaction of Judges–Kings (including Ruth) by a Babylonian exile.[9] A few years later, Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891) postulated a similar twofold-redaction theory. He observed dependent themes from the storyline and stylistic similarities that ruled out the possibility that Judges–Kings had been written independently of each other. He noted that the books give the impression of "the same spirit, the same style" (*le même esprit, le même style*).[10] He also observed that some passages presuppose the deportation (1 Kgs 8:46–53; 2 Kgs 21:8ff.), while other passages are oblivious to

Thomas Römer and Albert de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury; Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 30–31.

[8] Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (*Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, vol. 2* [trans. Theodore Parker; 3d ed.; Boston: Rufus Lighton, Jr., 1859], 152–252) notes that "Deuteronomistical" influence on the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings is not consistent. For instance, there is no mention of the "Mosaic Law" or the "Book of Law" in Samuel, while it occurs sporadically and unevenly throughout Joshua and Kings. See also Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 32–34; J. W. Rogerson, *W.M.L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography* (JSOTSup 126; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 39–42.

[9] Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (6 vols.; Göttingen: Dieterich, 1843–59), 1:174–90; see Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 35–36.

[10] Abraham Kuenen, *Histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament* (trans. M. A. Pierson; 2 vols.; Paris: Michel Lèvy Frères, 1866), 1:439.

it and even anticipate a reunification of Israel and Judah (such as 1 Kgs 11:39), thus leading to a conjecture of a Josianic edition of the books later revised in the post-587 Babylonian period. It should be noted that while Kuenen recognized "Deuteronomic" traces in the book of Joshua, he maintained that it was composed independently prior to Judges–Kings.[11]

Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), along with many of his contemporaries, had accepted the double-redaction theory.[12] Wellhausen posited, based on biblical chronology, not only that Judges–Kings had undergone numerous Deuteronomistic redactions during Josiah's reign and the Babylonian diasporic period tailored to encapsulate the spirit of the Deuteronomic law, but that the lawbook fuelling Josiah's reform was actually composed for the reform,[13] a thesis that many of his contemporaries had disputed based on their uncritical reception of the historicity of 2 Kings 22–23.[14] Up to this point, scholars generally agreed on the theological and stylistic dependence of Judges–Kings on Deuteronomy and the literary coherence of these books as a result of multiple Deuteronomistic reworkings of older traditions and additions of new traditions; however, the book of Joshua was practically excluded, in spite of its Deuteronomistic nuances (mostly conspicuously Josh. 1:8). Because of the pre-eminence that the theory of the Hexateuch enjoyed at the time, Joshua's affiliation was skewed until Noth's theory of the "Deuteronomistic History" came to supersede the Hexateuch hypothesis and gradually reached the dominant status

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[11] Kuenen's views are summarized in Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 37–39; for his influence on subsequent scholars, see Gerald Eddie Gerbrandt, *Kingship according to the Deuteronomistic History* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 9–10; Flemming A. J. Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History: Herodotus and the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 251; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 85–86.

[12] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 228–94; repr. of *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies, with preface by W. Robertson Smith; Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885); trans. of *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (2d ed.: Berlin: G. Reimer, 1883); idem, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (3d ed.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899), 208–301. For a summary of Wellhausen's theory on the Deuteronomistic redactions of Judges-Kings, see Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 42–44.

[13] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, 9.

[14] For a list of works that disputed Wellhausen's view in 1920s, see Gerbrandt, *Kingship according to the Deuteronomistic History*, 195–200.

in the 1960s.

Noth attributed the composition of the "Deuteronomistic History" to a single author, whom he called the "Deuteronomistic Historian" (Dtr), who supposedly worked independently from the ruling regime in the middle of the sixth century B.C.E.[15] Noth's Dtr was not an editor who merely joined loose materials into a discontinuous lump, but a creative and adept writer who was responsible for arranging and articulating disparate sources and diverse traditions at his disposal to form the "Deuteronomistic History," a self-contained literary whole with a carefully devised literary, chronological, and theological scheme.[16] The Dtr inserted "speeches of anticipation and retrospection"[17] delivered by key characters, Moses (Deut 31:1–13; 34), Joshua (Joshua 1, 23), Samuel (1 Samuel 12), and Solomon (1 Kgs 8:14–53), each a major historical transition of leadership and institutions by a valedictory, dedication, or "end-of-service" speech that reflects on and recapitulates the events of the past and foreshadows the development of the narratives in the storyline. He also gave historical reflections in the form of the "end-of-era" reviews (Joshua 2; Judg. 2:11–23; 1 Kgs 17:7–23).

The introductory speeches of Deut 1:1–4:43* set out as a preamble to the Deuteronomistic historical narratives.[18] The Deuteronomic law serves as the fundamental theological yardstick by which disobedience, in particular the quintessential sin of "idolatry," is measured in Deuteronomy–Kings, and judged, condemned, and retributed with divine punishment. According to the Deuteronomist, "idolatry" practically means any cultic expression that deviates from aniconic, exclusive, and eventually centralized Yahwism. Written at a time after the destruction

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[15] For a succinct summary of Noth's conception of the "Deuteronomistic History," see Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 47–52; Antony F. Campbell, "Martin Noth and the Deuteronomistic History," in *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth* (ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham; JSOTSup 182; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 31–62.

[16] Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 55–61.

[17] Ibid., 9–10.

[18] Ibid., 13–14.

of the temple, the Dtr showed little interest in cultic matters, and his central concern was the

obedience of the Mosaic Law, which functions as the evaluative standard of the people's and the

kings' gradual exacerbation in transgression and the determinative force of their historical

downfall. According to Noth, the Dtr composed the history of Israel and Judah from the

retrospective vantage point of the Babylonian exile with "the idea of ever-intensifying decline"[19]

that recounted the series of disasters that gradually, and inevitably, led to Judah's eventual

demise and the deportation of its elite.

Noth showed that the Dtr had a significant interest in the chronological scheme. The Dtr

arranged the narratives from the exodus to the completion of the Solomonic Temple into a

chronological framework of 480 years (1 Kgs 6:1), which is roughly equal to the temporal sum

of the events from the Horeb assembly (Deut 1) until the installation of the temple.[20] The Dtr

developed another chronological system of a partially synchronic history of the kings of Israel

and Judah, which he purportedly derived from archival sources available to him, namely "the

Annals of the Kings of Israel,"[21] "the Annals of the Kings of Judah,"[22] and even the Baruch

narrative concerning the prophet Jeremiah.[23] Based on the mention of the rehabilitation of

Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30, Noth determined the *terminus a quo* for the "Deuteronomistic

History" to be 562 B.C.E.[24]

Noth was not the only scholar among his contemporaries to have argued for the integral

unity of Deuteronomy–Kings;[25] however, his layout on the grand literary structure, chronological

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[19] Ibid., 79.
[20] Noth (ibid., 23–24) attributed post-Deuteronomistic additions and the discrepancy of the length of time to overlapping regnal years between David and Solomon.
[21] 1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31, 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39; 2 Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 28; 15:11, 15, 21, 26, 31.
[22] 1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:46[Eng. 45]; 2 Kgs 8:23; 12:20 [Eng. 19]; 14:18; 15:6, 36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17, 25, 28; 24:5; see ibid., 63–78.
[23] Jeremiah 39–41; see ibid., 74.
[24] Ibid., 12.
[25] Noth's contemporaries, Alfred Jepsen (*Die Quellen des Königsbuches* [Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1953]) and Ivan

framework, thematic dependence, perspective uniformity, and stylistic homogeneity were the most comprehensive and cogently argued. His theory of the "Deuteronomistic History" is one of the most enduring theories in biblical scholarship that has withstood numerous attempts of refutation and enjoyed wide acceptance if only with modifications of various degrees.[26]

It has been pointed out that Noth's Dtr is thoroughly hypercritical and pessimistic, seeking to explain the definitive demise of Judah and the inevitable deportation by the repeated cycles of apostasy of the Israelites/Judahites and their kings with no hope for restoration.[27] As early as 1947, Gerhard von Rad argued against what he considered Noth's flawed understanding of the Dtr's pessimism and argued for a hint of messianic hope, namely the anticipation for the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, expressed in Yahweh's promise of a perpetual Davidic dynasty (2 Sam 7:1–17) and the final narrative of the Davidide survivor Jehoiachin's pardon by the Babylonian king (2 Kgs 25:27–30).[28] Hans W. Wolff, in 1960, also argued against Noth's gloomy picture of irreversible fate of Judah's doom and deportation, but he refuted von Rad's reading of hope as anticipation of restoration guaranteed by the Davidic promise and argued for

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Engnell (*Gamla Testementet. En Traditionshistorisk Inledning* [Stockholm: Svensk Krykans Diakonistyrelses Bokföflag, 1945]; *A Rigid Scrutiny: Critical Essays on the Old Testament* [Nashville: Vanderbilt, 1969]) arrived at a similar thesis independently. See Gerbrandt, *Kingship according to the Deuteronomistic History*, 5–6. For a discussion on Engnell's contribution to the traditio-historical studies of the Pentateuch and the "Deuteronomistic History," see also Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (3d ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 197–220.

[26] Otto Eissfeldt (*The Old Testament: An Introduction* [trans. Peter R. Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1965], 241–48; trans. of *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [3d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1964]) and Georg Fohrer (*Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. Nashville: Abingdon: 1968), 195; trans. of *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1965]) are among those who maintained that the "historical" books were independently composed or edited. Ernst Würthwein and Erik Eynikel have argued for a theory of retrospective growth of these books that posits the book of Kings as the earliest work, with supplementary backward growth that traces back to the time of Joshua. See Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 53–55, 56.

[27] For instance, see Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup 18; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 198); Thomas Römer and Albert de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH," 47–63; Gary N. Knoppers, Introduction to *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 5; Thomas C. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 27.

[28] Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1947).

an idea of hope as the potentiality of restoration on the condition of repentance/return—a cry to Yahweh for deliverance, a confession of disobedience, and a renewal of the covenantal relationship.[29] Wolff contends that von Rad's messianic reading has placed too much weight on 2 Kgs 25:27–30, whose hint at the Davidic promise is either absent or too subtle to warrant such optimistic interpretation. Moreover, the promise has already been invalidated since the covenant was broken. Thus, Wolff concludes, "It would therefore be very hard to maintain that DtrH [Dtr] is giving rein to hope based on the Nathan oracle—and doing so by this lone brittle piece about Jehoiachin's elevation."[30] Wolff establishes his thesis of the possible reversal of divine judgment based on the Dtr's call to "return" (*šub*), as a recurrent motif interspersed throughout the "Deuteronomistic History."[31] However, this "hope" is predicated on human agency, on Israel's faithfulness to Yahweh, and their repentance. To Wolff, restoration remains a potentiality that depends on the necessary conversion of attitude and behaviors, whereas von Rad's hope is qualified more on divine agency, on Yahweh's faithfulness to David, his promise of a perpetual dynasty to him. Helga Weippert builds on von Rad's thesis of the Davidic promise, goes beyond Noth's pessimistic theme of sin and punishment, and finds an optimistic scheme of promise and fulfillment as a unifying device in the "Deuteronomistic History" that serves to bracket major sections together.[32]

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[29] Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historical Work," in *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (trans. Frederick C. Prussner; ed. Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff; 2d ed.; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 83–100; trans. of "Das Kergyma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk," *ZAW* 3 (1961): 171–186; the article was first presented in the University of Göttingen on July 15, 1960. Wolff arguments befit a Persian situation, in which opportunity of (voluntary or mandatory) return was presented to the Babylonian deportees and their descendants, far better than the time of Babylonian diaspora.

[30] Wolff, "The Kerygma," 86.

[31] On the examples of the recurrent repentance/return (*šub*) motif, see Judg 2:19; 1 Sam 7:3; 12:19; 1 Kgs 8:47; 2 Kgs 17:13; 23:24–25.

[32] See Helga Weippert, "'Histories' and History': Promise and Fulfillment in the Deuteronomistic Historical Work," in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 47–61.

Both von Rad's and Wolff's theological readings would be called "resistance readings" in today's reader-response critical terminology. They could not conceive a final, definitive, irretrievable tragic end that closes the history of "God's people." They could not believe that the Dtr presented his bombastic, repetitive tirade only to remind his generation of the irreversibility and unpredictability of historical process, a truism that von Rad seeks to suppress by magnifying the significance of two short passages, and Wolff by bringing our attention to the recurrence of a single thematic motif, "return," within the textual interstices.

In his recent comparison of Herodotus's *Histories* and the "Deuteronomistic History," Flemming Nielsen observes multiple thematic parallels between Greek tragedies and the "Deuteronomistic History."[33] Both the Herodotean history and the "Deuteronomistic History" share the common features of Attic tragedies basically following a similar tragic emplotment: the elevation of the hero/Israel, the hero's/Israel's transgression of divine boundaries (*hubris* motif), the declaration of misfortune (*nemesis* motif), the hero's/Israel's effort to avoid the impending misfortune (*elpís* motif), and the inevitability of fate (*adynaton-apophygein* motif). This larger picture of metaphysical progression can only be seen by taking all isolated events together.[34] Seen in this light, the deportation in 2 Kings 25 is the inevitable nemesis pronounced early in the "Deuteronomistic History." Any human effort to avoid it, be it repentance or return, is doomed to fail at the end, and any divine leniency in the meantime is bound to be a part of the delay mechanism of temporary significance. If the production of the "Deuteronomistic History," just as that of Herodotus's *Histories*, was under the cultural influence of the Greek tragedies, as I will argue, the tragic peroration of an inevitable nature can hardly be undermined, unless one chooses to intervene within the limited textual interstices permitted by the inherent indeterminacy of a

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[33] Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*.
[34] Ibid., 155–57.

text, as von Rad and Wolff have done. If Noth has projected onto the Dtr his own pessimism to the contemporary situation of the World War II, as Römer and de Pury surmise,[35] I would say, by considering their readings within their own historical circumstances, von Rad and Wolff have transferred onto the Dtr their own struggle of hope against hope in the post-World-War-II period. Particularly in Wolff's *Kerygma* reading, the moral imperative is unmistakable.

The Smendian and Crossian Schools and the Deuteronomistic Landscape

Two major developments on the "Deuteronomistic History" have exerted great influence on Deuteronomistic scholarship in the past few decades: the three-layer model of the so-called Smendian School with Rudolf Smend and his students Walter Dietrich and Timo Veijola as the key formulators and the so-called Crossian School that designates a group of scholars who follow a double-redaction model laid out by Frank M. Cross.[36] The two schools do not exhaust all positions on the compositional history of the "Deuteronomistic History." There are other views and even attempts to combine the two models.

In a 1971 article, Smend observes that in the texts that Noth assigned to the Dtr there are verses that contradict the rest with reference to an unfinished conquest.[37] Because these verses

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[35] Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 52–53.
[36] Rudolf Smend, "The Law and the Nations: A Contribution to Deuteronomistic Tradition History," in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordon McConville; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 95–110; trans. of "Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. W. Wolff; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971), 494–509; idem, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Theologische Wissenschaft, 1: Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1978), 111–25; Walter Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975); idem, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977); Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973). For a summary of the Göttingen School, see Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 67–74.
[37] See Josh 1:7–9; 13:1bβ–6; 23; Judg 1:1–2:9; 2:17, 20–21, 23.

seem to accentuate the obedience to the Law, Smend distinguishes these verses from the

Grundschrift composed by "DtrH" (the Deuteronomistic Historian) around 580 B.C.E. and

considers them to be additions that belong to a redactional layer composed by the "DtrN"

(Nomistic Deuteronomist) around 560 B.C.E.[38] Later, Dietrich theorizes another redactional layer

by the DtrP (Prophetic Deuteronomist) with emphasis on the prophetic institution and

characteristics of the prophecy-fulfillment scheme; he posits its composition time between the

DtrH and DtrN layers.[39] Timo Veijola refines the three-layer model by distinguishing the three

redactional layers in the Davidic traditions and further characterizing the features of the nomistic

layers.[40] According to the Smendian school, the three layers constitute the entire

"Deuteronomistic History." To Dietrich, the three redactional layers are composed between 580

to 560 B.C.E. (the Neo-Babylonian period) by three independent authors and/or redactors

affiliated with different institutions—the royal court, the prophetic tradition, and the priesthood.

However, Smend's notion of the DtrN is more a layer of redactional interventions that took place

throughout the Persian period.[41] The Smendian school has meticulously divided the

"Deuteronomistic History" into three ideologically-homogeneous literary layers, even though

Smend admits that it is hard to tell them apart because of their linguistic and ideological

affinities,[42] not to mention their chronological proximity (according to Dietrich, all happened

within twenty years). Furthermore, as Römer and de Pury have aptly pointed out "the description

and evaluation of the overall *project* as well as its geographical and socio-historical

circumstances instead remain on the fringe."[43] Römer and de Pury also astutely notice that the

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[38] Smend, "The Law and the Nations."

[39] Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*.

[40] Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie*; idem, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen.*

[41] Gary N. Knoppers, Introduction to *Reconsidering Israel and Judah*, 7.

[42] Rudolf Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, 124.

[43] Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 73. For a similar critique, see Richard D. Nelson, "The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History: The Case Is Still Compelling." *JSOT* 29 (2005): 333.

DtrH-DtrP-DtrN scheme bears a resemblance to the "Wellhausenian idea of religious evolution in the chronological sequence 'History-Prophecy-Law'" and suspect that it is an unwitting application of the Pentateuchal documentary hypothesis to the "Deuteronomistic History."[44]

Frank Moore Cross is the leading figure of the other dominant modified theory on the "Deuteronomistic History," which bears the aforementioned ideas proposed by de Wette, Kuenen and Wellhausen. In a 1967 essay,[45] Cross proposes that the first so-called Josianic edition of the "Deuteronomistic History" was composed as a propagandistic document for Josiah's social, political, and cultic reform around 620 B.C.E. with the aim of incorporating the kingdom of Israel to the kingdom of Judah. The main themes in this edition are the apostasy of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:29–39; 14:4–11; 16:1–13; 21:18–29) and the divine promise of a perpetual Davidic dynasty (2 Sam 7). Both themes culminate in Josiah's reform (2 Kgs 22:1–23:25) displaying a triumphalist vision of territorial expansion and political autonomy, during the supposed decline of Neo-Assyrian power. After the fall of Jerusalem, when the over-optimistic flame for a united kingdom was extinguished, a second editor in 550 B.C.E. brought the "Deuteronomistic History" up to date, supplementing it with minimal reworking, with a limited amount of texts, such as those on the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:28–25:30) and the sin of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:2–15) as the ultimate scapegoat of the inevitable demise.[46] This second editor transformed the propagandistic document of reform into a handbook of penitence with an addition of texts that address the exiles, call for their repentance, and even anticipate future restoration of the land.[47] The two editors, commonly referred as Dtr[1] and Dtr[2], both wrote in the

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[44] Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 74.
[45] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 274–89; repr. of "The Structure of Deuteronomistic History," in *Perspectives in Jewish Learning* (ACJS 3; ed. Judah M. Rosenthal; Chicago, Ill: The College of Jewish Studies, 1967), 9–24.
[46] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 285–87.
[47] Ibid., 287; see Deut 4:27–31; 30:1–10; 28:36f., 63–68; 29:27 [Eng. 28]; Josh 23:11–13, 15f.; 1 Sam 12:25; 1 Kgs 2:4; 6:11–13; 8:25b, 46–53; 9:4–9; 2 Kgs 17:19; 20:17f.

spirit of their times, seeking to provide theological legitimation for the political agendas and explanation for catastrophes that escape their preconceived worldview.

Cross's double-redaction theory resolves a number of contradictions and inconsistencies in the "Deuteronomistic History" by assigning the large block of the "Deuteronomistic History" that reflects hope for the imminent realization of a "reunited" kingdom and makes no mention of the deportation to the Josianic period. On the other hand, passages that are cognizant of the deportation and presuppose the fall of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple are assigned to the post-deportation period (ca. 550 B.C.E.). In this way, the tension between optimism and pessimism is mitigated by regarding them as signs of socio-political circumstances stemming from different periods. To Cross, the optimistic theme of the Davidic promise that culminated in Josiah's reform is incompatible with the theme of exile. Nielsen, however, argues for an integrative approach to both optimistic and pessimistic themes. Instead of incompatibility, Nielsen finds that these themes align with the Herodotean tragic scheme. The failure of Josiah's ultimate effort, fuelled by an optimistic spirit, to avoid the divinely designated fate (*elpís*-motif) sets off the narrative toward its unavoidable tragic climax, the exile.[48] Nielsen's reading, from a perspective closer to the literary culture of the time, demonstrates that contradictory themes could be rhetorical devices to highlight the tragic elements of the narrative. Not only are the optimistic themes compatible to the tragic theme of the exile; they also heighten the dramatic effect of the tragedy. Contradictions and tensions do not necessarily justify an assignment of texts to different socio-historical contexts, as Nielsen's study suggests; they could well be integral parts of a tragedy.

Furthermore, not all verses in the Dtr[1]'s Josianic document fit neatly into Cross's scheme.

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[48] Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*, 152–54.

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For instance, the Deuteronomic law that turned the king into an amanuensis of the Law in the presence of the Levitical priest (Deut. 17:14–20) could hardly be written for the purpose of Josiah's reform.[49] An incompatibility such as this invites more waves of reassignment of textual units. While the theory of double redaction, or the three-layer model for that matter, solves some riddles, it creates a set of thematic dissonances that may invite the postulate of yet another redaction layer and the reshuffling of the cacophonic texts. If this logic is to follow, the process could go on ad infinitum. In fact, there was a tendency to atomize the text and postulate more layers until scholars realized the absurdity of the endless process.[50] Moreover, Cross's thesis privileges the analysis of Samuel–Kings, peripheralizes the theme of exile by treating it as a part of a minimal supplementation of the Dtr[2], and presumes the historicity of the narrative on Josiah's reform, for which there is no extrabiblical support.

Both the Smendian school and the Crossian school have left impressive footprints on the subsequent landscape of Deuteronomistic scholarship.[51] In particular, following the double-redaction model, the Josianic provenance of the Deuteronomic Law and the "Deuteronomistic History" has been taken axiomatically by many exegetes. Noteworthy are two recent studies pertinent to my postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach to the Solomonic Kingdom. Uriah Kim, a

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[49] See J. G. McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 284–85; Andrew D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomistic Ideology and the Theology of the Old Testament," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 467–75.

[50] For historic critics' comments on their colleagues' tendency to fragmentize the "Deuteronomistic History" and to proliferate redactional layers, see for instance John Van Seters, "The Deuteronomistic History: Can It Avoid Death by Redaction?," in *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. Thomas Römer; Peeters: Leuven University Press, 2000), 222; Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 98.

[51] For a list of scholars whose exegetical works follow the assumptions of the Crossian school and that of the Smendian school, see Römer and de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH)," 63–72. Numerous attempts have been made to synthesize the Smendian and Crossian models. For instance, see Andrew D. H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (London: SCM Press, 1983); Mark A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: A Reassessment* (OBO; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

postcolonial biblical scholar, builds his thesis on the ground of the "Deuteronomistic History" (in

its entirety?) being a "history of their own" produced by Josiah and his court in their struggle

against the imperial domination of the Assyrians.[52] Following this line of thought, Kim interprets

Josiah's "discovery" of the lawbook as a recovery of the Judahites' dwindling, marginalized

voice as the imperialized, and the reform as their "resistance" against the imperializing force, an

attempt to dissuade the northern immigrants from returning to Samerina (Assyrian Samaria), and

the reclamation of their subjectivity. I agree with Kim that the "Deuteronomistic History" could

well be read as nativist reaction to imperialism, although his placement of the composition to the

late seventh-century B.C.E. under Josiah's initiative is a moot point. To me, it is an uncritical

acceptance of the historicity of Josiah's reform (1 Kings 22–23) and totally anachronistic.

In their 2002 publication *The Bible Unearthed*, Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman

argue in favor of and apparently follow the framework of Cross's double redaction theory.[53]

They claim that the political and sociocultural conditions required for the production of the

Pentateuch and the "Deuteronomistic History" did not ripen until the end of the seventh century

B.C.E. (Josiah's reign), for which archaeological findings suggest an active administrative

apparatus and state-sponsored scribal activities in Judah.[54] Their goal for the volume is "to

attempt to separate history from legend" based on archaeological evidence and epigraphic

records that are exempted from the censorship and reworking of generations of scribes.[55] In their

2007 publication *David and Solomon* with a similar stated goal "to separate history from myth,"

Finkelstein and Silberman, presupposing the same Crossian framework, argue that biblical David

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[52] Uriah Y. Kim, *Decolonizing Josiah: Toward a Postcolonial Reading of the Deuteronomistic History* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005).
[53] Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York: Free, 2001), 301–05.
[54] Ibid., 22–23.
[55] Ibid., 3.

and Solomon are literary constructs of Josiah's court scribes.[56] Finkelstein and Silberman reconstruct, based on newer archaeological and epigraphical findings/interpretations, a scenario of historical David and Solomon as leaders of a dimorphic chiefdom that gradually developed into the state of Judah.

There are some loopholes in Finkelstein's and Silberman's thesis. First of all, the proof of the existence of required conditions for something to happen does not amount to proof of its actually having happened. For instance, the Achaemenid Persians were running the largest empire of the time, with the most extensive and complex administrative apparatus, whose ruling elite was undoubtedly capable of producing masterpiece historiographies, yet the longest "historical" narrative they left us is the Bīsitūn inscription of Darius I.[57] Their history was not written by themselves but by the Greek historians, whose Hellenocentric perspective and distorted representations are our main resources to reconstruct the Persian empire. The ripe conditions for an event to happen does not mean that it will happen or that it is likely to happen. To confuse the two is to confuse conditionality with actuality or plausibility. The level of cultural development is a necessary but not sufficient argument for literary production such as the "Deuteronomistic History." Secondly, Finkelstein and Silberman argue that the details portrayed in the Davidic and Solomonic narratives mirrored the sociopolitical and economic circumstances of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah under Assyrian hegemony from the eighth century to the seventh century B.C.E., suggesting that the Josianic scribes had incorporated memories of the defunct kingdom of Israel to promote a sense of unity between the northern immigrants and

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[56] Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 3, 13–14, 213–14.

[57] The historiographical part of the Bīsitūn inscription is limited to only the first four columns. The additional fifth and also the last Old-Persian column is characterized by the absence of topographical, temporal, and causal particulars common in Achaemenid inscriptions. For the historiographical character of the Bīsitūn inscription, see Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Persian Kings and History," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 91–98.

Judah. This line of thought, Josiah's expansionist program and the Josianic provenance of the "Deuteronomistic History," adheres to the Crossian assumptions. Finkelstein and Silberman have cogently argued that the core of the "Deuteronomistic History" includes traditions that stemmed from and correspond to the situations of monarchic Israel and Judah during the Neo-Assyrian period, but they have also overlooked that it includes traditions and perspectives from a later period that shape the interpretive framework of these earlier traditions. In my view, Deuteronomy–Kings is an accumulative tradition that has incorporated a wide range of traditions, both antiquarian and contemporaneous to its producer(s), the so-called Deuteronomist.

A Critique of the Historical-Critical Approach to Deuteronomy–Kings

Historical criticism, as the dominant method in biblical studies for the most part of the twentieth century, is a form of literary criticism (*Literarkritik*) that relies almost exclusively on internal literary evidence. It is largely limited to the diachronic analysis of genres, styles, themes, words, phraseologies, ideologies, semantic differences, and linguistic peculiarities with the aim to reconstitute the written sources and oral/written traditions on which the production of texts purportedly based. Texts with similar textual, linguistic, semantic, and ideological features are grouped together and considered to have belonged to the same source. These features subsequently become the circular criteria for assigning texts to sources or redactional layers. The historical-critical method in practice, despite what its name seems to suggest, often lacks the sensitivity to the sociocultural and historical conditions that shaped the production of the text. The reliance on internal literary-analytical results in circular argumentation, which is further reinforced by seemingly analytical logics, is a typical characteristic in historical-critical works.

First, in line with schematic source-critical logic at the time, there was a tendency among historical critics to consider tensions, contradictions, and inconsistencies as an evidence against the integrity of the text. Thematic inconsistencies and ideological contradictions are often explained by way of atomizing the text into fragments and regrouping these pieces into sources and/or traditions of different eras with internal stylistic and ideological consistency, attributing the formation of the seemingly disjointed text to the amalgamation of multiple sources, subsequent supplementations, revisions, and the idiosyncrasy of its producers. The method bears similarities to the modern notion of publication. Also, it compartmentalizes opinions into two polarized camps, and envisions two pristine sources devoid of tension and ambiguity. Dtr[1] (or DtrH) is considered supportive of or at least sympathetic to kingship and, hence, pre-587 or early "exilic." Texts that seemingly contain critical or oppositional sentiments to kingship are attributed to a later "exilic" or "postexilic" redactional layer or edition. Similarly, triumphalistic-optimistic texts and blatantly pessimistic texts, unconditionality and conditionality of the Davidic promise, according to this textual logic, could not have originated from the same author or redactor. To assume that each source is unilateral, stylistically uniform, and ideologically consistent is to undermine the sophistication of the ancient writers and the complexity of their historical contexts. The assumption fails to recognize that no social institutions can be exempted from sociocultural and historical contingencies that are bound to be dynamic, volatile, and even contradictory. Tensions, contradictions, inconsistencies happen not only on a social level, but they also happen on an individual (psychic) level.

Ideological positions, even expressed by a single writer, whether consciously or not, do not have to be consistent, invariantly paradigmatic, and progressive in development. Could a writer or editor accommodate or simply tolerate a set of seemingly disparate, disarrayed, yet concurrent

ideologies (be it royal, prophetic, or nomistic in appearance) to advance his course? Could the

co-existence of contradictions and inconsistencies be a textual sign of conscious maneuvering or

unconscious psychic processes? The answer to both questions is a definite "yes." Exegetical

allowance must be made for discrepancies and inconsistencies produced through/by a social

collective or a single author in their/his/her/hir language, concepts, and concerns, and for some

deviations from even a preconceived textual scheme. Historical critics assume, implicitly or

explicitly, that the "Deuteronomistic History" is produced within a set of social, political, and

cultural matrices that inevitably affect the historical, ideological perspective and subject

formation of its writer/redactor(s). Their reconstructed literary blocks or redactional layers are

deemed to be institutionally affiliated with the royal court (DtrH; Dtr^1), the prophetic schools

($DtrP$; Dtr^2), or the temple cult (DtrN) and treated as mutually exclusive. The schematic method

of associating traditions or redactional layers to institutions on a one-to-one correspondence

should be reassessed. Although the distinction between these institutions corresponds to the

general categories of public offices in ancient Southwest Asia, the biblical texts suggest that the

boundaries of these roles are not discrete.[58] It is not self-evident that institutional ideologies are

mutually exclusive and cannot be integrated even contradictorily. Yet, more attention to the

historical circumstances that conditioned its production and their inherent tensional and

contradictory nature is needed.

    Secondly, historical critics typically follow a binary logic in their diachronic treatment of the

biblical text. A binary process assumes the logic of either-or, never both-and nor in-between.

Under the binary logic, opinions on a socially intricate and multipositional topic are often

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[58] For instance, Samuel blurs the line between judges, priest and prophet; Moses blurs the line between priest, prophet, and regal; Joshua, as Moses's successor, blurs the line between regal, commander, and prophet; David's sons, regal and priests.

expressed as two extreme poles, reduced to borderline situations, and often oversimplified into either totality or nullity. Binarism assumes a great divide of social circumstances that undermines the ambiguity, equivocality, complexity, and plurality of views. As manifested in Deuteronomistic scholarship, the binary framework includes the dichotomies of optimism/pessimism, unconditionality/conditionality, northern/southern, and pro-monarchy/anti-monarchy. Historical-critical scholars have a tendency to assign fragments to different epochs that are presumed to be affiliated with a set of institutional ideologies, as though these ideologies are mutually exclusive and temporally specific. Insofar as ideologies are contextual products and in themselves unstable and metamorphic, a taxonomic approach to the biblical text constitutes an oversimplification of the complexity of social and political issues. The adherence to binary oppositions and one-to-one correspondence is textually unwarranted. Textual fragments, even seemingly with different ideological orientations, could have originated, co-existed, or been integrated in the same period, and the plausibility of a writer having been simultaneously associated with ideologically diverse and even incompatible institutions cannot be ruled out.

A good example of this kind of binary logic is Wellhausen's and Noth's source-critical hypothesis of 1 Samuel 8−12, in which the text's ostensibly polarized and alternated views on monarchy are separated into two strands: a promonarchical, preexilic strand (9:1−10:16 and 11:1−15) and a later anti-monarchical, (post)exilic strand (8:1−8:22, 10:17−27 and 12:1−25).[59] The underlying assumption is that monarchic traditions, presumably originating from the royal court, are unlikely to be critical or antagonistic to the institution of kingship. Thus, anti-monarchic sentiments must have emerged after the demise of the state, when the royal elite

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[59] Julius Wellhausen (*Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht's Verlag, 1871], ix–xi) also includes 1 Samuel 7 to the anti-monarchic strand.

became disenchanted with kingship. While I agree that the Deuteronomist's critical attitude

toward Israelite and Judahite kings and their social critiques of the institution of monarchy (Deut

17:14–20; Judg 9:1–20; 1 Sam.8:11–18), among other themes, are more likely to be post-587,

they may not be directly, and solely, consequential of Judah's collapse, and the Deuteronomist's

concerns with the origins, development, and demise of the Davidic Dynasty, even from a

theological perspective, show that the Deuteronomist were far from disenchanted with kingship.

The Deuteronomist's political ambiguity demands an analysis that goes beyond the binary

compartmentalizing of texts into the polarized categories of promonarchic-preexilic and

antimonarchic-(post)exilic sentiments, which envisions two ideal, pristine sources devoid of

tensions and ambiguity. Due considerations must be paid to textual ambivalence and ambiguity

as integral features of the "Deuteronomistic History."

Many scholars, whether in accord with or discord to the two-strand hypothesis, have adopted

this binary framework in the reading of the Deuteronomistic texts that seemingly contain the

conflicting and polarized sentiments on monarchy and even of the "Deuteronomistic History" as

a whole.[60] The narrative on the Solomonic Kingdom (1 Kgs 1:1–12:24), due to the thematic

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[60] To name a few: Martin Buber, *Kingship of God* (trans. Richard Scheimann; 3d ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1967); Bruce C. Birch, *The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of 1 Samuel 7–15* (Missoula, Montana: Scholar Press, 1970); Dennis J. McCarthy, "The Inauguration of Monarchy in Israel." *Interpretation* 27 (1973): 401–12; Timo Veijola, *Das Königstum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie*; David Jobling, *1 Samuel. BERIT OLAM: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 43–76; Steven L. McKenzie, "The Trouble with Kingship," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 286–314; David Janzen. *The Necessary King: A Postcolonial Reading of the Deuteronomistic Portrait of the Monarchy* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013). In particular, the recent postcolonial reading by David Janzen can be considered an extreme instance of such logic. Janzen goes so far as to interpret all Deuteronomistic texts as promonarchic; even the fable of Jotham (Judg 9:1–20) and Samuel's diatribe against kingship (1 Sam 8:11–18) are not exempted. Janzen manages to present what most scholars regard as unequivocally, conspicuously antimonarchic as promonarchic. Janzen has reduced the naturalized binarism into a monism (univocality). He insists that not only the Deuteronomist is promonarchic, he is also pro-Davidic and even pro-Jehoiachin. Moreover, Janzen amplifies the final narrative (as a conclusion and not just an ending of the "Deuteronomistic History") on Jehoiachin, following von Rad's thesis and logic, to argue that not only there was hope for the restoration of Judahite monarchy, but the "Deuteronomistic History" as a whole was written as a moral lesson, a redemptive and purgatory one, to the last king, to elicit the sentiments of repentance, a prerequisite of monarchic restoration according to Janzen. Janzen's thesis of the

parallels that it shares with the critique of kingship in the Law of the King (Deut. 17:14–20), has

been one of the contentious texts in the debate. The two-strand hypothesis continues to be

discussed as a dominant theory to explain the political ambiguity of the "Deuteronomistic

History."[61]

What are the assumptions that we can reasonably uphold? Are they simply a projection from

the group of texts whose homogeneity, literary coherence and interdependence, and overarching

structure we observe or presuppose? Even if the authorial entity that we call "the Deuteronomist"

existed, are we to assume that its members shared common traits, worked toward a common

course, shared the same set of beliefs, and affiliated with the same institution(s) as the writing we

attributed to them seems to suggest? Would it be possible that the collective may have shared

different or even oppositional beliefs, worked toward different ends, and affiliated with different

institutions at different periods of their lives, yet that somehow the historical, political, cultural

circumstances allowed them to be involved in the production, redaction, and transmission in

spite of their differences? What was their relation to the so-called Priestly writer? Were they

independent, affiliated, collaborative, or even the same? Considering the literary culture of the

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"Deuteronomistic History" written for the education of Jehoiachin (ibid., 207) is unconvincing. Jehoiachin's release by Amel-Marduk, King of Babylon, in 562 B.C.E., indicates the Judahite king has demonstrated his submission to the Babylonian king or at least he and his elite deportees were no longer considered a threat to the Babylonian king. The Persians' subsequent cooptation of descendants of the Judahite elite and the Davidides (as in the case of Zerubbabel) also suggests that they are well assimilated into their new home. Janzen's approach follows the binary logic of two extremities, analyzing the biblical texts based on the oppositional categories of promonarchy and antimonarchy, only to reduce it into a singular extremity, namely promonarchy in its narrowest sense. While Janzen analyzes the "Deuteronomistic History" based on the binary framework of pro- and anti- monarchy, these two poles are not temporally differentiated. However, since Janzen dates the "Deuteronomistic History" to the post-587 Babylonian period, he regards the Deuteronomist's "promonarchic" attitude to be the Deuteronomistic aspiration for the restoration of monarchy in post-587 Babylonian Judah and Israel. Thus, his use of "promonarchy" is both temporally and geopolitically specific and definitely not general. Janzen is able to contend that all texts that are traditionally regarded as antimonarchic are promonarchic due first to a break in the temporality assumed in the original two-strand hypothesis and secondly to the political ambiguity displayed in these texts that has invited many polarized interpretations.

[61] Douglas A. Knight and Amy-Jill Levine, *The Meaning of the Bible: What the Jewish Scriptures and Christian Old Testament Can Teach Us* (New York: HarperOne, 2011), 404–06.

ancient times, the strict adherence to a double or triple or any multiple redaction hypothesis also restricts the way we understand the text, and the redactional explanations are more or less circular arguments to explain the structure and literary puzzles of the text. This is not to say that redaction or redactional layers do not exist, but that the assumption of their existence may have become an impediment to the interpretative act. Contradictions are therefore inevitably interpreted as signs of redactional activity, and texts are grouped and attributed to the same redactional layers whose ideological traits are supposedly consistent and tension-free. We can see binary assumptions through and through in scholars' attempts to explain literary ambiguity.

Third, in the past two centuries, the Deuteronomistic scholarship following the *Literarkritik* tradition has generally assumed a substantial extent of historicity of the biblical narratives or their historical referentiality to the time they purportedly describe or in which they were composed. This assumption could sometimes reach an uncritical level when the assumption becomes the cornerstone of theory even in the case of the absence of extrabiblical evidence. The dating of the "Deuteronomistic History" to the reign of Josiah, based on Cross's thesis of the propagandistic lawbook purportedly used by Josiah (and written by his scribes) for his cultic reform (2 Kgs 22–23), is a consensus shared by many historical critics, even if it deviates from Noth's original conclusion that, based on the final narrative of Jehoiachin's rehabilitation (2 Kgs 25:25–27), the *terminus a quo* of the composition must be 562 B.C.E. Recent readings of the "Deuteronomistic History" indicate that the Crossian model is still enjoying an axiomatic status for many. Subsequent historical inquiries on the historicality of the "Deuteronomistic History" are building on its Josianic assumptions. As I have mentioned above, Finkelstein and Silberman in their attempt to find the historical kernels from the midst of Davidic and Solomonic myths fall into the trap of the Josianic legend, one that is solely orchestrated and delivered by the

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Deuteronomist.

The fact that many scholars have subscribed to the view that the Deuteronomic lawbook was composed for and placed in the temple to support Josiah's cultic reform implies that the historicity of the Josianic narrative (2 Kings 22–23) has never been taken in toto. Due to the absence of extrabiblical evidence, the historicity of Josiah's cult reform cannot be verified but only be presumed.[62] Josiah's all-embracing cultic reform (2 Kgs 23:4–24)—with his iconoclasm of a panorama of functionally diverse and/or ethno-geographically associated deities,[63] desecration of their cultic functionaries (alive or dead), high places, shrines, and paraphernalia, and his undoing of the "idolatrous" practices his predecessors began in Jerusalem and spread as far as Bethel and the cities of Samaria in the territory of the defunct kingdom of Israel—looks more like a condensed yet encyclopedic exposition of "idolatry." Note that all three archetypal "idolators," Manasseh (2 Kgs 23:12; cf. 2 Kgs 21:5), Solomon (2 Kgs 23:13–14; cf. 1 Kgs 11:5–7, 33), and Jeroboam (2 Kgs 23:15–20; cf. 1 Kgs 13:1–2, 32–33), representing Judah, the United Kingdom, and Israel respectively, are mentioned in the narrative of Josiah's undoing of "idolatrous practices."[64] Moreover, the reform presupposes not just Josiah's reading of the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12–26), but also his reading of excerpts of the "Deuteronomistic History" on the deeds of the "idolators" par excellence, whose denigratory remarks of these royal figures would not have been included in any official annals.[65]

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[62] See Christoph Uehlinger, "Was There a Cult Reform under King Josiah? The Case for a Well-Grounded Minimum," in *Good Kings and Bad Kings* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 279.

[63] These deities include Baal, Asherah, the sun, the moon, the constellations, all astral deities, Molech, Sidonian Astarte, Moabite Chemosh, and Ammonite Milcom (vv. 4–7, 10–11, 13, 15).

[64] Hans-Detlef Hoffmann in his *Reform und Reformen* has already argued that the narrative of Josiah's reform (2 Kings 22–23) is a recapitulative climax of all disparate elements of various cultic reforms in the "Deuteronomistic History" and had little historical basis. See Hans-Detlef Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung* (ATANT 66; Zürich: Theologischer, 1980).

[65] Cf. Christof Hardmeier, "King Josiah in the Climax of the Deuteronomic History (2 Kings 22–23) and the Pre-Deuteronomic Document of a Cult Reform at the Place of Residence (23.4–15*): Criticism of Sources, Reconstruction of Literary Pre-Stages and the Theology of History in 2 Kings 22–23*," in *Good Kings and Bad*

The legendary nature and ideological overtone of Josiah's reform suggest that it may be another legend incorporated and reinvented by the Deuteronomist. The reform was an episode composed for and placed in the "Deuteronomistic History" that reflects and deals with exigencies of the Deuteronomist's time.[66] Whether or not Josiah's reform could be a narrative lens through which the purpose and reconstruction of the composition history of the Deuteronomy and that of the Former Prophets could be derived depends on the historical reliability of 2 Kings 22–23, which, as I have pointed out, remains debatable.[67] The Josianic date

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Kings (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 123–63. In his literary historical analysis of 2 Kings 22–23, Hardmeier (ibid., 159) arrives at the conclusion that underlying the purges described in Kgs 23:4–15* is "a document of primary source material" that bears witnesses to Josiah's "minor" cultic reform, a claim with which I disagree. The scope of this study will not permit even a cursory psychoanalytic critique to 2 Kings 23; however, the text is filled with psychical operations characteristic of "primary process," which is, as Roy Schafer puts it, "concrete, timeless, and unconcerned with logic, constancy, and reality testing" (*Aspects of Internalization* [New York: International Universities Press, 1968], 117).

[66] See John Van Seters, "The Deuteronomistic History: Can It Avoid Death by Redaction?," 200–22.

[67] On the dispute of the Josianic date of Deuteronomy and the "Deuteronomistic History" based on the historicity of 2 Kings 22–23, see Ernst Würthwein, "Die Josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium: Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag." *ZTK* 73 (1976): 395–423; Walter Dietrich, "Josia und das Gesetzbuch (2 Reg XXII)," VT 27 (1977): 13–35; Thomas C. Römer, "Transformations in Deuteronomistic and Biblical Historiography: On "Book-Finding" and Other Literary Strategies," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 1–11; Philip R. Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book," in *Good Kings and Bad Kings* (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 65–77; Katherine Stott, "Finding the Lost Book of the Law: Re-Reading of the Story of 'The Book of the Law' (Deuteronomy–Kings) in Light of Classical Literature," *JSOT* 30 (2005): 153–69; Uehlinger, "Was There a Cult Reform under King Josiah?," 297–98; Niels Peter Lemche, "Shechem Revisited: The Formation of Biblical Collective Memory," in *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Critical Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods. Essays in Honor of Douglas A. Knight* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 544; ed. Jon L. Berquist and Alice Hunt; New York: T & T Clark International, 2012), 35–48; cf. Nadav Na'aman, "The 'Discovered Book' and the Legitimation of Josiah's Reform." *JBL* 130 (2011): 47–62. Na'aman (ibid., 50–53) argues against the opponents of the Josianic date of Deuteronomy by drawing ancient Southwest Asian analogies to support the deposit of texts in the temple and the appeal to divination and the "discovery" of old documents to legitimate innovative measures. These book deposit analogies include the two versions of *the Book of the Dead* deposited in the sarcophagus of Queen Mentuhotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the "Memphite Theology" inscription dating to the reign of Shabaka (ca. 721–706 B.C.E.), and the finding of inscriptions by Nabonidus, the Babylonian king (555–539 B.C.E.), to legitimate the restoration of the temple of Shamash. Römer ("Transformations in Deuteronomistic and Biblical Historiography," 8–9), based on the work of Wolfgang Speyer (*Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike: Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit* [Hypomnemata Heft 24; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970]), points out that the "book finding" is a common rhetorical strategy of legitimating a restoration of an "old practice" in antiquity that may have originated from the deposit of temple-foundation tablets in the Mesopotamian sanctuaries. He presents a few instances, including a "book-finding" case in the Ptolemaic period by Thutmoses III and a scroll "discovery" by Epaminondas in a Greek tradition from the fourth century B.C.E. found in Pausanias's *Guide to Greece* (Book IV, 26). All these cases suggest that "book-finding" as a rhetorical strategy and ideological maneuvering is common and attested from the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. to Hellenistic period. If the practice is found in the Hellenistic period, the book-deposit and book-finding analogies that Na'aman draws from the second and the first millennia B.C.E. do not support the historical reliability of the "book-finding" narrative in 2 Kings 22–23. Stott's ("Finding the Lost Book of the Law," 153–69) comparison of the finding of the lost book in 2 Kings 22–23 to those in Greek literature also supports the prominence of the motif as a

of the "Deuteronomistic History" based on internal literary evidence amounts to a

methodological circularity. In the words of Niels Peter Lemche:

> Basically, the idea of the time of Josiah as the great period of producing biblical historiography, including the first drafts of the Deuteronomistic History, is based on circular argumentation—one bolstered by an unfounded assertion about immigrants from the North. … The only source for Josiah's program is the biblical narrative in 2 Kgs 22–23, a narrative that is dated according to the expansionist program it includes, meaning that the program of Josiah is based on the same texts which are dated by it.[68]

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rhetorical strategy in the Greco-Roman period. What Na'aman's arguments have at most achieved is showing the realistic nature of the narrative and that the Deuteronomistic portrayal is consistent with the social practice and ideological apparatus of his time, but the historicity of Josiah's reform is still not self-evident. The scope of this study prevents me from probing the rhetorical function of 2 Kings 22–23. However, I would like to make a preliminary remark that 2 Kings 22–23 leaves narrative lacunae on the link between the content of the lawbook "discovered" and how it was used to fuel Josiah's reform. The idea of legitimation is solely a result of association by the scholars based on numerous textual parallels between the Deuteronomic law and the reform that they have drawn. It is not apparent that the book-finding preceding the reform was orchestrated by Josiah in support of his reform. What is apparent is that, through reader transference (see pp. 124–127 below), the book discovered has been traditionally tied to the Deuteronomic law or the Mosaic law by generations of readers, and thus it functions to imbue the Deuteronomic/Mosaic law a sense of centrality as an authorative handbook that shapes the Jewish, and subsequently the Christian, subjectivity and guides their social behaviors. The manuscripts of Deuteronomy identified in Qumran significantly outnumbered the other Pentateuchal books (with twenty-six manuscripts identified), only surpassed by the liturgical Psalms (with thirty-six manuscripts identified). According to Julie A. Duncan ("Deuteronomy, Book of," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 1:198–200), its pivotal importance is also indicated by the fact that a number of major Judean Desert texts also "quoted, alluded to, or paraphrased" Deuteronomy. See also James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 149–53; idem, *The Dead Scrolls and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdman, 2012), 60–71. The unique popularity of Deuteronomy at Qumran, and elsewhere in the Judean Desert, suggests that its authoritativeness was well established and exceeded the other Pentateuchal books. The question is what contributed to the authority formation. In my view, apart from the book's self-assertion, the "law book" motifs elsewhere in Deuteronomy–Kings, particularly the "book-finding" episode in 2 Kings 22–23, also serve to buttress Deuteronomy's authoritativeness. In other words, the finding of the content-less lawbook is a rhetorical strategy not to legitimate a short-lived reform as it appears on the literary surface, irrespective of the historicity of Josiah's reform, but one used to elevate, by association, the authority of the Deuteronomic/Mosaic law, which was presumably unknown for some ancient readers/hearers, as suggested by the pre-exilic and exilic prophets' oblivion of it, and thus was in need of a "book-finding" narrative to explain its long-time "disappearance" and subsequent "recovery." It is arguable that the identity between the "recovered" lawbook in the Josianic narrative and the Deuteronomic/Mosaic law is precisely the function of 2 Kings 22–23, one that is achieved through reader transference. The Deuteronomist simply took the content of the law book for granted, since the book was already known and correlated by his readers. If my conjecture is correct, I would say that the Deuteronomist had been immensely successful in forging the imaginary link. The idea of a reform, along with the transformative power of the law book in the social and cultic setting, is arguably a response for the sociopolitical and religious exigencies of the Deuteronomist's time. For a similar view, see Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book," 69–70. In her comparison of 2 Kings 22–23 with the Greco-Roman literature, Stott ("Finding the Lost Book of the Law," 158) follows the thesis in Edgar Conrad's 1992 essay ("Heard but not Seen: The Representation of Books in the Old Testament," *JSOT* 54:45–59) and argues that the rhetorical function of the finding of the lost book in 2 Kings 22–23 is "to bolster the credibility of the narrative." Stott misses the point that the classical authors claimed authority over their works, thus the credibility of the narrative corresponds to the authorial credibility. However, this is not the case in the "Deuteronomistic History, for which the author is anonymous and is often reduced to a divine mouthpiece. In Kings, since the Deuteronomist habitually bolstered the authenticity of the narratives by appealing to purportedly existing records and divine proclamations, there is no need for the Deuteronomist to bolster the authority of the narrative by way of the classical authors.

[68] Lemche, "Shechem Revisited," 42; see also idem, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?" *Scandinavian*

The presumed expansionism of Josiah's reform is influenced by the reading of 2 Chr 24:6 and

the idea that the dwindling Neo-Assyrian empire has left a power vacuum for Josiah to restore

the northern territory supposedly belonging to the Davidic dynasty (1 Kgs 11).

Both Josiah's reform and the "discovery" of the law book are part of the greater narrative of

biblical Israel, which as Philip R. Davies has pointed out is a literary construct; thus its

historicity cannot be taken at face value.[69] The text bears the signs of the sociocultural

circumstantiality in which it was produced, rather than that of the social world that it describes.

The questions about its productivity, namely on the forces involved in its production, should be

probed with respect to the historical situations in which it came into existence. My postcolonial-

psychoanalytic approach will follow this contextual line of investigation.

Fourth, there has been a lack of hermeneutic sensitivity to how meaning is produced within a

discursive matrix of sociocultural (external) and physiological (internal) forces to which both the

writer and the readers/auditors were subject and which would in turn affect and limit their

discursive practices and interpretive acts. These forces in operation could have resulted in textual

ambiguities, contradictions, and indeterminacy. All discursive acts, whether textual production or

interpretation, are always historically situated and culturally conditioned. Binary categories and

linear argumentations based on the unrealistic imagination of an ideologically homogenous

world with little grey area undermine the irreducible complexity of ideological matters and the

sophistication of our biblical writers and their addressees. Given the allowance for

inconsistencies due to scribal errors, intentional emendations, expansions, and the coexistence of

variant versions due to the transmission process in which manuscripts were copied verbatim, in

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Journal of the Old Testament 7/2 (1993): 178–79.

[69] Philip R. Davies, ed., "The Society of Biblical Israel," in *Second Temple Studies* (ed. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; JSOTSup 117; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 24–25.

contrast to the historical-critical method I maintain that ambiguity, indeterminacy, inconsistencies, and contradictions should be read as integral features of a text, whether or not these features were consciously employed as literary devices or were manifestations of the psychical processes of the biblical writers. These features are not textual anomalies that need to be explained by way of atomizing and slicing the text into time-framed sources or traditions. The either/or logic so pervasive in historical criticism makes little room for the integrative approach to ambiguity and ambivalence and thus paralyzes the interpretive act by confining it to the binary logic. The human psyche is very capable of producing polysemous texts, ambivalent attitudes, and contradictory or irrational thoughts, whether as a part of our conscious defensive mechanisms or simply a sign of our unconscious processes, especially when under conflicting, strenuous, and borderline circumstances, such as imperialistic oppression. The Deuteronomist is no exception.

Terms and Presuppositions

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story

From the "Deuteronomistic History" to the "Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story"

Even though I agree with current scholarship that Deuteronomy–Kings must be taken as a literary whole, the label "Deuteronomistic History" is problematic. While Deuteronomy–Kings undeniably contains bits and pieces of historical facts, whether it could be qualified as "history," a term loaded with modernist and ideological assumptions, is questionable. Ehud Ben Zvi has pointed out that the concept of "history" is an evolutionary, socio-culturally situated, and

heterogeneous concept and that ancient historical writings are diverse in genres.[70] In our post-Enlightenment era, "history" is commonly conceptualized as the past "as it actually was" and the causation of historical events is attributed to solely human and natural agency. Modern historians emphasize empirical evidence, historical authenticity, and source reliability in their search for what actually happened. Noth's concept of "history" bears some of these modernist assumptions. He assumes that the "Deuteronomistic History" is written by an objective, disinterested historian who endeavors to reconstruct the events of the past by carefully examining the traditions at his disposal and arranging them faithfully into a chronologically coherent narrative even at the expense of the narrative integrity. Undoubtedly, Noth has applied a modernist genre of "history" and "authorship" anachronistically to the ancient world, yet his "Deuteronomistic History" can hardly be regarded as history in the modern sense of the term. To do so is to create a genre confusion and to mislead the modern readers, who are inevitably influenced by genre expectation and thus unconsciously prone to treat Deuteronomy–Kings as a matter of "facts." Even scholars are bound to be influenced by the epistemological paradigm of his/her/hir time and bear a different set of assumptions about how history is to be narrated and the kind of perspective and historical judgment to be imposed on interpreting the past. Noth is no exception. Noth's view is clearly influenced by the post-Enlightenment ideal of a disinterested, objective, and neutral historian.

Because of queries over the propriety of the term "history" as a qualifier for the narratives in Deuteronomy–Kings, numerous scholars are in favor of abandoning the term "Deuteronomistic History" in toto or replacing it with a more descriptive genre, such as the term "Deuteronomistic

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[70] See Ehud Ben Zvi, "General Observation on Ancient Israelite Histories in Their Ancient Contexts," in *Enquire of the Former Age: Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 22–39.

Historiography," as used in a recent volume edited by Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi.[71] However, if "historiography" is defined as a literary genre and not as an umbrella for any narrative that purportedly describes the past with a certain amount of objectivity, then it is arguable whether or not Deuteronomy–Kings can be called "historiography." As a critical tradition that treats the past as a subject of inquiry or research (ἱστορία), historiography first sprang from the "Ionian enlightenment" of the sixth century B.C.E. in Asia Minor with the early Greek historians' attempts to sift historical facts from the traditional mythological genealogies and arrange them in a narrative with a chronological scheme; the tradition had gradually developed into a literary genre that represents the events and people of the past in chronological order and a causal concatenation in the fifth century B.C.E.[72] The genre was developed consequential to the Greeks' search for a Greek collective identity in the midst of their military conflict with the Persians. The early Greek historians made endeavors to write

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[71] See Thomas L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1992), 372–83; idem, "Israelite Historiography," in *ABD*, 3: 206–07; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Does "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DtrH) Exist?" in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 388–98; see other articles in de Pury, Römer, and Macchi, eds., *Israel Constructs Its History*. For an instance of abandoning the idea of "Deuteronomistic History," see Philip R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel": A Study in Biblical Origins* (2d ed.; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015); cf. idem, *Whose Bible Is It Anyway?* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 133.

[72] See Lester L. Grabbe, "Who Were the First Real Historians? On the Origins of Critical Historiography," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 162–80. The term "historiography" has been variously defined by scholars, from the maximalist definition of any narrative that purportedly describes the past, even with some allowance for mythic, epic, and folkloristic elements, to the minimalist definition that emphasizes a critical attitude towards the past akin to a rational inquiry in Greek historiography. For instance, see Alexander Uchitel, "Local versus General History in Old Hittite Historiography," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 55. The maximalist definition of historiography is too broad and runs the risks of turning "historiography" into a malleable empty signifier, whose definition is subject to a set of nodal points given in a particular *Zeitgeist*, making "historiography" a floating literary genre with infinite manifestations. Such a definition is not conducive to scholarly discussion. For definitions of historiography akin to a maximalist position in biblical scholarship, see John Van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Havens: Yale University Press, 1983); Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988); Diane V. Edelman, "Clio's Dilemma: The Changing Face of History-Writing," in *Congress Volume Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 247–56; Ehud Ben Zvi, "General Observation on Ancient Israelite Histories in Their Ancient Contexts," 22–39. For an instance of a minimalist definition of historiography, see Lester L. Grabbe, "Who Were the First Real Historians?," 156–81.

prose narratives of their recent past in terms of human and rational causation that take into

consideration observable facts and eye-witness accounts, as well as their plausibility and

authenticity. "Historiography" in this sense requires a conscious and earnest, even if inadequate,

effort to find out what actually happened (history) and not to make up what might have happened

(fiction),[73] in spite of the fact that the Greek historians did employ rhetorical techniques of

fictional genres in historical narration.[74] However, even attempts were made to "demythologize"

the accounts of the past from the mythic and fictive elements,[75] the teleological view that history

is governed by some metaphysical forces nonetheless still permeated the works of many early

Greek historians, and many of their accounts contain anecdotal, folkloristic, and epical

elements.[76]

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[73] According to Aristotle's *Poetics* (IX.1451ᵇ), this is the basic distinction between history and poetry (tragedy). The former deals with what actually happen (the particulars) and the latter deals with what might happen (the universals). See F. W. Walbank, "History and Tragedy," *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 9/2 (1960): 216–34; B. L. Ullman, "History and Tragedy," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 7 (1942): 25–53; G. Giovannini, "The Connection between Tragedy and History in Ancient Criticism," *Philological Quarterly* 22 (1943): 308–14. For an English translation of Aristotle's *Poetics,* see *Aristotle Volume XXIII* (trans. Stephen Halliwell et al.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1-142.

[74] For the non-accommodating insistence on excluding fictive and mythic elements from the genre of historiography, see Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Persian Kings and History," 99–100. Johan Huizinga's definition of history as "*an intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past*" presupposes such a critical attitude to the search of historical truth to the exclusion of fictive elements. (See Johan Huizinga, "A Definition of the Concept of History," in *Philosophy & History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* [ed. Raymond Paton; New York: Harper & Row, 1963], 6 and 9.) In light of this presupposition, Thomas L. Thompson ("Israelite Historiography," *ABD*, 207–209) aptly points out that John Van Seters (*In Search of History*, 1–5) has misrepresented Huizinga's definition of history to include mythic elements. For the relationship between history and fiction, the use of literary strategies and the modes of emplotment in historical representation, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

[75] To this rational approach to boil myths down to their historical kernels, I refer to the attempts of early mythographers, such as Hecataeus of Miletus of the late sixth century and early fifth century B.C.E. See J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York: MacMillan, 1909), 19–21.

[76] See A. E. Wardman, "Myth in Greek Historiography," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 9 (1960): 403–13. Even though Lester L. Grabbe ("Who Were the First Real Historians?," 160) considers Herodotus, Thucydides, and other ancient Greek historians as the first historians who demonstrated a critical attitude towards the past and healthy skepticism on accounts of the past, he nevertheless makes the following comment on Herodotus's *Histories*: "Herodotus uses folktales, genealogies, hearsay, eyewitness reports and official records as sources for his work and does not challenge their validity as accurate reports about the past, as a modern historian would." See also Jack M. Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun: Problems in Ancient Persian Historiography* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH: 1987), 19–20. For some Greek historians' inclusion of mythic elements in the concept of history and their struggle to restrain these elements in their historiographical methods, see Doron Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 37–38.

In contrast to the Greek epic writers in the past, Herodotus in his rational approach to the past turned the deities from the principal agents of history to its hidden movers. A deliberate effort to refrain from the use of mythic and epic elements and metaphysical explanations came only after Herodotus. Thucydides is usually considered the first historian who seeks to provide strictly rational explanations for human activities and simultaneously acknowledge the significance of the deities as a shaping force in history only in terms of human religiosity, beliefs, and their search for divine guidance.[77] While there was an unquestionable attempt to preclude divine agency in the interpretation of history, the Greek historians' clinging to their sacred worldviews has prevented a rupture in the genre translation of historical writings. Overall, the genre is still temporally closer to the compositional time of Deuteronomy–Kings. With its discernible amount of narratives that highlights direct, supernatural divine interventions in the course of human events and the heroic legends of judges and prophets, mythic and folkloristic elements, it is doubtful if Deuteronomy–Kings could be properly called a "historiography," in the Greek sense of the literary genre.[78] The way that myth, legend, and history are creatively combined in Deuteronomy–Kings is reminiscent of the worldview found in the chronographic texts and historical narratives of ancient Southwest Asia, in which the historical and fictive elements are never quite differentiated. This creative weaving of historical material with fictive ingredients is what Elizabeth Bellamy would have called an "epic history."[79] In order to avoid

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[77] See A. W. Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 157–58; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 14–15.

[78] Even Thomas L. Thompson hesitates to qualify the prose narratives in the Hebrew Bible as historiography proper, in spite of the fact that his article is called "Israelite Historiography" (*ABD*, 207): "Greek historiography developed among the logographoi 'prose writers.' … Although it is commonplace today to refer to 'the historical books,' to Deuteronomistic and even Yahwistic 'histories,' to 'patriarchal biographies' and a 'court history' of David, an equivalent of the word 'history' does not exist in Hebrew, and a developed genre of historiography is particularly difficult to associate with the kind of prose narratives collected in the Hebrew Bible. Historiography proper seems unlikely to have been part of the Palestinian literary culture prior to the Hellenistic period."

[79] Elizabeth J. Bellamy, *Translations of Power: Narcissism and the Unconscious in Epic History* (Ithaca and

genre confusion or genre expectations created by the modernist notion of history or the Herodotean notion of historiography, I prefer to use the term "Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story" for the designation of Deuteronomy–Kings. The term serves to retain the genre ambiguity of Deuteronomy–Kings and dissociate itself from any presuppositions of historicity, reliability, and authenticity of its narratives, suggesting that it contains both historically verifiable material (history) and fictive elements (story) and that the line between history and fiction is blurred. The expression "(hi)story" is adopted for expediency, since I could not find in the English language a neutral term that could convey this ambiguity.[80]

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story in Its Larger Literary Context

Not only does the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story bear similarities to Attic tragedies and Greek historiography, but it also displays elements that are characteristic of ancient Southwest Asian literature. The hybrid outlook of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a result of diverse influence from Yehud's rich cultural and linguistic surroundings. Situated in the southern Levant, Judah/Yehud had been at different times subjugated by the major imperial powers in its surroundings—Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks—and had active commercial relations with them. The Judean/Yehudite elites were under the influence of a diversity of literary traditions and intellectual ideas through cultural exchanges and the circulation of oral and written traditions. Ancient cultural artifacts and literary traditions could travel far and propagate widely with the voluntary and forced migratory movements of people, and were subject to syncretistic influence of their new host country.[81] Persian imperialism,

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London: Cornell University Press, 1992); see Chapter 2 for further elaboration.

[80] However, I have found numerous terms that convey such ambiguity in other languages, such as 故事 (*gùshì*) in Chinese, *Geschichte* in German, *storia* in Italian, *história* in Portuguese, *historie* in Danish, *histoire* in French, *ἱστορία* in Greek, *історія* in Ukranian, and *historia* in Latin.

[81] For instance, the earliest Aramaic version of the Story of Ahiqar, dated to the late fifth century B.C.E., is a single papyrus manuscript discovered by the German excavators of ancient Elephantine in Egypt. The manuscript consists of two components, the story of Ahiqar and the wisdom of Ahiqar, which is a collection of aphorisms, riddles,

characterized by ethnic diversity, high mobility of people, social and economic interactions, and

exchanges of cultural and intellectual ideas, had proven to be a powerful catalyst in the exchange

of cultural and intellectual ideas. Many of the cultural artifacts discovered within the Persian

territories attest to the regularity and persistence of cultural syncretism through the interactions

among different ethnic groups within the empire.[82] On the one hand, the Achaemenids were

themselves keen to adapt the literary themes and rhetorical strategies of the Mesopotamians. The

Cyrus Cylinder and Darius I's Bīsitūn Inscription were essentially composed in the style of

Mesopotamian literary tradition.[83] The genre of Babylonian chronicles was adopted by the

Persians and continued to be used even in the Hellenistic period.[84] On the other hand, Arnold

Momigliano has long pointed out that Achaemenid themes and storytelling techniques, along

with Mesopotamian epic style, also shaped the development of Attic tragedies, Greek

historiography, and late biblical literature.[85]

   Persian imperialism and diasporic experience had undoubtedly shaped the literary

production of many Greek historians of Persia. Many of them were either Persian subjects

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fables, instructions, and other sayings. The collection would presumably have been brought from Assyria. The copy of the Story of Ahiqar found in Elephantine corroborates that Mesopotamian literature could migrate from Southwest Asia to as far as Egypt, and presumably continued to be circulated orally among the Aramaic-speaking peoples in the first millennium B.C.E. See James M. Lindenberger, "Ahiqar: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009), 2:479–507.

[82] There were various kinds of hybridized artifacts, such as Greek vases with Persian motifs, Lydian seals with Persian iconography, a Persian-style glass bowl with Egyptian talisman, Persian adaptation of Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian architecture styles, and Greek murals with Persian motifs. Persianized iconography had penetrated other imperial territories, and Greek arts had spread eastbound. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 89–90, 226–44, 502–03, 701–04; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. (2 vols.; New York: Routledge, 2007), 2:538, 830, 870–71; Lindsay Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History* (London: The Bristish Museum Press, 2005), 91–95, 154–55.

[83] See M. Rahim Shayegan, *Aspects of History and Epic in Ancient Iran: From Gaumāta to Wahnām* (Hellenic Studies 52; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 84–85; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Persian Kings and History," 91.

[84] See Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (SBLWAW 19; Atlanta: SBL, 2004), 240–62.

[85] Arnaldo Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), 21–35; see also Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:158, 159 n. 1; C. John Herington, Introduction to *Persians and Other Plays* by Aeschylus (trans. Janet Lembke and C. John Herington; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3–26.

residing in Persian territories or served for an extensive period as Persian collaborators residing in the royal house or travelling with the Persian army, and thus they were familiar with Persian practices, customs, traditions, and ideas.[86] Their contact with the Persian world had subsequently shaped their literary production. This kind of cultural impact rings true also for the implied Yehudite writers of the book of Ezra and the book of Nehemiah, who were Persian officials in charge of Yehud's regional affairs. The high mobility of ethnic groups, in particular the Persian collaborators, and the attested migration of various cultural artifacts, including literary traditions, support the thesis of cultural and literary confluence between Yehudite elite and the neighboring civilizations. The frequent contact between ethnic groups, the Persians' cooptation and relocation of imperialized elites, their pragmatism and flexibility in local administration, and Yehudites' geographical and cultural proximity to Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syro-Phoenicia within a culturally and linguistically diverse milieu catered to the exchanges of culturally specific art forms and intellectual thoughts, engendering many hybrid art forms and creative ideas. Under Persian rule, Greek populations (such as deportees, iconographers, merchants, artists, and laborers) were scattered throughout the empire, bringing with them their cultural heritage. Although evidence in support of the regular exchanges between the Yehudites and the Greeks is lacking, sporadic contacts are attested.[87] Under the population displacement policy of the Persian empire, it is likely that the cultural encounter between the Yehudites and the Greeks was more common than the sporadic contacts suggest.

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[86] These Greek historians include Scylas of Caryanda, Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus, Xanthus the Lydian, Dionysius of Miletus, Hellanicus of Mytelene, Charon of Lampsacus, Ctesias of Cnidus, and Xenophon. See Arnaldo Momigliano. *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1990), 9–10.

[87] For instance, there is evidence of Jewish officials working for the Persian satrap of Dascylium in Asia Minor. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 502.

Moreover, on the level of material culture, there is archaeological evidence for the Yehudites' use of imported Greek earthenware and artifacts.[88] In the early Persian period, Greek material culture pervaded the Levantine coastal zone and continued to penetrate into the inlands.[89] While it is impossible to obtain tangible evidence for the Yehudites' import of Greek literary traditions and intellectual ideas, traces of such influence may be inferred and sustained through resemblance observed between the Greek literature and biblical literature.[90] Many scholars have pointed out that the "Deuteronomistic History" (or the "Primary History" [Genesis–Kings]) shares many rhetorical characteristics, literary motifs, and thematic progression with the Attic tragedies and Greek historiography, in particular Herodotus' *Histories*, which suggests that the "Deuteronomistic History" is likely to have stemmed from a literary context much later than biblical scholars originally presupposed.[91] Biblical scholars in the 80s or before tended to argue for a literary precedence of the "Deuteronomistic History" or "Primary History" over Greek historiography and the latter's dependence on the former. However, there is a growing number of biblical scholars in the past three decades who reverse

[88] Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (trans. by Essa Cindorf; Warminster, England and Jerusalem: Aris and Phillips and Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 93–157.

[89] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:538; David Vanderhooft, "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era; Papers Read at the First Meeting of the European Association for Biblical Studies, Utrecht, 6–9 August 2000* (ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 233; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), 411.

[90] For instance, see Doron Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*; idem, *Identity, Religion and Historiography: Studies in Hellenistic History* (JSPSup 24; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

[91] See Henry Thatcher Fowler, "Herodotus and the Early Hebrew Historians," *JBL* 49 (1930): 207–17; John Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 8–54; Burke O. Long, *1 Kings: With an Introduction to Historical Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1984), 15–30; Mark A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 16–17; Sara Mandell and David Noel Freedman, *The Relationship between Herodotus'* History *and Primary History* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1993); W. Lee Humphreys, *The Tragic Vision and the Hebrew Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985); Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*; Jan-Wim Wesselius, "Discontinuity, Congruence and the Making of the Hebrew Bible," *SJOT* 13 (1999): 24–77; Christine Mitchell, "Why the Hebrew Bible Might Be All Greek to Me: On the Use of the Xenophonic Corpus in Discussion of Biblical Literature," in *Enquire of the Former Age: Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel* (ed. by Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 57–76. See also Niels Peter Lemche, "The Old Testament: A Hellenistic Book?"; idem, "Shechem Revisited."

the direction of influence.[92] If the cultural developments of the southern Levant and its

surrounding neighbors are assessed and compared synchronically, it is more reasonable to

conclude the biblical writers' literary dependence on the Greek historians. As I have pointed out,

the ethnic diversity and mobility of the Persian period expedited cultural exchanges between

Yehud and its neighbors. The Deuteronomist were likely to be acquainted with the Attic

tragedies and Greek historiography, to have been exposed to the burgeoning Hellenism spurred

by Persian expansionism, and to have incorporated Greek rhetorical strategies, thematic

structure, and literary motifs into the production of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story.[93] The

Deuteronomist belonged to the Yehudite elite, and thus they were likely to have acquainted with

Greek literature.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story in Relation to Greek Historiography and Ancient Southwest

Asian Literature

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story does reflect its producers' sense of historical consciousness

akin to that of the Greek historians. Political ideologies, thematic elements, literary features, and

rhetorical devices hitherto unseen in ancient Southwest Asian literature yet commonly employed

in Greek historiography are found in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. In the Greek tradition,

historiography is regarded as a branch of rhetoric, and thus the Greek historians had little

scruples to employ rhetorical devices even in historical narration. Tragic emplotment, insertion

of imagined speeches by the characters, dramatization, serial causality, source authentication,

and the establishing of authority (or narrative credibility) are some prominent rhetorical devices

used by the Greek historians and Attic tragedians, but they are also traceable in the

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[92] Such as those listed in n. 91.
[93] For an instance of Hellenization during the Persian period, see Eric A. Raimond, "Hellenization and Lycian Cults during the Achaemenid Period," in *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (ed. Christopher Tuplin; Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007), 143–62.

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. Among the Greek playwrights, Aeschylus was found to be the first to have adopted contemporary history, in contrast to the mythological stories of the past, as a theme of tragedy in his play *The Persians.* Thus, Attic tragedy could be regarded as the precursor of Greek historiography. When Herodotus's *Histories* first appeared as a critical approach to the past, the subject of inquiry was limited to contemporary yet universal history. Herodotus is not only interested in the search for a Greek identity consequential to their military conflict between the Persians. He also highlights the ethnographical details of the Greeks' neighboring countries in the Persian empire in order to underscore the Greek's uniqueness. Thus, historiography began as a literary genre with the focus on contemporary history of universal scope and became, whether intentionally or inadvertently, a means of collective identity formation.

History of a specific locality or of the remote past came only as subsequent developments to this pioneering form of contemporary, universal history.[94] While accounts of a single and contemporary, localized event are found in the Hittite literature of the late second millennium B.C.E., such as the "Siege of Urshu" and the "Apology of Hatušilli," extensive local history containing rhetorical devices seen in the critical historiographical tradition of the Greeks did not begin until the late fifth century by the Attidographer Hellancius.[95] It was an ethnography written by an insider to recount the collective experiences of the ethnic group, with "a romantic nostalgia for the golden past."[96] The genre was later adopted by the non-Greeks in their literary production and search for their own political history under foreign hegemony, and it became a prominent genre in the fourth century under the influence of Hellenism. The Babylonian priest Berossus's three-part *Babyloniaca* (dating to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century

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[94] See Charles Williams Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 1–45.

[95] Alexander Uchitel, "Local versus General History in Old Hittite Historiography," 60–61.

[96] Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 20.

B.C.E.) and the Egyptian priest Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (dating to the beginning of the third century B.C.E.) are part of this literary trend. As native Hellenist historians, both Berossus and Manetho demonstrated the antiquity, eminence, and various achievements of their own people before their land was overtaken by foreign overlords.[97] Their works reflect the concern over the search for an ethnic identity and assertion of their collective worth through the inquiry of their native history consequential to their subjugation by the Persians and then the Hellenes. In addition, their works continue to display the creative (that is, inventive) approach traceable to the ancient Egyptian and Southwest Asian literature, and thus Doron Mendels classifies them as "creative historiography," as opposed to what he calls "rationalistic historiography" stemming from the critical traditions of Herodotus and Thucydides.[98] To Mendels, the Jewish literature of the third and second centuries B.C.E. was a part this "nationalistic" trend of localized history in the Hellenistic period, in which the "nationalistic" iconic significance of Jerusalem and its temple was already established in Yahwism.[99]

Imperialism and Hellenism became two of the main catalysts in the cultural invention of historiography as a literary genre. In contrast to the chronographic texts and historical narratives of ancient Southwest Asia that were produced by the "victors," namely the great imperial powers, historiography in the Greek tradition first emerged as a counter-hegemonic narrative of the imperialized, first by the Greeks under their Persian imperializer and subsequently by other imperialized peoples within the Persian-Hellenist imperial continuum. A new trend in historical writings had burgeoned among the Greeks in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. and gradually gained popularity among other ethnic groups within the Persian and Hellenist world in the subsequent

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[97] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1:251; Breisach, *Historiography*, 24–35; Mendels, *Identity, Religion, and Historiography*, 139–57.
[98] Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*, 38–39; idem, *Identity, Religion, and Historiography*, 357–78.
[99] Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*, 42–43.

centuries. Historical narratives were no longer monopolized by the victors, written for the purpose of legitimating and advancing their imperial career, as they were in ancient Southwest Asia, but they had become a counter-imperial measure and a means of constructing and affirming the collective identity of the imperialized. From a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective, the genre of local history written by the imperialized is a symbolic reclaiming of their sovereignty. Even if it does not change the course of their imperialized reality, it serves to boost their collective ego, along with their ethnic identity, which has been systematically attacked and damaged by the imperializer.[100] Arguably, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, with its clear teleological aim of creating Yahwistic "Israelite" (read Yehudite) community, belonged to this general trend of "nationalistic" local history.

Many literary and rhetorical features typical of Greek historiography are also found in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. As noted above, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story displays a similar thematic progression or tragic emplotment found in Attic tragedies and Greek historiography, in particular Herodotus's *Histories*.[101] There are a few more noteworthy similarities. First, both of them contain numerous rhetorical features that are trademarks of oral literature written for oral performance or derived from oral traditions. Their common oral features include episodic framework through which isolated yet detailed stories are linked, resonances and repetitions typical of folkloristic motifs, stock situations (such as court-novels, murders, assassinations, palace-intrigues, women's intervention in politics), ring (concentric) structures, and the prominence of speech acts.[102] These oral features suggest that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story was

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[100] See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (trans. Richard Philcox; New York: Grove Press, 2004), 148; trans. of *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1961). For the psychopathological effect of imperialism on the imperialized, see pp. 111-131 below.

[101] For detailed comparison of the tragic emplotment in Greek historiography and the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, see Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*, in particular 114–60; Mandell and Freedman, *The Relationship between Herodotus' History and Primary History*, 55–175.

[102] See Oswyn Murray, "Herodotus and Oral History," in *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources: Proceedings of*

written for public readings or oral performances, which should not come as a surprise

considering that in an ancient society even the aristocracy was predominantly illiterate.[103]

Moreover, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story's homiletic, didactic tone also suggests an institutional

context of its public performances.

Second, both the Greek historiography and the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story show a

predilection to include creative elements and to produce dramatic effects in plot, themes, motifs,

and speech acts. Like the Greek historians, the Deuteronomist frequently resorted to

sensationalization through the inclusion of exaggerations, anecdotal stories, portents, marvels,

and erotic elements, and to sentimentalization by embellishing the narratives with attributive

speeches and giving the readers/auditors privy to exclusively insider stories.[104] Dramatization in

narration is a rhetorical strategy that the Greek historians inherited from the Greek tragedians to

increase the pleasurable effects of the narratives by stirring up the readers'/auditors' emotions

and even erotic excitations. Deviating from the critical historiographical tradition initiated by

Herodotus and Thucydides, subsequent Greek historians had demonstrated a growing propensity

to dramatize, sensationalize, and sentimentalize historical accounts, an aspect of Greek

historiography against which Polybius of the second century B.C.E. was an ardent critic.[105] The

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the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 95–115; for a list of literary features that characterize orality, see Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 8–24.

[103] For the view of the performative (oral) context of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story in particular and the Hebrew Bible in general, see August Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch* (Leipizig: A. Deichert, 1907); Douglas A. Knight, "Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomists," in *Old Testament Interpretation* (ed. James L. Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent H. Richards; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 68; Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word*; Raymond F. Person, Jr., *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 83–101. Because of the presumed performative nature of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, I have all along used the term "readers/auditors" to designate the recipient side of the signifying process.

[104] For the Greek poets' and historians' use of attribute speeches, see Breisach, *Historiography*, 17. An example of the Deuteronomist's presentation of insider stories in the Solomonic narrative is the encounter between Jeroboam and Ahijah in the field (1 Kgs 11:29).

[105] See ibid., 33–34; Robert B. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 11–12; F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 38; Ullman, "History and Tragedy," 40–43.

Deuteronomist's tendency to dramatize seems to be a part of this late rhetorical trend among the Greek historians to treat historical themes in a poetic way, to infuse sensational and sentimental elements into history reminiscent of mimetic poetics advocated by Aristotle, blurring the distinction between history and tragedy.[106] In particular, the Deuteronomist's tendency to draw universal principles and moral lessons from their repetitive presentation of Israel's (or its kings') cyclic apostasy and repentance interwoven with YHWH's punitive acts and deliverance is akin to Greek tragedies, in which a set of metaphysical universals derived from the experiential domain is represented with fictive plots in the mythological world of the gods.[107] Thus, the distinction of tragedy and history is definitely blurred in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. Relevant to my study, I will delineate in the chapters to follow how the Solomonic narrative is subtly sensationalized and sentimentalized, or in psychoanalytic language semiotized and eroticized, to invest the narratives with libidinal energy and increase their pleasurable effects.

Third, the Deuteronomist, like the Greek historians, had composed their work by combining received traditions and collected archival documents. In other words, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a result of conscious historical research, however uncritical and inadequate it may appear to modern readers. As Noth already noted in his original thesis, the Deuteronomist imposed a grand chronological framework, notably the twelve-generation (480 years) scheme from the exodus to the building of the Solomonic temple and the synchronic chronology of Israel and Judah, on the disparate traditions to form a concatenation of narratives in a temporal sequence.[108] The temporal extensiveness (about 700 years) and structural complexity of such a

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[106] See Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX. According to Aristotle, the poets are concerned with the imitations of actions of men (*mimesis*) to arouse fear and pity for emotional catharsis, whereas the historians are concerned with the descriptions of particular events. To Aristotle, the treatment of universals, which serves a moral end, is superior to the treatment of particulars, which is descriptive in itself.

[107] The Deuteronomist's repeated connection of the collective survival of the ethnic group to the practice of exclusive Yahwism reflects an Aristotelian ideal of poetry rather than a Herodotean notion of history.

[108] Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 18–25.

chronological framework deviated from the chronographically practice of ancient Southwest Asia, but they stand closer to the narrative history of the ancient Greeks.[109] What is peculiar about the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is that cyclical configurations of a theological nature are set within a linear course of historical time, which seems to be a transposition of the chronological framework to serve the Deuteronomist's ideological agenda.

Fourth, noteworthy is the Deuteronomist's perceived need to authenticate their accounts and sources (an aspect unseen in ancient Southwest Asian chronograph and historical narratives) through various rhetorical strategies that are reminiscent of those used by the Greek historians. First of all, they used the rhetorical strategy of "source-citations," explicitly informing their readers/auditors of their knowledge of "official documents," such as royal annals and chronicles,[110] and implying their dependence on these sources and thus the authenticity of their accounts. The Greek historians used the rhetorical strategy of "source-citations," but merely as a claim of authority. For instance, Ctesias claimed to have used royal documents for his *Persian History*, but many scholars argue that he actually collected his material from court hearsays while he was a court physician of the Persian royal house.[111] Similarly, Herodotus traced back his source, but it has been suggested that Herodotus's "source-citations" were rhetorical devices to bolster his credibility.[112] It is impossible to prove the existence or the literary genre of these

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[109] On the chronological framework of Greek historiography, in particular the "generation count as a chronological tool" and some Greek examples, see Breisach, *Historiography*, 10–11. See also Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*, 25. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story's temporal scope is comparable to the "universal history" written by Ephorus (440–330 B.C.E.), which covered a period of 700 years from the remote time of Heraclides to the conquest of Perinthus in 340 B.C.E. He wrote twenty-nine books, and his son Demophilus added the thirtieth book.
[110] For instance, the Book of Jashar (Josh 10:13) and the Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:41); see p. 7 for other archival sources that the Deuteronomist purportedly used. For different views on the existence, dating, and the possible literary genre of the Book of the Acts of Solomon, see J. Liver, "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 75–101.
[111] Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 380. See Chapter 6, for a similar rhetorical strategy of authenticity claim used by Josephus for his accounts of Hiram the Tyrian king.
[112] D. Fehling, *Herodotus and His 'Sources': Citation, Invention and Narrative Art* (Arca 21; Liverpool: Cairns, 1989), 168–70; see Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*, 36–43.

sources purportedly used by the Deuteronomist. They could have been non-existent archival documents devised by the Deuteronomist to buttress the authenticity of their accounts, on the one hand, or they may have been real sources at their disposal. In the case of the latter, their literary genre, authenticity, and reliability are still subject to speculation.[113] They could be real official records, compilations of legendary stories, or propagandistic writings produced hundreds of years later. The genre of chronicles is very malleable, functional, and subject to genre pretension and translation. For instance, the Weidner Chronicle and the Akitu Chronicle were written as cultic propaganda.[114] In the case of the Weidner Chronicle, it was written centuries after the events purportedly happened in the nineteenth century B.C.E. These "chronicles" were not written for historical keeping but as cultic propaganda written to criticize the Babylonian or Assyrian king for his cultic and sacrificial negligence.[115] Their producers took advantage of the translatability of the literary genre to promote the interest of the cult by appealing to events that purportedly happened in the past in support of a present practice. It is arguable if the official documents cited by the Deuteronomist belonged to a translated genre of "chronicles" and the Deuteronomist continued to manipulate the translatability of these "chronicles." It is beyond doubt that the Deuteronomist used source-citations for the purpose of authenticating their narratives.

A second rhetorical strategy already noticed by many scholars, such as von Rad and Weippert, but generally regarded as a unifying device is the scheme of prophecy (or promise) and fulfillment.[116] Julia Kindt in a recent article, "Delphic Oracle Stories and the Beginning of

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[113] For similar views, see Van Seters, *In Search of History,* 140, 301–02; de Wette, *Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*, 2:241.

[114] "Weidner Chronicle," translated by Aland Millard, *COS* 1.138:468–70; for Glassner's translation of the Akitu Chronicle, see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 212–15.

[115] See also Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 88, 295–96. For more on the genre translatability of "chronicles," see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 256–90.

[116] See p. 9 above.

Historiography: Herodotus' *Croesus Logos*" (2006), convincingly argued that oracles, predictions, and omens not only reflect the worldview of the ancient Greeks but also serve to establish the credibility and authority of the author as a researcher and a narrator.[117] Through her analysis of the *Croesus logos* in Herodotus's *Histories*, Kindt demonstrates oracles, predictions, and omens provide a "retrospective and prospective view on history" that builds on Herodotus's observation, investigation, and arguments, which in turn supports his credibility and authority. Thus, oracles become a paradigmatic rhetorical vehicle of a metaphysical nature to imbue the author with greater authority.[118] Similarly, the prophecy-and-fulfillment scheme in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story serves the same rhetorical function not so much to bolster the authority of the anonymous writer but the authority of the text itself. The speeches of anticipation and retrospection, one of the unifying devices that Noth puts forth in his original thesis, may also be regarded as part of this rhetorical strategy of authenticity.[119] The scheme of prophecy and fulfillment functions as more than a unifying device to provide the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story with a sense of coherence and structural unity. It is also a rhetorical device to establish the authority of the text, which reflects the Deuteronomist's concern with the readers'/auditors' reception of the narratives, and they used the sacred worldview of their times in support of narrative authenticity.

A third rhetorical strategy of authenticity employed by both the Greek historians and the Deuteronomist is the use of stories of verifiable, perhaps tangible, objects and contemporaneous phenomena with which their first readers/auditors were presumably familiar and could relate. These stories may be etiological or non-etiological in nature. They typically were introduced by

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[117] Julia Kindt, "Delphic Oracle Stories and the Beginning of Historiography: Herodotus' *Croesus Logos,*" *Classical Philology* 101 (2006): 34–51.
[118] Ibid., 44–49.
[119] Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 9, 75.

or concluded with the rhetorical formula "it still exists to this day" or simply "to this day."[120] The sense of familiarity established by these stories would increase the credibility of the narratives. In his 1963 study of the "until this day" formula in biblical texts, Brevard S. Childs has already noticed that both the Greek historians and the biblical writers use the formulaic expression in both etiological and non-etiological stories.[121] He concludes that in the majority of the biblical occurrences this formulaic expression was added secondarily to the original stories by the biblical writers as their "personal testimony," functioning to confirm a received tradition.[122] While Childs does not describe the biblical writers' "personal testimony" as a rhetorical strategy of authenticity, the gist of the writers' intent of providing empirical basis is implied in his arguments.

In sum, like the Greek historians, the Deuteronomist were concerned over establishing credibility, authenticity, and accuracy of their narratives, although they deviated from the set of criteria used by the Greek historians.[123] The Greek historians relied on personal field studies, eyewitness accounts, common sense, namely by judging the empirical possibility of the stories that they gathered, and they endeavored to divest their historical accounts of the mythological, epical, and supernatural elements. However, the Deuteronomist displayed little such critical attitude and retained much of the mythological, epical, and supernatural elements.[124] In many ways, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story reflects the historical consciousness that can be found in Greek historiography, in particular the genre of local history, but it also deviated from the Greek

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[120] For instance, see Herodotus, *Hist.* I.167, 181; II.99, 135, 154, 182; for the formulaic use of "to this day" in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, see for instance Deut 3:14; 10:8; Josh 5:9; 7:26; 8:28–29; 15:63; Judg 1:26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19; 18:12; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 9:9; 10:12; 13:18; 17:6; 19:24; 30:25; 2 Sam 4:3; 6:8; 1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:12; 12:19; 2 Kgs 8:22; 10:27; 14:7; 16:6; 17:23, 34, 41.
[121] Brevard S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula, 'Until This Day'," *JBL* 82 (1963): 279–92.
[122] Ibid., 292.
[123] Breisach, *Historiography*, 19–21.
[124] Having said this, it must be pointed out that the Deuteronomist seemed to be aware of the principle of verification through eyewitness accounts; see 1 Kgs 1:48; 10:7.

historiographical tradition with its presence of mythological, epical, and supernatural narrative details. It is not composed for keeping critical historical accounts but to convey a moral (cultic) lesson of exclusive Yahwistic worship and to shape a collective identity, even with unverifiable theological means. In this regard, it is reasonable to conclude that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a translated or modified genre based on the genre of Greek historiography, but without its critical attitude toward historical pursuit. It is an ethnocentric treatise based on a collective religious identity disguised as local history.[125]

In addition to the rhetorical strategies that I briefly put forth, there are a few ideologies that betray the late provenance of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)story. First, notably, kingship is portrayed as an institution that arose from democratic initiative, namely "consensus populi," yet its oppressive and tyrannical aspects were highlighted even at its inception. In his 1947 thesis of "primitive democracy," C. Umhau Wolf theorizes that in ancient Israel the ultimate source of political authority lies in the entire congregation of Israel; they had the power to install, accept,

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[125] Although Baruch Halpern (*The First Historians*) has also identified many literary and rhetorical features that I have pointed out in this section, including the Deuteronomist's employment of literary devices for narrative embellishments (such as dramatization, metaphorical language, and speech acts), use of received, whether oral or written, traditions and archival documents as sources, arrangement of sources into a chronological framework, inclusion of fictive, folkloristic and supernatural elements, and even their use of the prophecy and fulfillment and "to this date" formulae as rhetorical strategies, he nevertheless did not arrive at the conclusion that the "Deuteronomistic History" stands closer to Greek historiography than the historical writings of ancient Southwest Asia in terms of its literary and rhetorical features. Moreover, he has overlooked that the "Deuteronomistic History" follows the same thematic progression of Attic tragedy and uses explicit source-citations as a rhetorical strategy of authentication, which, as I have pointed out, is a feature not found in ancient Southwest Asian historical writings yet is characteristic in Greek historiography. Halpern's insentitivty to the diachronic differences in rhetorical and literary features, coupled with his tendency to treat these features synchronically, may have led to an oversight of these textual hints for the literary dependence between the "Deuteronomistic History" and the Greek historiography. Because of his adherence to the Crossian assumption, namely a monarchic Deuteronomistic Historian and an exilic redactor, he did not even consider a plausible Persian or Hellenistic compositional date of the "Deuteronomistic History." In addition, his over-confidence on the authenticity and credibility of the "historical" or "administrative" sources that he reconstructed from the biblical texts based on their supposedly elaborated and realistic outlook amounts to a confusion between realism and historicity. While I agree with many of Halpern's observations and theses, such as his emphasis on the Deuteronomist's antiquarian and historiographic interests, his broad, undifferentiated definitions of the terms "historical writing" and "historiography" and his large allowance for the inclusion of metaphysical language and supernatural elements in "historical writings" would inevitably lead to genre confusion and anachronistic expectations for the modern readers.

or reject a king; and civil deliberations were what led to mutual assent.[126] Even though Wolf's

observations were partially correct, his thesis is anachronistic and therefore unsustainable. He

takes the reliability and historicity of the biblical narratives at face value and attempts to

reconstruct a "primitive democracy" traceable even to the tribal era by organizing the biblical

narratives into a preconceived framework with modified definitions of modern critical terms,

putting incompatible notions such as dynastic succession together with democratic sovereignty.

He also neglects the fact that in the ancient Southwest Asian culture kingship had long been

considered a divine gift to humankind and its inception was mandated by the deities.[127]

Monarchy was a dominant (and thus non-conscious)[128] ideology being part of the sacral

worldview of the people of ancient Southwest Asia, which they came to accept as a matter of

facts without questioning its validity. There is no evidence that the monarchy was conceptualized

as an antithesis of theocracy in ancient Mesopotamian culture. Contrarily, it was regarded as the

very proof of it, namely divine sovereignty manifesting in human kingship.[129] It was not until

later in the fifth century B.C.E. that other forms of political organization were conceivable and

experimentalized in the Greek world, and a prototype of modern democracy developed, yet

survived only briefly, in Athens, the so-called Athenian democracy. In Greek literature, kingship

is described as a democratic reaction to unlawfulness and injustice leading to the inception of a

tyrant. The Herodotean story of the origins of Median kingship, though anecdotal and ahistorical,

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[126] C. Umhau Wolf, "Traces of Primitive Democracy," *JNES* 6 (1947): 98–108.
[127] See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 55–75.
[128] Roudiez (Introduction to *Revolution to Poetic Language* by Julia Kristeva [trans. Margaret Waller; New York: Columbia University, 1984], 8) defines the non-conscious as "the domain not subject to repression but not within the reach of consciousness either. This is an area covered by the notion of dominant ideology: the whole system of myths and prejudices that gives our view of society and of our place in it a specific orientation. It includes all those things that we take for granted, that we do not question because we assume they are true—not realizing that instead of being truths they are elaborate constructions that serve whatever group, class, or party is holding power."
[129] See William G. Lambert, "Kingship in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 54–70.

clearly follows this plot: The people collectively decided to install Deioces as a king to deliver justice and combat rampaging social ills, but Deioces ultimately became a tyrant and elevated himself above all his comrades.[130]

I will bring in another Herodotean tale, the so-called constitutional debate (*Hist.*, III.80–82), for further comparison. Just like the previous tale, the historicity of this tale is denied and in the storyline divine participation is excluded.[131] The tale illustrates an awareness of competitive political systems among the Persian subjects, at least in the western fringe of the Persian empire where democracy was permitted by the Persians as a form of local governance. After the seven Persian generals overthrew the imposter king, they gathered to decide the form of polity to be adopted. Otanes, Megabyzus, and Darius respectively presented a case for democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy. For my purposes, I will highlight only the pertinent parts. Otanes equated monarchy to tyranny. He delivered a speech on how the unpredictability of one man would ultimately result in hubris, excessive abusiveness, and despotism. The tyrant would do what he wants, including lawless acts, rapes of women, and killing of the innocent. He then advocated for the distribution of power to the people (democracy) and the equality before the law (ἰσονομία; isonomia).[132] Megabyzus concurred with Otanes's thoughts on monarchy, but he did not see democracy as a viable option, arguing that, without the necessary intellectual quality, the people would not know what is right and suitable and the rule of the many would end in chaos

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[130] See Herodotus, *Hist.* I.96–101; for a translation, see Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* (trans. A. D. Godley; 4 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920). For the identity of the Medes and the Herodotean tale's ahistorical nature, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:34–35.

[131] For the ahistoricity of the constitutional debate, see Patrick T. Brannan, "Herodotus and History: The Constitutional Debate Preceding Darius' Accession," *Traditio* 19 (1963): 427–38. To Brannan, Herodotus seized the (fictive) opportunity provided by the accession of Darius by interjecting his own view on constitutional issues current in Athens.

[132] For a succinct exposition on democracy, oligarchy, and various related concepts, see Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Democracy, Oligarchy, and the Concept of the 'Free Citizen' in the Late Fifth-Century Athens," *Political Theory* 11 (1983): 517–44. The concept of equality of all before the law occurs also in Herodotus's *Hist.* III.139–47.

(anarchy). He then advocated for oligarchy. Finally, Darius argued against both democracy and oligarchy, advocating for monarchy. Darius maintained that the rule of one man will eliminate the faction-generating and sanguinary competition among the oligarchs and the potential corruption of democracy. Needless to day, Darius won and eventually became the next Persian king.

The Deuteronomist's desacralized, disillusioned, pragmatist (or historically inevitable) view of kingship stands closer to the Persian concept of kingship, in which the king was never considered a god nor a son of god, begotten or adopted, as generally believed in ancient Southwest Asia.[133] The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story's notable discrepancy to Herodotus's tales is the inclusion of divine intervention or participation; other than this, the ideological and literary resemblance is truly remarkable. The motifs of democratic demand of kingship, its rise of kingship out of internal conflicts, and concern over maintaining social order, the king's self-elevation above his comrades and the law, and the description of monarchy turning into despotism are present in both the Herodotean tale of the rise of Median kingship and the Hebrew Bible, in particular the narratives on the inception of Israelite kingship (1 Sam 8–12), the Law of the King (Deut 17:14–20), and, as I will argue in Chapter 8, the Solomonic Kingdom. Incidentally, the Deuteronomist's subjection of all Israelites to the covenantal obedience to the law (Torah), along with the subjection of the king to the law (Deut: 17:18–19), reflects the notion of equality (ἰσονομία), which is synonymous with democracy to the Greeks.[134] The fact that the Deuteronomist were able to conceptualize monarchy as an antithesis to theocracy,[135] anarchy (or

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[133] For the contrast between the concepts of divine kingship in ancient Southwest Asia and the concept of human kingship in the Persian and Hebrew worldivews, see Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948): 3–12, 337–44; for the Persian concept of kingship, see also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 241.
[134] Brannan, "Herodotus and History," 431–33.
[135] See Judg 8:22–24; 1 Sam 8:1–9; 12:6–12.

democracy in disguise) as an antithesis to monarchy,[136] and kingship as a human institution (stemming from democratic initiative and/or populous legitimation) whose oppressive nature is subject to criticism[137] presupposes a variety of competitive political systems and a desacralized, disillusioned view of monarchy. The inception of Israelite monarchy (1 Sam 8–12) may be regarded as a constitutional debate between monarchy and theocracy, and the epilogue of the book of Judges (chs. 18–21) may be read as a critique of democracy in the disguise of anarchy and a legitimation of the subsequent rise of monarchy.[138] Thus, these embedded ideologies of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story suggest a historical context of its production closer to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. It suffices to say that if the textual co-existence of competitive political systems is reflective of a particular historical context, the seeming discrepancy in political stance could not function as a diachronic criterion for source or redactional criticism. The political ambiguity and ambivalence reflect the historical Zeitgeist of contemporaneous politically contested ideas and competitive voices, rather than the diachronic layers.

Second, the Deuteronomist's repeated indictment for polytheistic practices and ardent and arduous advocacy for the exclusive worship of YHWH suggest that monolatry was not yet a reality at the time of composition. This Deuteronomistic feature contrasts with its absence in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It seems that by the time of the Chronicler, monolatry or monotheism had already become the dominant ideology and thus the Chronicler took the monotheistic ideology for granted. In contrast, the Deuteronomist were still striving to establish

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[136] See Judg 18–21.
[137] See Deut 17:14–20; Judg 8:22–24; 9:8–15; 1 Sam 8–12 (in particular 8:6–9; 10:19–20; 12:1, 13a); 1 Kgs 2:15; 11:24; 12:1–5; 12:20; 2 Kgs 14:21; 21:24; 23:30. In particular, Deut 17:14–20 bears the "Orientalist image" of despotic luxury, debauchery, sensuality, and degeneracy, which is reminiscent of the literary strategy of stereotyping employed by the Greek historians in their description of the Persian kings. See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:39–42.
[138] Christophe Nihan ("L'instauration de la monarchie en 1 Samuel," in *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* [ed. Thomas Römer; Bibiotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 147; Peeters: Leuven University Press, 2000], 149) describes 1 Samuel 8–12 as a debate over the institution of monarchy in relation to Yahweh's sovereignty (theocracy).

an ethnic-religious community of exclusive Yahwism. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story was written in a period in which monotheistic culture was not yet the dominant culture of Yehud. Concerning the persona of Solomon, both divine favoritism of Solomon (2 Sam 12:24–25) and the infamy of Solomon's multiple exogamous practices (1 Kgs 11:1–13) were cited by the writer of Nehemiah (Neh 13:26–27), which means that at least this part of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story was propagated and well known among the Yehudites. Solomon was already known as a contradictory figure, the beloved of YHWH who ultimately fell short of YHWH's endogamous demand. Note that the writer of Nehemiah cited Solomon as an archetypal exogamist (not an idolater) and counter-example against the Yehudites' rampaging exogamous practices with other ethnic groups in their surroundings. The writer was persuading the Yehudites to give up exogamy, not idolatry, which presumably ceased to be a prominent issue at the time. The divergence in persuasive force suggests that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story stems from an earlier historical context than these late books of the Hebrew Bible, namely from a context in which polytheism was still the dominant ideology in Yehud.

Third, the Deuteronomist made numerous references to the exile, return from the exile, and the vision of "homeland" restoration,[139] which means that the repatriation policy of Cyrus II was presupposed. The emphasis on the return of the deportees or their descendants also suggests that to the Deuteronomist the diasporic Yehudites had an indispensable role in the restoration of Yehud.[140] They were likely to be members of the diasporic Yehudite communities. Pertinent to my study, Solomon's temple dedicatory prayer (1 Kgs 8) presupposes the exile, diasporic life, and the hope of restoration. The temple is described as a place where justice is to be dispensed (vv. 31–32) and to which prayers should be directed by pious foreigners (vv. 29–30, 38, 41–43),

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[139] For instance, see Deut 4:20; 1 Kgs 8 (particularly v. 34).
[140] See Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel,"* 42.

soldiers in military campaign (vv. 44–45), and people in the land of captivity (vv. 47–48), with

its universal significance presumed.

Finally, the Deuteronomist's choice of political terms seems to reflect a Persian context of

production. Pertaining to the Solomonic narrative, the expression בכל־עבר הנהר "Beyond the

River" (1 Kgs 5:1, 5[Eng. 4:21, 24]) is used in reference to the Trans-Euphrates, a Persian

satrapy in which Yehud was a province (see Ezra 4:10; 8:26; Neh 2:7, 9; 3:7). Although the

expression is attested in the Neo-Assyrian period as a reference to the region west of the

Euphrates (from the perspective of the Assyrians), it was frequently used by the Persian

administration to refer to the satrapy of Trans-Euphrates.[141] The term פחה in the expression פחות

הארץ "the governors/satraps of the land" (1 Kgs 10:15) is a Neo-Babylonian loanword *paḫâti*, but

it is regularly used to designate satraps and regional governors (*pḥw'*) in the Persian period,

which is the predominant meaning found in the late books of the Hebrew Bible.[142] The term is

also used to denote Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian officials or governors.[143] Thus, its use as a

designation of the officials of the Solomonic Kingdom may be interpreted as the

Deuteronomist's introjective adoption of an imperial term, and it reflects more of a signifying

context of the Persian period.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, bearing numerous literary and rhetorical affinities to

contemporary history and local history in the Greek historiographical traditions, was likely a part

of this cultural Zeitgeist in search of an ethnic identity amidst foreign domination for the purpose

of identity construction, asserting and imagining the antiquity and the eminence of the

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[141] James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC 10; ed. Henry Snyder Gehman; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), 128; Mario Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (London: Equinox, 2005), 96, 314; trans. of *Oltre la Bibbia: Storia Antica di Israele* (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, 2003).

[142] Martin J. Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1998), 527–28; see Ezra 8:36; Neh 2:7, 9; 3:7; 5:14–15, 18; 12:26; Esth 3:12; 8:9; 9:3; Hag 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21; Mal 1:8.

[143] See 2 Kgs 18:24; Jer 51:23, 28, 57.

Yehudites' past as a great imperial force. Considering the thematic progression, common motifs, and rhetorical devices shared among the Attic tragedies, Greek historiography, and the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the circularity of Greek tragedies and historiography through public readings, and the effect of Hellenism in the fifth through the fourth centuries B.C.E.,[144] it is reasonable to assume that the Deuteronomist were familiar with Greek literature and adopted its literary structure and rhetorical strategies for the production of their own masterpiece. While the Deuteronomist did not follow rigidly the rules of Hellenistic rhetoric of historiography, they demonstrated familiarity, sensitivity, and receptivity to them.

Because of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story's affinity with the genre of local history, its earliest version was most likely conceived and written in the late Persian era, probably in the late fourth century B.C.E. during the Alexandrian period or shortly afterward. Since a substantial portion of the Hebrew Bible, at least the Torah and the Prophets, similar to the present form was already known to Ben Sira by approximately 200 B.C.E.,[145] and time allowance must be given to traditional development of the books of Chronicles, which are generally considered literally dependent on the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story and reflect a more developed stage of monotheistic Yahwism, the late fourth century is a reasonable compositional date for the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story.[146] I follow the view of some historians of the Persian empire that Alexander III,

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[144] See pp. 10–11 above for a brief summary of Nielsen's comparison of the "Deuteronomistic History" and Herodotus. For an example of the orality and circulation of Greek tragedies, Aeschylus's *The Persians* was performed publicly in Athens in 472 and became popular and adopted as school curriculum in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:765–79; Herington, Introduction to *The Persians and Other Plays*, 3–26. For a theory of orality of Greek historiography, see Oswyn Murray, "Herodotus and Oral History," 95–115.

[145] See Lester L. Grabbe, "Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 152–53; idem, "Reflections on the Discussion," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period,* 331; see also Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 300–04.

[146] More and more scholars subscribe a late Persian/early Hellenistic date for Deuteronomy–Kings, see a recent publication of Diana V. Edelman, ed, *Deuteronomy–Kings as Emerging Authoritative Books: A Conversation* (SBLANEM 6; Atlanta: SBL, 2014).

though a conqueror, practically considered himself a legitimate successor to the empire and strived to forge continuity with his predecessors by various means, including marrying Stateira, the Persian princess, and maintaining the administrative structure already established by his predecessors.[147] Thus, I consider the Alexandrian period the last phase of the Persian period (539–323 B.C.E.) before the empire disintegrated into the period of the Diadochi. In this study, the late Persian period (the late fourth century) will be referred as the "original signifying context" of the Deuteronomist.

Having highlighted the relation between the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story and the Greek historiographical traditions, I must emphasize that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story cannot be viewed as direct literary progeny of Greek historiography. The ancient Southwest Asian literature is another strong shaping force behind the literary features of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story.[148] Like the historical writings of ancient Southwest Asia, the line between myth, epic, legend, and history was often blurred. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story follows the ideological (or theological) orientation of the ancient Southwest Asian historical writings, characterized by divine interventions in human affairs, cyclic law of retribution, and supernatural elements. YHWH is at times anthropomorphized, appears as one character among other characters, and interacts with people without any intermediaries. This kind of mythologized history or sacralization of history deviates from the critical tone of the Greek historians and their deliberate effort to demythologize, but it is a typical feature permeating Mesopotamian historical writings, including

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[147] For instance, see notably Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*; and L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*.

[148] The affinity of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, in particular the synchronistic history of Israel and Judah, to ancient Southwest Asian literature has been noted by many scholars. For instance, see Van Seters, *In Search of History*; and A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1970; repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 53.

its military or political history, in which historical time and mythological time run in parallel and intersect each other.[149]

However, its narrative artistry, incorporation of direct speeches, and the detailed, embellished, entertaining, and often ponderous style of storytelling make the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story stand closer to its Greek cousin than to Mesopotamian historical writings, which are mostly short narratives of contemporary events and compilations of brief, pithy, succinct, factual, highly selective, and isolated events spanning an extensive period, written for the purpose of royal aggrandizement, royal propaganda, documentation, royal consultation, and/or as a part of the educational curriculum.[150] The historical consciousness (the perceived need to authenticate the events and acknowledge one's sources), narrative artistry, and the extensive chronological framework displayed in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story simply find no equal in ancient Southwest Asian historical writings.

It has been suggested that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story's authorial anonymity does not support its affinity to Greek historiography,[151] and for this feature it stands closer to ancient Southwest Asian literature. The divergence from Greek history-writing must be understood in terms of literary translatability and the Deuteronomist's purpose of writing. The anonymity of the Deuteronomist and the general authorial anonymity in ancient Southwest Asian literature are not exactly identical. The Deuteronomist were clearly concerned about establishing textual authority, authenticity, and credibility, which is not a feature observable in ancient Southwest

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[149] For the concept of mythologized history or sacralization of history, see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 3–4; and Jan Assmann, "Myth as *historia divina* and *historia sacra*," in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination. Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (ed. Deborah A. Green and Laura S. Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 13–24. For a detailed exposition of the literary features of Mesopotamian historical writings, see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 1–36.

[150] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 43–48.

[151] Rainer Albertz, "An End to the Confusion? Why the Old Testament Cannot Be a Hellenistic Book!," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 37, n. 23.

Asian literature. The Deuteronomist's anonymity is more a sign of literary translatability, reflecting the Deuteronomist's literary creativity to augment the genre of Greek local history with prominent literary features he inherited or acquired from ancient Southwest Asian culture in order to turn the past into a platform of divine revelatory discourses. The claim of human authority is incompatible with the claim of divine authority; for this reason, the Deuteronomist may have chosen self-concealment. In other words, the purpose of producing a text inherently authoritative may have precluded the Deuteronomist's disclosing their own identity or claiming their authority. The Deuteronomist's superb ability to translate a literary genre is exemplified with their adaptive use of the vassal-treaty form, whether one considers their prototype to be Hittite or Assyrian,[152] to formulate the Deuteronomic covenant. The suzerain YHWH, with Moses as his spokesman, demands exclusive allegiance from his vassal the people of Israel.[153] This translation of the vassal treaty democratized the notion of vassal to include an entire ethnic group and simultaneously the concept of divinely chosen king to the divinely chosen people.[154] In a similar vein, the genre of local history is translated to a localized "epic history" enhanced with divine intervention and supernatural elements characteristic of ancient Southwest Asian

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[152] For a sample of different views on the relationship between ancient vassal treaties and the book of Deuteronomy, see R. Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *OtSt* 14 (1965), 122–54; Moshe Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," *Biblica* 46/4 (1965): 417–27; idem, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 51–115; Alan Millard, "Deuteronomy and Ancient Hebrew History Writing in Light of Ancient Chronicles and Treaties," in *For Our Good Always: Studies on the Message and Influence of Deuteronomy in Honor of Daniel I. Block* (ed. Jason S. DeRouchie, Jason Gile, and Kenneth J. Turner; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 3–15.

[153] In addition to the role substitution of suzerain and vassal to YHWH and Israel in the case of Israel's breach of the treaty, the foreign countries, in lieu of a pantheon of deities, are invoked to be witnesses and divine punitive agents to destroy Israel and their land. Thus, the Deuteronomic covenant elevates the foreign empires to the penal role played by the divine in the traditional vassal treaties. Janzen (*Necessary King*, 57–85) argues that the Deuteronomic treaty is subversive to the imperial power because it has borrowed its treaty format and mocked the greater power by replacing the suzerain with YHWH. However, it may also be argued that the Deuteronomic treaty is counter-subversive and it furthers the aggrandizement of the imperial power by elevating it to a role of divine punitive agent against Israel.

[154] For the democratization of the ancient Southwest Asian treaty in the book of Deuteronomy, see Giovanni Garbini, *Myth and History in the Bible* (JSOTSup 362; London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 65; Davies, "Josiah and the Law Book," 72–73.

literature. Following the tragic emplotment of the Greek historians, the Deuteronomist democratized the role of tragic hero from a single persona in the Greek tragedies and historiography to an ethnic collective in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story.[155]

The genre of historiography is a dynamic and malleable category, subject to modification and translation, and it always serves the ideological purpose of the writer.[156] A secular (demythologized) inquiry of the past is turned into a sacred (remythologized) construction of the past for the purpose of shaping an ethnocentric consciousness grounded on religious identity. This serves to create genre expectations in relation to "Greek historiography" and simultaneously to retain the cultic ideologies and pleasurable effects of mythology and epic. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story exemplifies the genre malleability and proves that the line between history and myth can be artificially blurred to accommodate both genres in a larger literary framework. Thus, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story may be considered a hybrid genre of historiography and epic, neither fully history following the Greek historiographical traditions nor fully epic or chronicles following the ancient Southwest Asian literary traditions. It also deviates from both with its deemphasis of military exploits of the kings and dismissal of victory by military prowess, putting the spotlight on divine interventions and covenantal obedience for military success, to which I will return in Chapter 8. In sum, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)story stands at the crossroad of Greek historiographical traditions and ancient Southwest Asian literary traditions, yet it is neither's direct descendant.

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[155] See Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History*, 154–55. A. W. Gomme (*The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, 149) observes the same democratization of the tragic hero in Thucydides's *The Peloponnesian Wars*, in which the Athenian people take up the role of the tragic hero and are collectively liable for the hero's fault and inevitable fate.
[156] John Marincola, "Genre, Convention, and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 282.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story as a Cumulative and Composite Narrative

A variety of disparate traditions, oral and written, are collected, adapted, and appropriated into the Deuteronomist's re-invention of their ethnic past with their supplementation of imagined links and narrative embellishment. Legends, anecdotes, folktales, court stories, fictitious accounts, and archival documents stemming from different periods are interwoven to offer an understanding of the people as divinely chosen with a humble origin of slavery who rise to be a kingdom of incomparable magnificence and who are ultimately forced out of their homeland into exile. The Deuteronomist reinvented a past in which the ancestors of Israel overcome all crises that threaten their survival as a people to reach a status of a splendid empire as YHWH's privileged people. The production of a myth of origins, in the combination of the humble enslaved Hebrews and the glorious Israelite kingdom, must be probed in relation to its psychic functions to and the psychic processes of the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors within their particular sociocultural contexts. The Deuteronomist made resourceful use of disparate received traditions, learned literary conventions and genres, and their flesh-and-blood experience in their signifying activities. Their (hi)story bears traces of both the critical historiographical tradition of the Greeks and the creative tradition of ancient Southwest Asia and Egypt. Recent and historically verifiable traditions are combined with older, historically unverifiable, mythic traditions. The past is reinterpreted and reclaimed to be imperialistic in order to meet the exigencies of the imperialized present. Thus, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a cumulative narrative in multiple senses—its diverse sources, cultural influence, and temporal scope. Even though it contains theological notions that are common in ancient Southwest Asia, its embedded historiographical features betray its Persian and even Hellenistic origins. Thus, it is

impossible to date the text back to the pre-Hellenistic period, namely the late monarchic or the diasporic period.

Not only is the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story a cumulative narrative, it is also a composite text. It is "composite" in the way that diverse, fragmentary, displaced, and distorted traditions identifiable in different periods are combined seamlessly to produce a portrayal that cannot as a whole be dated exclusively to any specific period. As a part of this study, I will delineate in detail the composite nature of the Solomon Kingdom, showing how monumental, archival, oral, and other written traditions identifiable from different historical periods and different imperial contexts (Assyrian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian) are imaginatively fused with the Deuteronomist's subjective experience to produce the narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom, and I will endeavor to theorize the psychic mechanisms involved in the signifying process from a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective.[157] This composite image is not merely a result of the lengthy, complicated history of textual transmission; it stems from the Deuteronomist's original signifying context and reflects their collective subjective experience under the Persian imperialism.

The Deuteronomist and Their Signifying Context

The Deuteronomist as a Collective Entity

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a cumulative and composite literary product that has undergone an extensive, complicated process of composition and transmission with the participation of an overarching writer, tradents, redactors, scribes, translators, and copyists. Thus, the production was a sort of "collective" effort by multiple writing, reading, and rewriting

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[157] For the definition of "subjective experience," see pp. 120–121.

subjects, but it was not necessarily a collaborative effort. The heterogenous "collective" of people involved in the complicated process of producing the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story will be collectively referred in this study as "the Deuteronomist." In order to emphasize the collective outcome and not their individual effort, I opt for the collective term "the Deuteronomist" to designate this group of people loosely connected through their involvement in the signifying process of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The drawback of using the pluralized collective term "Deuteronomists" to designate this loose collective of people is that it reinforces the traditional idea of multiple authorship in a sense of an identifiable number of authors/redactors or redactional layers, a view that the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of production would not warrant. The unconventional designation "Deuteronomist" for the collective serves to disassociate with these presuppositions embedded in the traditional usage of the "Deuteronomists." Plural verbs will follow the designation "Deuteronomist" in order to retain the sense of collective effort in the literary production.

The Deuteronomist may or may not be affiliated with the same institution(s), and they may be affiliated with multiple institutions. For instance, they could work for the temple and be a Persian regional official at the same time. They spanned a few historical periods, and thus they may not even have known each other or been driven by the same vision in their textual participation or have shared the similar historical concerns.[158] These participants played a part in

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[158] In agreement with Norbert F. Lohfink ("Was There a Deuteronomistic Movement?" in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* [ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 36–66; trans. of 'Gab es eine deuteronomistische Bewegung?" in *Jeremia und die 'deuteronomistische Bewegung'* [ed. W. Gross; BBB 98; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995], 313–82), I do not see the viability of the concept of a Deuteronomistic movement responsible for the literary production of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. Neither do I agree with the view that a Deuteronomistic scribal school affiliated with the priesthood or the palatial establishment was behind its conception and initial production, even if institutional scribal schools may have been involved in its transmission. The literary complexity and coherence of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story makes such a view of collaborative effort at its conceptual stage implausible. For an instance of a hypothesized Deuteronomistic scribal tradition, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*; Person, *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature*.

the textual production through the textual changes they each made, such as scribal emendations, inadvertent errors, glosses, deliberate expansions and omissions, insertions, reordering, and harmonization. Their roles in the production varied, as was the extent of their contribution, from the role of the overarching writer who shaped the grand structure of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, to the role of a tradent who contributed a retelling of a passage, to the role of a scribal copyist who contributed only a few insertions. However, they all took part in the organic growth of the text. I assume the organic growth was predominantly gradual, and changes were mostly minor, as textual evidence suggests, but it could be at times disruptive. Because of the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of production in ancient times, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to unscramble the text in order to identify redactional layers or the editio princeps, so to speak. Thus, I do not presuppose multiple authorship in the sense of identifiable individual authors or layers of redaction.

The assumption of inconsistencies as indications of multiple and diverse sources/traditions, redactions, and authorship has its limits in dealing with textual "anomalies," which could well be treated as the result of the organic process of manuscriptal transmission and, in addition, as an integral part of literary production. In my study, textual ambiguities, ambivalence, vacillations, contradictions, and indeterminacy will be dealt with either from a textual critical perspective or from a textual analytic perspective, namely as integral features of a text. The seemingly cacophonic or polyphonic features may well be hints of the psychic or historical struggles rooted in the original signifying context. I will attempt to understand the textual features with due consideration of the sociocultural, literary, and historical contexts of the Deuteronomist, particularly in relation to Persian imperialism.

This study follows the general consensus in Deuteronomistic scholarship that Deuteronomy–

Kings must be treated as a coherent literary whole based on its perceivable overarching literary

structure, thematic progression, chronological scheme, stylistic consistency, and various literary

features, such as parataxis, narrative patterns, prophecy-and-fulfillment scheme, comparison to

David or Jeroboam as an assessment of the kings, the emphasis on the centrality of the law

(תורה), and cross references. These observable unifying devices contribute to the overarching

literary structure that in turn warrants and necessitates the textual analysis of the

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story as a literary whole.

Pertinent to my study, it is impossible to lay out the events that lead to Solomon's accession

and his temple construction project without delving into the preceding narratives in the

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, to which the Solomonic narrative makes numerous cross references

and flashbacks. For instance, the succession narratives in 1 Kings 1–2 are a direct development

from preceding narratives in the books of Samuel with most characters already debuted in the

books of Samuel. The entire Solomonic narrative presupposes an administrative continuity with

the Davidic regime, including its policies on palace-temple administrative collaborative,

diplomatic marriage, foreign relations (with Tyre, Edom, and Damascus), bureaucratic structure,

labor conscription, and official prophetic office (of Nathan). The temple-dedication narrative (1

Kgs 8:9–13) contains a very developed exodus tradition that depends on earlier traditions as

those appear sporadically in Deuteronomy. The motif of divine effulgence present in the cloud

and thick darkness (1 Kgs 8:9–12) has its parallels in Deut 4:9–14, 5:1–24 (cf. Exod 19:1–24:18,

40:34–38). The ark is associated with divine glory or presence as in 1 Sam 4:21–22; 6:5. The

mention of the tablets of stone housed in the ark that Moses placed there in Horeb alludes to

Deut 10:5.

There are striking parallels between Solomon's equestrian achievement (1 Kgs 5:6–8 [Eng. 4:26–28]; 10:26–29) in particular his horse trade with Egypt (1 Kgs 10:28), his multiple wives who "turned his heart away after other gods" (הטו את־לבבו אחרי אלהים; 1 Kgs 11:1–8), and the accumulation of wealth (1 Kgs 10:14–21) to the prohibitions in the so-called "Law of the King" in Deut 17:15–17. The banishment of Abiathar (1 Kgs 2:26–27) is a fulfillment of the word of Yhwh regarding the house of Eli in Shiloh (1 Sam 2:35). The explicit prohibition of marrying foreign women (1 Kgs 11:1–2) alludes to one of the main stipulations in the Deuteronomic Law (Deut 7:3–4). The list of indigenous peoples of Canaan that the Israelites "failed" to exterminate (1 Kgs 9:20–23) presupposes Israel's alienated relationships with the neighboring peoples in the beginning of Judges (Judg 1:28; 3:1–5). The mention of a lamp preserved for David's house in Ahijah's prophecy (11:36) alludes to 2 Sam 21:17.

The Solomonic narrative contains numerous allusions to the Davidic promise in 2 Samuel 7. Solomon's construction of the temple for Yhwh (1 Kgs 5:19[Eng. 5]; 6:12; 8:15–21) is a fulfillment of Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam 7:12–13. In particular, Solomon's temple dedication speech is fraught with allusions to the divine promise of a perpetual Davidic dynasty in 2 Samuel 7. Specific verses (2 Sam 7:12–13, 16, 25) are recapitulated in David's valedictory speech (1 Kgs 2:3–4) as a conditional promise, directly cited in Solomon's temple dedication speech (8:23–25) and then rehashed again by Yhwh in the form of a divine oracle (9:5). The allusion to Yhwh's mobility since the exodus is a reference to 2 Sam 7:6. Yhwh's incomparability (1 Kgs 8:23) also finds its parallel in 2 Sam 7:22. David's valedictory speech also presupposes the centrality of the law of Moses (1 Kgs 2:1–4), which is already conceptualized as a "written document" and presupposes that obedience to the law will lead to prosperity. Both the centrality of the law and

obedience to it are major recurring motifs throughout Deuteronomy–Kings; particularly the centrality of the written law is repeatedly emphasized in the prologue and epilogue of Deuteronomy.[159] The preceding narratives provide the necessary interpretive framework for the consequential events narrated in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24.

Even though I assume the overarching unity, I do not assume its uniformity. The literary unity of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story does not mean that the text ought to be free of any inconsistencies, tensions, and contradictions in its literary or ideological outlook. Such an assumption not only undermines the complexity of any political, socio-cultural contexts in which the production and transmission of the text occurred, but also neglects the fact that the human psyche is very capable of producing ambivalent, inconsistent, and contradictory views, with inner conflicts arising due to the incompatibility between drive, inhibition, and social constraints.

I hold the position that the overarching literary structure was likely to have been formulated and actualized by a single person, whom I call the "overarching writer," who molded the traditions at his disposal into a preconceived framework with creativity and autonomy, mixing purported historical narratives creatively with imagined narratives. The overarching writer is the inceptive figure within the Deuteronomist, the collective of people participated in the cumulative, composite growth of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The notion of the "overarching writer" does not preclude the acceptance of sources, ideas, suggestions, and input contributed by others, whether the overarching writer's associates or subsequent tradents and copyists; however, the perceivable overarching literary structure supports a view of an initial mastermind behind the literary production. The overarching writer produced the basic overarching literary structure of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, on which subsequent tradents, scribes, and copyists built on yet

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[159] See Deut 1:5, 4:8, 44–45, 17:18, 19; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58, 61; 29:20[Eng. 21], 28 [Eng. 29]; 30:10; 31:9, 11, 12, 24, 26; 32:46.

retained this grand structure even if they made substantial changes.[160] The overarching writer was presumably well-versed in Greek literature and well-acquainted with texts from his own cultural milieu, namely Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature. This assumption is based on the high mobility of the elites, cultural trends (Hellenism), and the migration of texts attested in the Persian period that I have already put forth. The overarching writer was not merely a scribe but also a learned intellectual and likely a member of the Yehudite elite, either a cultic functionary or a Persian collaborator affiliated with the cult.

The Deuteronomist's Social Location

I presuppose that the Deuteronomist of the original signifying context were regional collaborators of the Persians in Yehud. They consisted mainly of the Judahite descendants of the former members of the diaspora, who migrated to Yehud after Cyrus II decreed a repatriation policy shortly after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 B.C.E.[161] The repatriated Deuteronomist were ethnically or genealogically related to the Yehudites, but their ethnic identity was complicated by their diasporic upbringing, where they were exposed to the Persian imperializer's ideologies and different cultures. They became sympathetic to the imperializer's cause and had presumably pledged their loyalty. This assumption is based on a few historical factors. First, in order to maintain an imperial apparatus as enormous and diverse as the Persian

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[160] My conception of an overarching writer following by textual changes, major or minor, made by subsequent tradents and copyists stands very close to the models of single authorship put forth by Noth (*Deuteronomistic History*), Hoffmann (*Reform und Reformen*), and Van Seters (*In Search of History*), even that I maintain the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story as we now have it in multiple versions is a result of "collective" effort. This organic process is best illustrated with the wedding-gown alteration analogy. Each alteration adds new elements, embroideries, and embellishments with modern cutting, but the dress still retains its original look and is never deprived of all of its original characters.

[161] The Persian policy of repatriation may be understood as an administrative strategy to consolidate Persian rule. It was a policy that affected only the selected (or voluntary) few pro-Persian members of the elites. As the local agents of the Persians, they represented the interests of their Persian overlords in regional administrative issues. The repatriates were relocated to the peripheries with imperial assignments, such as setting up infrastructure (temple building, fortification, and scribal school) and administration. For instance, Darius I sent Udjahorresnet back to Egypt to restore a school for medical studies. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 266, 473; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:122 n.16.

empire, the Persians had adopted a policy of accommodation. They coopted local elites as their

collaborators, gave the regional government a certain degree of administrative autonomy, and

avoided disruption to the local norms and customary laws.[162] The advantage of keeping the

regional status quo is twofold. On the one hand, it minimized the chance of social unrest and

economic instability arising from drastic change of the governing structure. On the other hand,

the Persians produced an image of themselves as a benefactor and keeper of local norms and

customs and thus an image of a legitimate rule of the subjugated peoples by appearing as a direct

successor.[163] The pro-Persian Yehudite elite were selected for regional leadership precisely

because their ethnic filiation would facilitate management and monitoring of the Yehudites.[164]

They were more likely to be accepted into the Yehud community than the Persian officials, by

virtue of their ethnicity. They could have projected themselves as members of the ingroup and

protectors of their own people, as Ezra and Nehemiah exemplified.[165] In addition, the diasporic

background of the ethnic Yehudite immigrants, namely their Babylonian or Persian upbringing,

education and diverse cultural exposure, would have cultivated pro-Persian sentiments and made

them more prone to side with the imperializer.[166] This is now known as the "hostage

identification syndrome" or more commonly as the "Stockholm Syndrome."

Second, it was beneficial to the Persian empire to hire local priests as their collaborators.

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[162] See Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Imperial Policies and Provincial Governments," *Iranica Antiqua* 34 (2005): 269–82; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:850 n. 3, Kyong-Jin Lee, *The Authority and Authorization of Torah in the Persian Period* (Leuven, Paris: Peeters, 2011), 63, 251.

[163] Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Imperial Policies and Provincial Governments," 270–71.

[164] Frédéric Maffre gives a good example of the Persian policy of coopting local elite in Phrygia; see Frédéric Maffre, "Indigenous Aristocracies in Hellespontine Phrygia," in *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (ed. Christopher Tuplin; Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007), 117–41.

[165] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JBL* 106 (1987): 409–21.

[166] Epigraphical evidence indicates that among the Babylonian diasporic laborers in the *kurtaš* system boys were taken away from their mothers and given scribal training. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 602–03; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:602 n. 9; Herodotus, *Hist.*, I.73. A similar policy may have been implemented in the Judean diaspora.

The cultic functionaries served the empire by manipulating the local religious traditions into ideological spin, projecting the Persian conqueror as the legitimate, divinely appointed agent who overthrew the infamous and/or impious king of the previous regime, which Isa 44:28–45:1 and the texts on the Cyrus Cylinder and the Bīsitūn Inscription attest. By working with local priesthood, Persian kings sought to legitimate their domination through religious sanction.[167] As the divine representatives and the dispensers of divine blessings, priesthood would have been an effective ideological instrument to control the peasantry who sought divine blessings in their daily struggle with life.[168] They also secured the flow of imperial revenue through the regular payments of tributes, gifts, levies, dues, and assessments. The cultic functionaries were coaxed with promises of wealth and social status and/or coerced with threats to be the imperializer's agents.[169]

Third, in their maintenance of a culturally and linguistically diverse empire, with subjects of multiple ethnicities, multilingual scribes were indispensable for administration, documentation and communication between the central government and the regional governments. The Persians did not force the imperial subjects to adopt their own language, Old Persian, and they followed their imperial predecessors in adopting Aramaic, a widely used language, as a lingua franca

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[167] For instance, Cambyses II and Darius I collaborated with Udjahorresnet, an influential cultic official of Egypt in the late sixth century B.C.E. Udjahorresnet elevated both Persian kings to Pharaonic status as the legitimate rulers. Both Cambyses and Darius were portrayed as "king of Upper and Lower Egypt," the status of the Pharaoh, by Udjahorresent. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 57–79, 474–83; Kuhrt, *The Persian* Empire, 1:129–30; Alan B. Lloyd, "Darius in Egypt: Suez and Hibis," in *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (ed. Christopher Tuplin; Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007), 99–105; idem, "The Inscription of Udjaḥorresnet a Collaborator's Testament," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 166–80; Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 56–58; Blenkinsopp, "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah," 409–21.

[168] John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (New Brunswick; London: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 116–17.

[169] See Herbert R. Marbury, "Reading Persian Dominion in Nehemiah: Multivalent Language, Co-option, Resistance, and Cultural Survival," in *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Critical Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: Essays in Honor of Douglas A. Knight* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 544; ed. Jon L. Berquist and Alice Hunt; New York: T & T Clark International, 2012), 162.

throughout the empire.[170] Because the Persians adopted local norms and laws for juridical

administration, they relied on the local scribe experts for the preservation and codification of

local traditions.[171] The Deuteronomist belonged to the small group of literate Yehudite elite,

whose positions varied in the administrative, cultic and political hierarchies.[172] The level of

power and autonomy that a literate enjoyed corresponds to this position in the hierarchies. While

literary production may be predominately sponsored and censored by the imperializer and served

their interest before the fifth century, Greek historiography opened up textual interstices in which

counter-hegemonic expressions found their outlet, through which contestation and resistance

against the imperializing forces may be expressed, albeit in a roundabout, disguised, and

distorted way. It is possible that some Yehudites in the higher intellectual sector took advantage

of the specific historical circumstances and made good use of textual interstices to express

subversive sentiments. A part of my study on the Solomonic Kingdom will delineate how both

imperial and anti-imperial sentiments are accommodated in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24.

Finally, there is onomastic and epigraphical evidence to support the presence of Jewish

collaborators who served in different levels of the Persian imperial apparatus in Yehud,[173]

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[170] See Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period: The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.* (trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 54–55; trans. of *Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2005); Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:447, 2:827–28, 247, 858; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 41; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 507–11.

[171] Vanderhooft, "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," 234–35; James W. Watts, *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch* (Atlanta, SBL, 2001); Douglas A. Knight, *Law, Power, and Justice in Ancient Israel* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 93–112; Marbury, "Reading Persian Dominion in Nehemiah," 166–168.

[172] The literacy rate of an agrarian urban community is less than 10 per cent. In ancient societies, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, the literacy rate may be much lower than 5 per cent and probably as low as 1 per cent of the total population. See Knight, *Law, Power, and Justice in Ancient Israel*, 95; John Baines, "Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society," *Man.* New Series 18/3 (1983): 572–99. In ancient world, literacy served administrative and ideological functions to the interest of the ruler. Gerhard E. Lenski (*Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984], 200–08) distinguished between the "high intellectual traditions" (ideological, elite-oriented) and the "low intellectual traditions" (practical, plebeian). Some individuals involved in the textual production of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, such as the overarching writer, belonged to the "high intellectual traditions," but others belonged to the "low intellectual traditions," such as the amanuenses.

[173] Based on the evidence of impressions and bullae and the Elephantine papyri, a list of Jewish governors of Yehud

Babylonia,[174] Elephantine in Egypt,[175] and possibly Asia Minor.[176] In addition, a Jewish family (Murašu) is known to have managed estates for the Persian aristocrats in Nippur.[177] The presence of Jewish collaborators and estate managers for the Persians scattered in the Persian empire suggests that the descendants of the Judean deportees were well integrated into the Persian empire and some had elevated to positions of privilege. In sum, it is highly plausible that the Deuteronomist of the original signifying context were Persian collaborators in Yehud and were the descendants of the Judean deportees, ethnically or genealogically related to the Yehudites. The Deuteronomist's social locations and the "nationalist" focus of their work suggest that the original signifying location of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story was likely to be Yehud.

The Deuteronomist's Hybrid and Fragmented Identity

From a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective, the demise of the Judean kingdom was a radical negativity in the form of multiple deprivations in the life of the deported elite. They lost their home, their homeland, the Jerusalem temple, the Judean state, and their socioeconomic status along with its privileges, and very possibly also their families and close friends. The traumatic event inevitably led to a radical identity crisis. Their religious, cultural, political, and socioeconomic identities tied to the land of Judah were all at stake. Deportation signified the beginning of a deterritorialized identity in which all the territorial identities would need to be

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has been reconstructed: Zerubbabel, Elnathan, Jehoezer, Ahzai, Nehemiah, and Bigvai (= Bagohi = Bagoas). See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 488; Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 336.

[174] Vanderhooft, "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," 226–27.

[175] See Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Department of History of the Jewish People; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1986); Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[176] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 502.

[177] See Albert Tobias Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (Philadelphia: University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1912); L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 122; John Manuel Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 202–03.

negotiated and reformulated. The traumatic event of national demise produced a radical

negativity that defied symbolic representation, yet it demanded a reformulation of collective

identity that could only be achieved through symbolic means, be that visible markers or some

replacement myths of origins. The liminality of diasporic existence provided the space and time

for the needed reflection, for the re-creation of a new identity with its new cultural exposures,

and for re-signification of their collective traumatic experience. Presumably, many narratives

incorporated into the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story were reinterpretations of the trauma-induced

traditions of the imagined homeland that the Deuteronomist received from the deportee

generation.

The deportees lived a liminal existence in the period when they lost their previous

territorialized Judean identity, yet their new diasporic identity was still in formulation. In this

liminal existence, one had to negotiate cultural differences and competing identities associated

with the old world and the new world in what postcolonial theorists call a "third space," typically

"a place inhabited by the subaltern."[178] A new Judean identity was emerging through the

negotiation between the Judean identity defined in relation to the land of Judah and the still

formulating diasporic identity conditioned by imperialism. Their new life in Babylonia, with all

its cultural and linguistic differences, would have inevitably complicated and challenged their

original Judean identity, leading to complicated, hybrid and fragmented identities. In addition,

they each had to redefine their subject position in relation to the imperializer, making choices

among collaboration, acquiescence, resistance, and "antagonistic collaboration,"[179] and in

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[178] Lawrence Grossberg, "Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity* (ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay; London: Sage, 1996), 91. For more on the concept of "third space," see Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 45–55, 312–16; Erin Runions, *Changing Subjects: Gender, Nation and Future in Micah* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 88–92; Jopi Nyman, *Home, Identity, and Mobility in Contemporary Diasporic Fiction* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 22–23.

[179] I borrow the term "antagonistic collaboration" from Edward Said (*Culture and Imperialism* [1st ed.; New York: Knopf, 1993], 263), who uses the term to designate the colonized's pretentious collaboration with the colonizer, with

relation to other Judean deportees with reference to their new subject position in the imperial hierarchy.

Newly discovered cuneiform texts from āl-Yāhūdu (unattested toponym) and Našar, two Judean settlements in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia, corroborate that Judean deportees were settled in communities where they composed the majority and that the Judean deportees and descendants participated in regular socioeconomic activities with the local administration. The extent of cultural exchanges indicated by the texts suggests Judean deportees' full integration into the Babylonian structure.[180] Yet, the naming of their new home after their homeland, namely āl-Yāhūdu "the city of Judah," somehow bespeaks their nostalgic sentiments and lingering sense of their territorialized Judean identity.[181] On the one hand, the maintenance of a close tie with other Judeans in a communal setting would have enabled the continuation of certain cultural practices and social norms, strengthened their social bonding, and thus facilitated their persisting sense of collective identity as Judeans. On the other hand, the regular interactions with the Babylonians and exposures to new cultural practices, literature, ideologies, and social structure would have contributed to the complication of their Judean identity and led to the emergence of a new, deterritorialized Judean identity characterized by their diasporic experience. The subsequent Persian era further complicated this process of identity formation by overlaying it with Persian-specific elements. The process of identity

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the goals of fighting against the colonizer and seeking the interest of their own communities.

[180] Laurie E. Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonian," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 399–411; idem, "'Judean': A Special Status in Neo-Babylonian and Achemenid Babylonia?" in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 268–77.

[181] This is not a unique incident of naming a diasporic settlement after the inhabitants' place of origin. Darius I took the Barcaeans of Egypt as war spoils and resettled them in a village in Bactria. The Barcaeans named their new home "Barca" (Herodotus, *Hist.*, IV.204). Thus, it is plausible that the Judean deportees named their home in Babylonia after their place of origin.

negotiation and reformulation would result in the Deuteronomist's hybrid and fragmented Judean identity, in which components identifiable to be Judean, Babylonian, and Persian were all present, but only in a fragmented, complicated form. Their double identity as Persian agents and ethnic Yehudites also led to a double-bind situation, especially when a conflict of interest arose between the Persian overlords and their own people. It would then be plausible that Yehudite collaborators of the Persians would find themselves in a situation in which double allegiance was impossible, and the conflict of interest was irreconcilable. They may have found themselves vacillating between the contradictory demands made by the two parties, but they were never able to satisfy both. At the end, it was an ethical impasse, a no-win situation that could only be managed to a bearable degree.[182] Imperialism creates a class of comprador elite, each a split subject vacillating between the imperializer and the imperialized, in a social dilemma that required immense psychic coping energy to prevent the ego from further fragmentation.

Textual Presuppositions and Caveats

The Solomonic Narrative

In order to probe the signifying process of the Solomonic narrative (1 Kgs 1:1–12:24) within the larger framework of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story in its original signifying context, the exegetical task would benefit from an analysis of the manuscripts used by the first readers/auditors. Unfortunately, they are all lost to us. For expediency, I will use the medieval manuscript Leningrad Codex in the Masoretic tradition as the main text for analytic purposes and

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[182] According to Tony Thwaites (*Reading Freud: Psychoanalysis as Cultural Theory* [Los Angeles: Sage, 2007], 23–24), a double bind is an ethical dilemma. In his own words: "In a double bind, you are faced with a number of contradictory demands, all of which must be obeyed, but all of which are mutually contradictory. To obey any one of them logically entails disobeying the others – but the others remain just as imperative as the one that has been obeyed, and just as dire in the consequences they threaten for disobedience. The double bind is commonplace, but it does put the one caught in it in an impossible situation: there is no possible way of acting that will fulfil all the demands being made."

consult, when necessary, the LXX and other textual witnesses to reconstruct the first readers'/auditors' plausible reception of the Solomonic narrative, especially when textual variants suggest an alternate reception of the text. Because of the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual transmission, I presuppose that the LXX and other late textual witnesses belonged to the subsequent signifying contexts may preserve textual variants belonging to the original signifying context. Thus, they will be consulted to illuminate the plausible reception of the Solomonic narrative in its original signifying context.

In a manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual transmission, the growth of a text was bound to be fluid. It was constantly being revised, emended, expanded, and reinterpreted in light of current concerns of the tradents, translators, and copyist-scribes. In addition to this organic growth, the ability of a text to travel long distances led to the production of multiple contemporaneous, contesting, and conflicting recensions and translations in different cultural and linguistic contexts. The multiple written versions were propagated along with other oral versions of the text. In view of the fluidity of texts in ancient times, textual variants should not be treated as "anomalies" but were likely the logical outcome of the manuscriptal mode of textual production and literary migration. In this study, the co-existence of textual inconsistencies and contradictions will be treated as a combined result of psychic structuration and the outcome of manuscriptal and accumulative modes of textual production. They are integral to the text, not an anomaly to be explained away based on ungrounded a priori assumptions about the historicity of the events that it describes.

The privileging of the Leningrad Codex does not imply that it was in any way superior to other manuscripts, extant or lost, or that there existed a final form of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story on which the Leningrad Codex depended. The notion of the final form is incompatible

and alien to the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual transmission. What may at most be presupposed is a stabilized form after the text had reached an authoritative status. Even then, its authoritative status did not prevent further changes from happening. Presumably, textual changes were more extensive, deliberate, and uninhibited before the text became a part of the authoritative scriptures. With a compositional date of the late fourth century B.C.E., this period of rapid change would be the century from the late-fourth century to the late-third century B.C.E. because by the time of Ben Sira (ca. 200 B.C.E.) the bipartite structure of the Torah and the Prophets close to the present form was already established.[183] In this study, the Leningrad Codex (or the Masoretic family of Hebrew manuscripts to which it belongs) will not be deemed as authoritative, as the standard text by which the authenticity of other manuscripts is to be measured. The choice of the Leningrad Codex as the privileged text for analytic purposes is a convenient one. Because of sociological developments and archaeological accident, it happens to be the earliest, best preserved manuscript at our disposal. According to Eugene Ulrich, the process by which the Masoretic Text (MT) was selected as the preponderant text was an unconscious one and built on reasons of a merely coincidental nature.[184]

Following the psychoanalytic tenets, it is presupposed that there were unconscious forces involved in the signifying process of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, including its production and transmission. The creative weaving of historical and fictive elements involves the social constraints and psychic investment in fantasizing. I take into consideration that textual inconsistencies and contradictions are the signs of the psychic processes involved in the signifying process and the manuscriptal-transmission process. I also presuppose that the

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[183] See p. 55 above.
[184] Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the*, 24–25; see also Emanuel Tov, "The Coincidental Textual Nature of the Collections of Ancient Scriptures," *Congress Volume Ljubljana* 2007 (VTSup 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 153–69.

subsequent tradents and copyist-scribes, along with the first readers/auditors, participated in the construction of this cultural fantasy whose grand structure was first conceptualized by the overarching writer.

Persian and Greek Sources

The historical-critical aspect of my postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach requires that I read the Solomonic narrative against the backdrop of the Deuteronomist's original signifying context. Thus, it is imperative to take into consideration their subject experience under Persian imperialism. However, there are issues in using Persian and Greek sources for historical reconstruction.[185] First, the Persian sources are mostly imperial propaganda written in support of the Persian imperial ideologies and for the purpose of legitimating Persian rule. Second, one must be cautious about the perspective presupposed in the Greek sources, namely whether it was written by a historian antagonistic or sympathetic to the Persian empire. Third, one must be critical about the Greek historians' method of collecting reports and the ideological stance of their informants. Their narratives at times appear to be folkloristic, anecdotal, and inventive, vacillating between philo-Persian and miso-Persian perspective.[186] Since the late historians used their predecessors' work as sources, the convergence of their stories does not necessarily suggest veracity. Fourth, the Greek historians considered historiography as a branch of rhetoric, and thus they did not abstain from using rhetorical strategies such as dramatization, sentimentalism, sensationalism, and moralization.

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[185] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 62–306.

[186] Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Decadence in the Empire or Decadence in the Sources? From Source to Synthesis: Ctesias," in *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Synthesis* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 40–45; A. E. Wardman, "Myth in Greek Historiography," 403–13; R. B. Stevenson, "Lies and Invention in Deinon's *Persica*," in *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources: Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop* (ed. Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 27–35.

The Greeks' portrayal of their archenemy the Persians is often biased, contradictory, and fragmentary. The Persians are rhetorically tainted with stereotypes, denigration, effemination, and exaggeration to underscore the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians.[187] Their narrative depiction of the Persians often appears in the form of *damnatio memoriae*, with emphases on the Persian kings' decadence, despotism, debauchery, effeminacy, lack of discernment, and acts of sacrilege and the stock motifs of palace intrigues, murder, vengeance, treachery, scandals of the royal family, and harem intrigue, with special highlights on the royal women's interventions in politics.[188] Thus, even though the Greek historians must be consulted for the historical reconstruction of the Persian empire, their ideological propensity must be scrutinized, and their historicity and the reliability of their narratives cannot be taken uncritically.

The impact of Persian imperialism on the subject-populations is hard to assess due to, first, the lack of epigraphical and archaeological evidence from the Persian side, particularly in the regions that were less developed culturally and economically, such as Yehud.[189] Second, most of the earliest works on Persian history were exclusively written by the Greeks or the Greek subjects of the Persian empire, from a Hellenocentric perspective.[190] The Greek sources are fragmentary and inadequate, showing mostly what concerned the Greeks and providing little information on peoples and events unrelated to them. Thus, the reconstruction of the impact of Persian imperialism on the Yehudites and their collaborators must rely heavily on analogies drawn from more well-known regions of the Persian empire, notably from the Persepolis

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[187] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:242, 308–09, 418; 2:578–79; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 784–87; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Introduction to *Achaemenid History I*, xi–xiv.

[188] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:418; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Decadence in the Empire or Decadence in the Sources?," 33–45.

[189] See Hellen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "The Quest for an Elusive Empire," in *Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Worship* (ed. Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten,1990), 263–74.

[190] See Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Introduction to *Achaemenid History I*, xi–xiv.

Fortification Tablets.[191] Even though the Persepolis Fortification Tablets are administrative

records that tend to be more reliable for historical reconstruction, the tablets are dated to a short

time frame (509–493 B.C.E.) during the reign of Darius I and with mostly records of economic

transactions in Persepolis.[192] They provide useful data for the reconstruction of the Persian

central administration, but only limited analogical insights into the Yehudite administration of

the late fourth century B.C.E. Fortunately, Persian regional policies were usually persistent and

consistent throughout the empire. As long as due attention is paid to the regional circumstances

and differences, drawing analogies will still be a feasible method for reconstructing the historical

circumstances pertaining to the Yehudites.

Scholarship on Solomon and His Kingdom

From the Quest for the Historical Solomon to the Question of an Invented Solomon

Research on Solomon and his Kingdom (1 Kgs 1–11) in the twentieth century has been

dominated by the quest for the historical Solomon and his powerful kingdom. Only in recent

decades have more and more biblical scholars, historians, and archaeologists of the Levant come

to share the view that the Solomonic Kingdom is a part of the invented history of the

Israelites/Yehudites, a literary construct of an imagined heyday of their past.

In spite of the lack of contemporaneous extra-biblical evidence and the ostentatious nature

of the Solomonic Kingdom, many scholars have presumed the historicity of Solomon and the

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[191] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 762; Richard T. Hallock, trans. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (OIP 92; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[192] Wouter F. M. Henkelman, "Persepolis Tablets," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (1st ed.; ed. Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 5179–81; idem, "Administrative Realities: The Persepolis Archives and the Archaeology of the Achaemenid Heartland," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (ed. D. T. Potts; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 528–46.

historical reliability of 1 Kgs 1–11. From the second half of the nineteenth century up to the end of the twentieth century, paraphrasing of these texts, supplemented with ancient Southwest Asian and Egyptian analogies, was the dominant method of reconstructing the Israelite history of the tenth century B.C.E.[193] The historicity of the biblical narratives is commonly argued, first, on the grounds of its similarities to the Egyptian imperial apparatus, which Israel had supposedly adopted, and the close relations between Egypt and Israel in the tenth century B.C.E.[194] Paul S. Ash has convincingly argued that a close tie and regular interactions between Egypt and the southern Levant during the first millennium B.C.E. was historically implausible because there was no substantial Egyptian presence in the southern Levant during that period.[195] Therefore, without dismissing the similarities in administrative practices and infrastructure between Egypt

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[193] For the paraphrasing of 1 Kgs 1–11 in ancient Israelite history, see John Bright, *A History of Israel* (4th ed.; Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 211–28; J. Alberto Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah* (3d ed.; London: SCM, 1999), 76–94; idem, "The Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom," in *Israelite and Judean History* (ed. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977), 332–80; B. Mazar, "The Era of David and Solomon," in *The Age of the Monarchies: Political History* (ed. Abraham Malamat; WHJP 4/1; Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1979), 76–100. Although J. Alberto Soggin (*An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 35) criticized the method of paraphrasing as "a wrong method," his approach to the Solomonic period includes considerable paraphrasing. For adoption of the biblical accounts on Solomon and the Solomonic Kingdom in reconstructing Egyptian history, see for instance Jason Thompson, *A History of Egypt: From Earliest Times to the Present* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 2008); Emmet John Sweeney, *Empire of Thebes or* Ages in Chaos *Revisited* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006); Erik Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (2d ed.; Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, 1986).
[194] See Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 76–77. For the assumption of Egyptian influences on the Israelite administrative system, see for instance Donald B. Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium, I. The Taxation System of Solomon," in *Studies in the Ancient Palestinian World: Presented to Professor F. V. Winnett on the Occasion of His Retirement 1 July 1971* (ed. J. W. Wevers and Donald B. Redford; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 141–56; idem, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium B.C.: II. The Twenty-Second Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (1973): 3–17; E. W. Heaton, *Solomon's New Men* (New York: Pica Press, 1974); C. H. J. de Geus, "Reflections on the Continuity of Egyptian Influence on the Administration and the Material Culture of Pre-exilic Israel," in *Meilenstein: Festgabe für Herbert Donner zum 16. Februar 1995* (ed. M. Weippert and S. Timm, ÄAT 30; Wiesbaden: Otton Harrassowitz, 1995), 44–51; Roland de Vaux, "Titres et fonctionnaires égyptiens à la cour de David et de Salomon," *RB* 48 (1942): 394–402; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy* (Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 5; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1971); Abraham Malamat, "A Political Look at the Kingdom of David and Solomon and Its Relations with Egypt," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1979), 189–204.
[195] Paul S. Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt: A Reassessment* (JSOTSup 297; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

and Solomonic Israel, he concludes that they were either "coincidental" or that the biblical portrayal of the Davidic-Solomonic imperial apparatus was anachronistic.[196]

Second, the historicity is argued on the grounds of the text's inclusion of historical facts, such as Pharaoh Shoshenq's (biblical Shishak's) invasion of Syria-Palestine (1 Kgs 14:25), and seemingly authentic archival documents, such as the list of state officials (4:1–6), the list of districts (4:7–19), the note on forced labor (5:27[Eng. 13]; cf. 9:15–22), and references to commercial activities (10:11). Considering the intentional commemoration and publicity of Shoshenq I's Asian campaign, even a Persian Deuteronomist could have acquired the knowledge of Shoshenq's Syro-Palestinian military campaign through a monumental inscription,[197] their historical research, or their scribal education, and he used the event as an anchoring device for his chronological framework. As for the archival documents, their supposed authenticity based on "realism" is groundless and unattested.[198]

Third, the writer's critical attitude toward the past seems to support the view that 1 Kgs 1–11 was not a piece of royal propaganda but a genuine historical account. As I have argued above, ancient Southwest Asian historical writings were almost exclusively written as royal propaganda.

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[196] Ibid., 130.

[197] The chronological framework that holds the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story into a coherent whole requires that the narratives to be anchored with scattered historical events and/or figures, which the Deuteronomist presumably had gathered from epigraphical or archival sources and through his historical research and from the traditions passed down to him. The Syro-Palestinian campaign of Shoshenq I of the Twenty-Second Dynasty was a well documented and widely propagated event in both Egypt and the Levant. A victory relief was engraved on the Bubastite Gate at Karnak to commemorate the event, which includes a geographical list of the Pharaoh's Syro-Palestinian enemies. However, Judah was not listed among Shoshenq I's enemies. For a complete translation of the hieraglyphic text, see Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (SBLWAW 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 193–213. In addition, a fragment of the Shoshenq Stela was discovered in Stratum V of Megiddo. It was likely erected for the commemoration of the Pharaoh's Syro-Palestinian campaign. See Robert S. Lamon and Geoffrey M. Shipton, *Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925–34 Strata I–V* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 60–61; David Ussishkin, "Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in the Tenth and Ninth Centuries B.C.," *BASOR* 227/278 (1990): 72–74. Given the monumental importance and publicity of the campaign, it is reasonable to assume that as a learned scribe and an able researcher the writer would have acquired the knowledge of Shoshenq I's military exploits in Syria-Palestine.

[198] For an instance of such an assumption, see Halpern, *The First Historians*, 146–48.

The lack of a royal propagandistic tone may well be read as a sign of its ahistoricality. In sum, the historicity of 1 Kgs 1–11 is presumed without carrying out a detailed analysis of the literary and ideological features of 1 Kgs 1–11 or considering the historical plausibility that the hill countries of the southern Levant could have achieved commensurable social, economic, and cultural developments of its superpower neighbor Egypt in the tenth century B.C.E.

From the 1920s onward, many archaeological sites identified in 1 Kgs 1–11 were excavated. Especially noteworthy were the excavations in Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer, the three Solomonic cities explicitly mentioned in 9:15. Biblical archaeologists attributed many architectural structures and artifacts found in these sites to the Solomonic period based on the method of pottery stratigraphy, biblical references, and the presumed historical trustworthiness of the biblical texts. The historicity of Solomon and the Solomonic Kingdom was further supported by these findings. The argumentation follows the logic of circular reasoning. What is used to sustain a claim is what the claim purportedly corroborates. In his 1990 article "Myth of Solomon," G. J. Wightman reviewed decades of the "Solomonic archaeology" and concluded that the Solomonic finds are based on intuitive guesses, untested assumptions, and circular argumentation.[199] Almost three decades have passed since the article was published, and what Wightman calls the "imaginary link between archaeological remains and the biblical traditions"[200] has persisted even though many remains associated with the Solomonic sites are now convincingly dated at least a century later to the Omride dynasty of the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., by archaeologist Israel Finkelstein and others based on the low chronology of stratigraphy.[201]

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[199] G. J. Wightman, "Myth of Solomon," *BASOR* 277/278 (Feb.– May, 1990): 5–22.
[200] Ibid., 10.
[201] For Finkelstein's view of the Megiddo remains, see Deborah O. Cantrell and Israel Finkelstein, "A Kingdom for a Horse: The Megiddo Stables and Eighth Century Israel" in *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2000 Seasons* (ed. Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern; 2 vols.; Monograph Series 24; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Institute of Archaeology, 2006), 2:643–65. For Finkelstein's view of the Hazor remains, see Israel Finkelstein, "Hazor and the North in the Iron Age: A Low Chronology Perspective," *BASOR* 314 (May, 1999): 55–70. For Finkelstein's view of

However, rather than totally dismissing the historicity of David and Solomon, Finkelstein and others downsize the evidence-defying vastness of the tenth-century Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom and postulate a more historically viable scenario of a dimorphic Davidic-Solomonic chiefdom that gradually developed into the State of Judah.[202] The lexeme *bytdwd* in the Tel Dan Inscription, dating to the ninth century B.C.E., is often used as corroborative evidence for the historicity of David.[203] However, the most it can prove, beyond reasonable doubt, is that the dynasty named after the eponymous founder David was well established by the ninth century, but whether or not David existed is still a moot question.[204] As for Solomon, to date there is still no archaeological or epigraphical evidence to support his historicity. Even if the historicity of David and/or Solomon were proven, the magnificence of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom would still be historically implausible. If David and/or Solomon ever existed as political leaders in the

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the Gezer remains, "On Archaeological Methods and Historical Considerations: Iron Age II Gezer and Samaria," *BASOR* 277/278 (Feb.–May, 1990): 109–19. For a recent article on the dating of Stratum VA–IVB at Megiddo and Stratum X at Hazor to the ninth century according to the low chronology, see Israel Finkelstein and Eli Piasetzky, "Radiocarbon Dating the Iron Age in the Levant: A Bayesian Model for Six Ceramic Phases and Six Transitions," *Antiquity* 84 (2010): 374–85.

[202] Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*, 41–43, 52–53; idem, *The Bible Unearthed*, 144; Finkelstein and Piasetzky, "Radiocarbon Dating the Iron Age in the Levant," 383.

[203] For the editio princeps of the Tel Dan inscription, see Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 (1993): 81–98. For the use of the Tel Dan inscription to support the historicity of David, see Gary A. Rendsburg, "On the Writing ביתדוד in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 22–25; Nadav Na'aman, "Beth-David in the Aramaic Stela from Tel Dan," *BN* 79 (1995): 17–24; William M. Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stela: New Light on Aramaic and Jehu's Revolt," *BASOR* 302 (1996): 75–90; Paul E. Dion, "The Tel Dan Stele and Its Historical Significance," in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (ed. Yitzhak and Avishur and Robert Deutsch; Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 145–56; Gershon Galil, "A Re-Arrangement of the Fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription and the Relations between Israel and Aram," *PEQ* 133 (2001): 16–21; Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*, 261–66.

[204] The lexeme *bytdwd* in the Tel Dan inscription is commonly cited as corroborative evidence for the historicity of David. However, the lexeme *bytdwd* cannot be unambiguously interpreted as "the house/dynasty of David." Alternate readings such as a toponym, a theonym, and a temple name are also proposed. See Ernst A. Knauf, Albert de Pury, and Thomas Römer, "*BaytDawīd* ou *BaytDōd*?," *BN* 72 (1994): 60–69; Thomas L. Thompson,"'House of David': An Eponymic Referent to Yahweh as Godfather," *SJOT* 9 (1995): 59–74; Frederick H. Cryer, "A '*Betdawd*' Miscellany: *Dwd*, *Dwd'* or *Dwdh*?" *SJOT* 9 (1995): 52–58; Hans M. Barstad and Bob Becking, "Does the Stele from Tel-Dan Refer to a Deity Dôd?" *BN* 77 (1995): 5–12; George Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003). Even if it is to be taken as "the house of David," it is arguable if David is a reference to a historical founder of a dynasty or an eponymous one. An eponym, from an anthropological perspective, may represent a historical person or a completely fictional figure. Thus, the Tel Dan inscription is inconclusive regarding David's historicity.

tenth-century southern Levant, they were at best petty rulers or tribal leaders. Nevertheless, the chiefdom view remains a conjecture.

Historian Mario Liverani holds a similar view that the Davidic-Solomonic political entity was only a petty kingdom covering at most the central and southern highlands and not beyond Shechem. According to Liverani, the "United Kingdom" was an invented notion that reflects the royalists' ambition to restore the state of Judah and Josiah's attempt to extend domination over the northern territories originally belonging to the defunct state of Israel.[205] The unification rhetoric was used in support of Josiah's northward territorial expansion and the Davidid Zerubbabel's governorship of Yehud.[206] He also suggests that the "fairy-tale style" court vendettas of David and Solomon fit better in the literary context of the sixth and fifth centuries in the Persian period rather than the tenth century, implying that the postexilic Deuteronomist may have borrowed literary motifs in their cultural milieu and transplanted them into the Davidic-Solomonic court.[207] As Liverani points out, the Solomonic Kingdom, while filled with "fairy-tale elements," was modeled after an imperial reality. Even the architectural style of the Solomonic palace and temple seems to be modelled after the Persian palatial buildings similar to those found in Susa and Persepolis.[208] To Liverani, the Solomonic Kingdom reflects "a *dream* of being able to match the great powers" (emphasis mine).[209] My view comes very close to Liverani's

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[205] Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 92–103, 308–23.

[206] Ibid., 316.

[207] To quote Liverani: "To these possible 'authentic' sources and stratified traditions the post-exilic historian added a great deal of fairy-tale syle [sic] material (of the 'intrigue at the king's court' type) – tales of harems and rivalry between old and young wives, feuds and vendettas, oppression and repentance, generosity and cruelty, which make the tales of succession about David and Solomon as we have them now, genuine historical novels, obviously selecting the most famous characters in the entire dynasty for the leading roles in dramas that actually fit better in the literary framework of the sixth and the fifth centuries than in that (which was at the most only epigraphic) of the tenth century" (ibid., 318). Even though Liverani did not explicitly acknowledge his modified Crossian assumptions, there are traces of a modified double-redaction theory of the "Deuteronomistic History" in his work, with a Josianic edition and an updated postexilic edition. The "fairy-tale elements" and the dramatized court-stories in the narrative of the United Kingdom belong to the updated edition. See ibid., 97–98, 716–20, 313–16.

[208] Ibid., 326–29.

[209] Ibid., 96, 100.

view in three aspects. First, the invention of the Solomonic Kingdom was most likely to have stemmed from the signifying context of the Persian period. Second, the Deuteronomist sought symbolically to emulate the real empires, particularly the Persian empire, with the creative adoption of dominant literary motifs, genres, and conventions of their time. Third, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the Solomonic narrative may appropriately be categorized as a "dream," namely a wish-fulfilling narrative of grandiose nature. Thus, it warrants a psychoanalytic analysis as such.[210]

Many scholars have suggested that the Deuteronomist portrayed the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom in the image of the great empires of their time. Some scholars who date the text to the Josianic period argue for a Neo-Assyrian imperial prototype.[211] Ehud Ben Zvi, however, argues against the causal link between the textual signs of Assyrian influence and the Josianic date.[212] He argues that the Neo-Assyrian empire remained a powerful imperial symbol even in the succeeding eras and that "Assyria" may well be a displaced signifier for the subsequent imperial powers or an undifferentiated signifier for imperial superpower in general.[213] Those scholars who date the text to the late Persian or early Hellenistic period tend to see a Persian imperial prototype.[214] Pierre Briant notes that many local potentates attempted in their own residence to

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[210] Gösta W. Ahlström ("The Role of Archaeological and Literary Remains in Reconstructing Israel's 'History'," in *The Fabric of History: Text, Artifact and Israel's Past* [ed. Diana V. Edelman; JSOTSup 127; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 140), in spite of his high regard for the historicity of David and Solomon, notes the biased and fictional nature of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom: the biblical writers never meant to give an accurate account of the past, rather they presented "an intentionally *wishful* and/or theological picture of past times" (emphasis mine).

[211] For instance, Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*, 154 ,163–68, 173–77; Ernst Axel Knauf, *Die Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar, Altes Testament 29; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 215; Weinfeld, "Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy," 417–27; idem, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 51–115.

[212] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Josiah and the Prophetic Books: Some Observations," in *Good Kings and Bad Kings* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 47–64.

[213] Ibid., 59–60

[214] Niels Peter Lemche, "The Old Testament: A Hellenistic Book?," 175–77.

emulate the lifestyle of the Persian King.[215] Solomon's imitation of the Persian king may be regarded as a symbolic emulation through literary production. In sum, scholars tend to see the portrayal of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom, along with the characterization of David and Solomon, as an invention built on the real-life counterpart of the Deuteronomist's supposed period of literary production, which overlooks the possible composite nature of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom. The cumulative and composite nature of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story implies that even the late Persian (or early Hellenistic) Deuteronomist were able to utilize diverse, multiple sources and imperial symbols of different eras, including their own, from their received traditions in the formulation of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom. Moreover, some imperial features were not unique to a certain historical period but were long-standing features observable in successive imperial eras. The persistence of imperial policies must be taken into consideration to avoid anachronistic dating.

I have no intent to rule out the historical existence of David and/or Solomon,[216] but only to point out that until irrefutable evidence is established their historicity and historicality (namely, how their historical existence was conceptualized by the ancient people) remain subject to imaginative reconstruction or fantasizing by scholars without solid evidence. My concern is that once such an imaginative construct assumes an axiomatic status, it continues to propagate like pre-critical historiographical traditions and to be adopted as a fact.[217] What may be asserted beyond reasonable doubt, even if David and Solomon are historical, is that the imperial

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[215] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 172, 201–02.

[216] Such as the position of Giovanni Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel* (trans. J. Bowden: New York: Crossroad, 1988), 17.

[217] For instance, Walter Brueggemann (*Solomon: Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement* [Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina, 2005], particularly 19–21, 66–67) builds on Finkelstein and Silberman's proposal of a Davidic-Solomonic chiefdom in his theological interpretation of 1 Kings 1–11, seeking to establish Solomon's transformation from the "historical" chief to the imagined Great King. However, the direction of Solomon's transformation seems to be the reverse, namely from the imagined Great King of the biblical texts to the imagined "historical chief" of the archaeologists and biblical scholars.

magnificence of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom as portrayed in the biblical texts is historically implausible and the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom is a fanciful imagination of the Deuteronomist. What are the sources of this fantastic portrayal? How much content is modelled after a real-life imperial apparatus, and how much stemmed from the Deuteronomist's fantasizing? Which imperialism is its primary imperial model? How do we identify these historical traces amidst the fictive elements in the text? What are the psychic mechanisms involved in the Deuteronomist's mental production of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom? What are the psychic mechanisms involved in the Yehudite readers/auditors' participation of this cultural fantasy? What are the psychic functions that it could serve to them? These questions warrant a postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach to the magnificent kingdom portrayed in the biblical texts. For my purposes, I will limit the scope of my study to the Solomonic narrative.

Reading Strategies on Solomon and the Solomonic Kingdom

The ambiguous, heterogeneous portraiture of Solomon is a widely recognized literary characteristic of 1 Kings 1–11. The legendary pious king possesses unsurpassable wisdom and incomparable affluence and power, but dramatically turns into an exemplary philogynist-cum-idolator. A variety of interpretive lenses have been employed to explain the uneasy bipolarity of Solomon's characterization. In the past few decades, biblical scholars' debate follows predominantly the binary logic of the historical-critical methods and revolves around whether the text conveys a diachronically differentiated pro-Solomonic view or anti-Solomonic view,[218] how

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[218] See Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 114/4 (1995): 607–22. For a short critique of the application of binary logic in the reading of 1 Kgs 1–11, see Eric A. Seibert, *Subversive Scribes and the Solomonic Narrative: A Rereading of 1 Kings 1–11* (New York; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 101–03.

the text should be atomized into the two polarized categories diachronically or synchronically,[219]

and how 1 Kgs 1–11 may be interpreted as an antimonarchic text in light of the Deuteronomic

Law of the King (Deut 17:14–18).[220] Based on internal analysis, more scholars have found anti-

Solomonic elements in 1 Kgs 1–10, which is the part of the text traditionally considered to have

delivered a wholesale favorable view of Solomon that contrasts with the anti-Solomonic

conclusion in chapter 11.[221] Thus the linear progression from a pro-Solomonic view to an anti-

Solomon view has been complicated with the polarized elements interspersed throughout 1 Kgs

1–11. Nevertheless, the text does not warrant an analysis that seeks to compartmentalize

character traits and acts into two poles. Moreover, an internal analysis of the text neglects the

sociocultural situatedness of all signifiers and bears a higher risk of overinterpretation by

imposing decontextualized, modern assumptions onto the text. In spite of the drawbacks, binary

logic and internal analysis persist generally in the current state of scholarship on 1 Kgs 1–11.

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[219] See Bezalel Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3–11)," 93–128; Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," 87–97; David Jobling, "'Forced Labor': Solomon's Golden Age and the Question of Literary Representation," *Semeia* 54 (1991): 57–76; Parker, "Repetition as a Structuring Device in 1 Kings 1–11," 19–27; Gary N. Knoppers, *Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies*, vol. 1, *The Reign of Solomon and the Rise of Jeroboam* (HSM 52; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 57–168.

[220] See Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 58–82; idem, "*Traditum* and Tradition: The Case of Deuteronomy 17:14–20," in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination: Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (ed. Deborah A. Green and Laura S. Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 52–53; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 168; Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," 97; Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," 616–17; Walter Dietrich, "History and Law: Deuteronomistic Historiography and Deuteronomic Law Exemplified in the Passage from the Period of the Judges to the Monarchical Period," in *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOSup 306; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 333–40; Dennis T. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses: A Theological Reading* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 83; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 504.

[221] See Lyle Eslinger, *Into the Hands of the Living God* (JSOTSup 84; Bible and Literature 24; Sheffield: Almond, 1989), 123–76; Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," 87–97; Walsh, "The Characterization of Solomon in First Kings 1–5," 471–93; Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," 607–22; Janell A. Johnson, "The Trouble with Solomon: Competing Characterizations in the Solomonic Narrative" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2005).

Attempts have been made to accommodate the textual ambiguities into interpretive frameworks. Noteworthy are a couple of recent works that go beyond the language of binary oppositions and take an integrative approach seeking to analyze textual ambiguities, contradictions, and inconsistencies as integral components of the text and part of the rhetorical strategy employed by the writer(s). Walter Brueggemann's theological approach to 1 Kgs 1–11 highlights the narrative complexity and ironic dimensions.[222] Beneath the surface literary layer of a great, pious, and successful king is a theological claim of the sovereignty of Yhwh that ultimately undermines "every human claimant to power and to render such claimants penultimate."[223] Eric A. Seibert takes a historical approach and analyzes 1 Kgs 1–11 as royal propaganda in relation to the ancient scribal culture.[224] He argues that the scribes who produced the royal propaganda took advantage of their role in textual production and subtly expressed within the textual interstices their subversive critique of the regime they served. Thus, propaganda serves as "a smokescreen for subversive ends."[225] The ostensibly propagandistic content and the subversive elements are deliberately overlaid to produce the textual ambiguities that subject the text to different interpretations, including those favorable to or critical of Solomon. Both Brueggemann's theological approach and Seibert's theory of scribal subversion presuppose that textual ambiguities are deliberate rhetorical strategies, implying the textual producers' absolute intentionality over their signifying activities and neglecting the possibility of unconscious forces at work.

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[222] Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina, 2005).
[223] Ibid., xiii.
[224] Eric A. Seibert, *Subversive Scribes and the Solomonic Narrative*.
[225] Ibid., 183.

Another textual feature of 1 Kgs 1–11 that invites critique, particularly from a Marxist or postcolonial perspective, is Solomon's imperial apparatus, in particular its systematic exploitation of the resources and labor of the subject populations and the imperial division of social and economic privileges. David Jobling reads the text with the Marxist interpretive framework proposed by Frederic Jameson, seeking to expose the ideological conflict in the literary construction of Solomon's Golden Age, how the real economics (with its exploitative measures and sexual repression) is suppressed, against the "reality principle," to make room for the portrayal of the ideal internal economic that has nevertheless left its traces in the text. Though employing a Marxist reading framework Jobling's reading contains traces of psychoanalytic influence, especially in linking the ideal economics to sexual repression and the eventual collapse of the ideal to sexual excess.[226] Christina Petterson reads the text's afterlife from a postcolonial perspective and highlights how the imperial rhetoric in 1 Kgs 1–11 has been appropriated subsequently by absolutist regimes to legitimate their sheer exploitation of resources and labor.[227] In his recent monograph, Roland Boer analyzes the economic apparatus of ancient Israel from a Russian Marxist framework of what he calls the "mode of *régulation*" and argues that ancient Israel was a palatine (or estate) regime grounded on religious assumptions, namely a "sacred economy."[228] Although Boer's focus is not primarily on the Solomonic Kingdom, he devotes a good section on analyzing its mode of extraction.[229] Boer

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[226] David Jobling, "'Forced Labor'," 57–76, particularly 61, 69–70. Jobling's so-called real and ideal are very schematic and may have stemmed from his preconceived materialist framework. What he means by the real is not equivalent to the historical but has its basis in the flesh-and-blood experience with imperialism. Arguably, this real is seen from the perspective of the imperialized. It could have been the ideal from the imperializer's viewpoint.

[227] Christina Petterson, "'Nothing Like It Was Ever Made in Any Kingdom': The Hunt for Solomon's Throne," in *Postcolonialism and the Hebrew Bible: The Next Step* (ed. Roland Boer; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 93–107.

[228] Roland Boer, *Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2015), 8.

[229] Ibid., 146–92.

argues that the Solomonic Kingdom is metaphorized with its mode of extraction portrayed as a regime of booty, modeled after the Neo-Assyrian and mostly Persian empires.[230] In agreement with Boer, my textual analysis also leads to a similar conclusion that the Solomonic Kingdom is a composite specter of these powerful empires.

A small number of scholars has approached 1 Kgs 1–11 with a psychoanalytic perspective. For instance, Dorothy F. Zeligs in her 1974 biographic analysis of the seven biblical leaders has included Solomon among them.[231] Zeligs rebiographizes the life of Solomon based on biblical texts and midrashic biographic intervention, a method she calls "an a posteriori imaginative method of creative reconstruction."[232] She then analyzes the reconstructed personality of Solomon, looking for clues to unravel his psychic conflicts and developmental struggles.[233] Zeligs' psychoanalysis of fictional characters (as though they are historical figures) with their reconstructed life stories is no longer considered valid.[234] In addition, her hermeneutic presupposition of the oedipal struggle, namely incestuous desire, as the basic narrative structuration goes beyond what the biblical texts warrant.[235] What is commendable is her insight on Solomon's narcissistic traits, in particular how his desire for wisdom manifests his desire for ominsicence and omnipotence and his hidden rivalry with David, whom he both admired and envied.[236] Incidentally, my analysis also leads to a similar conclusion about Solomon's narcissistic tendency, which, I will argue with detailed analysis, reflects the grandiose wish of

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[230] Ibid.
[231] Dorothy F. Zeligs, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible: A Study in Depth of Seven Leaders* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1974), 259–310.
[232] Ibid., 45.
[233] See ibid., 266–67.
[234] For more on the issue of character analysis, see p. 119 below.
[235] She states her oedipal presupposition explicitly: "I found that these textual enigmas often occurred *at those points where the content involved material of a conflictful or forbidden nature, such as sexuality or aggression in relation to incestuous objects*" (ibid., xxi; emphasis original).
[236] Ibid., 267–92.

the group, namely Yehudites, that the persona of Solomon metonymically represents—a conclusion that Zeligs's character analysis would not allow.[237]

Roland Boer also published "a pornographic interpretation" of 1 Kings 1–11, which he grounded on Freudian theories, notably censorship, libidinal investment, and the return of the repressed, to uncover the hidden sexual codes (traces, marks, and signs) in this "very sex-negative text."[238] Boer puts the text into dialogue with the biography of sexecologist Annie Sprinkle and reinterprets the visit of the Queen of Sheba as the Queen's intervention in Solomon's sexual repression, which ultimately leads to the excessive return of the repressed manifested in the end of Solomon's life. Boer's sharp focus on recovering the text's repressed sexual codes and his filling the gap with erotic details, though creative and excitatory, may be considered a transferential reading and an overinterpretation from a psychoanalytic perspective. In contrast to Boer's emphasis on the hidden sexual codes, my postcolonial-psychoanalysis will broaden the topos of desire to include both sexuality and imperialism, seeking to find their relation through the interpretive lens of psychoanalytic theories.

Besides Zeligs's and Boer's psychoanalytic readings that focus on the psychological or psychosexual development of Solomon, Steven Weitzman also devoted a chapter in his *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom* for a psychoanalytic interpretation of Solomon's first dream, following the psychoanalytic approach of Aviva Zornberg.[239] Zornberg presupposes the concept of "the biblical unconscious" embedded with human struggles, psychic conflicts, trauma, and mental processes that are recoverable through the traces they left in the textual surface.[240]

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[237] Ibid., xxi–xxiii.
[238] Roland Boer, "King Solomon Meets Annie Sprinkle," *Semeia* 82 (1998): 161–62.
[239] Steven Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011). For Weitzman's interpretation of Solomon's first dream, see pp. 227–231 below.
[240] Ibid., 18–20.

Weitzman interprets Solomon's desire for wisdom in terms of "the maturation process," namely an adolescent's transition from a sexually repressed subject into a sexual subject. Unlike Zeligs, Boer and Weitzman do not treat Solomon as a historical figure in their readings. Rather, they read in Solomon the psychosexual struggles common in human experience. A prominent feature shared by these psychoanalytic readings is their focus on the psychosexual development of Solomon, yet they tend to read the text without considering the signifying context in which it originated.

A New Reading Strategy: A Postcolonial-Psychoanalytic Approach

My postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach to the Solomonic narrative differs from the aforementioned historical-critical approaches and psychoanalytic readings. I take into consideration the role that imperialism played in the formation, suppression, and repression of desire and in the inducement of desire-related psychic conflicts among the imperialized. I seek to combine the analytical power of postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories to understand how Persian imperialism conditioned the signifying activities of the Deuteronomist and those of their first readers/auditors in the fourth century B.C.E., with the assumption that psychic forces, conscious or otherwise, governed these activities.

My approach is a historical-critical one insofar as I attempt to theorize the Deuteronomist's signifying process in their literary production of the Solomonic Kingdom by positing the text in the social, cultural, and political contexts in which it originated. The awareness of the historical situatedness of the text is essential to a postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach since every signification is culturally conditioned and makes use of historically situated signifiers. Thus in order to assess the text's plausible meanings for the Yehudites, all the marks, signs, and symbols

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contained in the text must be interpreted in light of the original signifying context. Due to the irreducible heterogeneity and inconsistency in human thoughts, textual ambiguities, contradictions, and inconsistencies will be treated as integrals of the text (rather than anomalies as in the traditional historical-critical approach), plausibly reflecting the Deuteronomist's psychic conflicts and psychic defensive strategies. However, I acknowledge that some inconsistencies may have stemmed from inadvertent scribal errors. Due to the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual transmission, different and even contesting versions of the same text may have circulated among and been read to the first readers/auditors. Thus, consultation of textual variants is imperative to yield additional insights to their plausible reception. Also, due to the irreducible heterogeneity of textual reception, the Solomonic narrative will inevitably be interpreted variably and transferentially by the Yehudites, resulting in different psychic functions. However, due to their shared ethnic identity and their common flesh-and-blood experiences under Persian imperialism, it can be reasonably assumed that they were likely to have arrived at similar socially and culturally conditioned readings.

As I have mentioned, biblical scholars have attempted to decipher the ambiguous portrayal of Solomon and the imperial prototype of the Solomonic Kingdom. Unfortunately, many of their readings have continued to follow the binary logic (pro-Solomon vs. anti-Solomon) and the assumption of one-to-one correspondence (Josianic date-Assyrian prototype; Persian date-Persian prototype) that have long dominated the historical-critical scholarship. They neglect the fact that the human psyche is very capable of producing ambiguous, contradictory, and inconsistent thoughts and that the text may be composite and cumulative in nature.

Although various interpretive frameworks have been employed in the reading of 1 Kgs 1– 11, none of them has combined the interpretive strengths of historical-critical hermeneutics,

postcolonial theories, and psychoanalytic theories to probe the signifying process of the

Deuteronomist and their Yehudite readers/auditors. As I will argue in detail in Chapter 2, both

postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories will illuminate our understanding of the historical-

critical issues related to the Yehudites' imperialism-conditioned signifying activities, as well as

their imperialism-induced psychic struggles. This new reading strategy will yield a more

historically plausible and culturally sensible theory regarding the Deuteronomist's production

and the Yehudites' reception of the text in its original signifying context.

1 Kings 1:1-12:24 as a Rhetorical Unit

A brief explanation is in order as to the reason that 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24, as opposed to 1 Kgs 1–

11, is treated as a rhetorical unit in this study. While many scholars have argued, defended,

and/or presupposed the traditional view of 1 Kgs 1–11 as a rhetorical unit, I regard 1 Kgs 1:1–

12:24 (the Solomonic narrative) as a rhetorical unit based on a structural analysis that shows a

more well-formed concentric structure (see Figure 1). Many scholars have suggested that 1 Kgs

1–11 forms a concentric structure based mainly on the lexical similarities that they have

observed in what they considered as corresponding sections.[241] However, a detailed analysis that

takes into the consideration thematic parallels/contrasts, literary motifs, narrative patterns, and

lexical similarities reveals that 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 forms a multipart, compound chiastic symmetry

(ABCDEFE'D'C'B'A') with multiple, disarrayed parallels found in each chiastic pairing (AA',

BB', CC', DD', EE'). [242] Each chiastic pairing contains recognizable thematic parallels and/or

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[241] For works in support of a concentric structure in 1 Kgs 1–11, see Kim Ian Parker, "Repetition as a Structuring Device in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 42 (1988): 19–27; idem, "Solomon as Philosopher King?: The Nexus of Law and Wisdom in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 53 (1992): 75–91; Marc Z. Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 87–97; Jerome T. Walsh, "Symmetry and the Sin of Solomon," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 12 (1993): 11–37; idem, "The Characterization of Solomon in First Kings 1–5," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 471–93.
[242] Although Amos Frisch ("Structure and Its Significance: The Narrative of Solomon's Reign (1 Kings 1–12:24),"

contrasts, and even these components only correspond fragmentarily without following a strict

linear or symmetrical order, as shown in the breakdown structure in Figure 1.

At the center of the overall concentric structure is the theme of the erection of the temple-

palace complex (F). The core section in itself forms a minor chiastic structure with the

preparations, construction, furnishings, and dedication of the temple used as frames to the theme

of the construction of the Solomonic palace. According to this double concentric structure, the

palace, an architectural icon of political dominance, takes precedence over the temple, a cultic

center, and occupies the nucleus of the Solomonic narrative.

In addition, the overall concentric structure follows a thematic pattern organized in terms of

the Solomonic Kingdom's geopolitical dominance, progressing from the theme of palatial

intrigues within the metropolis to the kingdom's universal dominance over foreign potentates in

the peripheries and then returning to the scenes of regional conflicts and domestic insurgence. In

other words, the outer frames (ABC // C'B'A') revolve around the theme of domestic politics

and internal turmoil, while the inner rings (DEFE'D') focus on the universal scale of Solomon's

imperial achievements and pacific mode of dominance.[243] In view of the compound concentric

structure displayed in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24, the pericope warrants to be analyzed as a rhetorical unit.

JSOT 16/51 (1991): 3–14) also argues for a concentric structure in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 based on a thematic analysis,
our divisions are not identical. Also, my view of 3:1–3 and 11:1–13 as a symmetric frame in the greater chiastic
structure of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 stands against some scholars' structural analyses that yield the result of 3:1–3 and
9:24–25 as a literary frame based on five lexical parallels (מקטיר, מזבח, בנה...בית, עיר דוד, בת־פרעה). For
instance, see Bezelel Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative [1 Kings 3–11]," *HUCA* 38
[1967]: 98; Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," 89–90. The lexical argument presented in these studies is not
as strong as the thematic contrasts shown in Figure 1. In addition to their thematic contrasts, 3:1–3 and 11:1–8 also
share six lexical parallels (דוד אביו, אהב, במה, מזבח, בת־פרעה, and מקטיר). The passage 3:1–3 contains more
thematic parallels to 11:1–8 than to 9:24–25, and the chiastic pairing is supported by the structural analysis of 1 Kgs
1:1–12:24 shown in Figure 1. For more on the literary and lexical parallels between 3:1–3 and 11:1–8, see pp. 238-
239 below.
[243] For further elaboration, see pp. 402-403 below.

A   The power struggle between Adonijah and Solomon (1:1–53)
     a   David's harem expansion: The recruitment of Abishag (1:1–4)
     b   Adonijah's plot (1:5–10)
     c   Nathan's and Bathsheba's counterplot (1:11–27)
         [Key motif: Bathsheba's entry to David's chamber]
     d   Solomon's ascension (1:28–40)
     e   Adonijah's fiasco (1:41–53)

     B   The conclusion of the Davidic epoch (2:1–12)
          a   David's deathbed admonition to Solomon (2:1–9)
              [Deuteronomistic feature: David's deuteronomistic speech (2:2–4)]
          b   David's death (2:10–12)

          C   The elimination of Solomon's internal opponents (2:13–46)
               a   The elimination of Adonijah the archenemy (2:13–25)
                   [Key motif: Bathsheba's entry to Solomon's presence]
               b   The elimination of Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei (2:26–46)

               D   Narrator's assessment of Solomon and his kingdom (3:1–3)
                    a   Foreign relations: Marriage alliance with the Pharaoh (3:1)
                    *b   Religious practices: Sacrifice at high places due to the absence of the
                         temple* (3:2)
                    c   Assessment: Solomon's obedience to YHWH (3:3)

                    E   Solomon's wisdom and imperial establishment (3:4–5:16[Eng. 4:34])
                         a   Solomon's first dream: divine grant of wisdom (3:4–15)
                         b   Solomon's proof of wisdom: The judgment of the two "fornicators"
                              (3:16–28)
                         c   The administration of the Solomonic Kingdom (4:1–19)
                         d   The magnificence of the Solomonic Kingdom (4:20–5:14[Eng. 4:34])

                         F   The erection of temple (and Solomon's palace) (5:15[Eng. 1]–8:66)
                              a   Preparations for the temple construction (5:15-32[Eng. 1-18])
                                  [Key motif: the debut of Hiram the Tyrian King]
                              b   Temple construction (6:1–38)
                              c   Solomon's palace construction (7:1–12)
                              b' Furnishings for the temple (7:13–51)
                                  [Key motif: the debut of Hiram the Bronzesmith]
                              a' Temple dedication ceremony (8:1–66)
                                  [Deuteronomistic feature: Solomon's deuteronomistic speech (8:15–30, 54–
                                  61)]

                    E'   Solomon's wisdom and imperial establishment (9:1–10:29)
                         a' Solomon's second dream: divine warning (9:1–9)
                         c' The administration of the Solomonic Kingdom (9:10–28)
                             [Key motif: the debut of Hiram the Maritime Partner]
                         *b' Solomon's proof of wisdom: The enigmatic saying of the Queen of
                              Sheba* (10:1–13)
                             [Key motif: The Queen of Sheba's entry to Solomon's presence]
                         d' The wealth of the Solomonic Kingdom (10:14–29)

               D'   Narrator's assessment of Solomon (11:1–13)
                    a' Foreign relations: Diplomatic marriages with other states (11:1–3)
                        [Key motif: Solomon's harem expansion]

> b' Religious practices: Solomon's idolatrous acts and his erection of high
> places (11:4–8)
> c' Assessment: Solomon's disobedience and YHWH's pronouncement (11:9–13)
>
>   C' The rise of Solomon's external adversaries (11:14–40)
>   b' The rise of Hadad of Edom and Rezon of Damascus (11:14–25)
>   a' The rise of Jeroboam the Ephraimite archenemy (11:26–40)
>
>   B' The conclusion of the Solomonic epoch (11:41–43)
>   b' Solomon's death (11:41–43)
>
> A' The power struggle between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (12:1–24)
>   b'. Jeroboam's plot (12:1–4)
>   c'. Rehoboam's counterplot (12:5–15, 21–24)
>   e'. Rehoboam's fiasco (12:16–19) [The division of the kingdom]
>   d'. Jeroboam's ascension (12:20–24)

Figure 1. The Chiastic Narrative Structure of 1 Kings 1:1–12:24

An Outline of the Study and Thesis

I have in this chapter argued that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is mostly likely a literary production of the late fourth century B.C.E. It shows signs of literary influences from the newly emerged genre of Greek historiography and the well-established literary traditions of ancient Southwest Asia. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story belongs to a translated genre that combines the literary features of local history and creative elements of ancient Southwest Asian literature. I have also argued that the Deuteronomist were a heterogenous group of literate people. The Deuteronomist of the original signifying context were likely to be the descendants of the diasporic Judeans working as Persian collaborators in Yehud, and they were likely to be affiliated with the Jerusalem cult.

Through a detailed textual analysis of the Solomonic narrative from a historical-critical postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective, I will argue in this study that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy of the imperialized Yehudites, bespeaking their unconscious wish to take the dominating, privileged position of their Persian imperializer and simultaneously to critique their

exploitative acts. In Chapter 2, I will lay out the proposed model of postcolonial-psychoanalytic criticism, along with its hermeneutic premises, that I will employ to read the Solomonic narrative within the larger literary framework of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. In order to argue that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy in a psychoanalytic sense, I will put forth a contemporary Freudian model of fantasy as a wish-fulfilling narrative and elaborate on the kind of psychic functions that cultural fantasy may have served the imperialized Yehudites through their transferential reading.

In the Chapters 3 to 8, I seek to analyze the fantasy-thoughts, identify the psychic mechanisms involved in the fantasy-work, and trace the fantasy-sources to Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian imperialism. In Chapters 3, I will analyze the manifest surface of the Solomonic narrative and argue that it is thoroughly a wish-fulfilling narrative even on the lexical and thematic level. The text is filled with multiple motifs of wish/desire, the theme of all things desirable, the theme of dreams, and a variety of amplifying devices that bespeak its hyperbolic and aggrandizing nature, reminiscent of ancient imperial discourses. The magnificence and extravagance of the Solomonic Kingdom are portrayed as unprecedented, unparalleled, and unsurpassable to a point that inevitably betrays "reality testing." I seek to establish at the end of this chapter that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy stemming from collective narcissism characterized by a sense of collective grandiosity and entitlement. I will argue from a postcolonial perspective that these collective narcissistic desires had their roots in an imperialism-induced inferiority complex. Narcissistic discourse such as the Solomonic narrative would have functioned to gratify compensatorily the imperialized Yehudites' forbidden, inhibited wish to take the Persian imperializer's place.

In Chapter 4, I will conduct a semanalysis of the text that deals with its latent content, divulging the hidden layers of drive-oriented signifiance.[244] I will show in detail how the Solomonic narrative has been semiotized and eroticized from beginning to end.[245] The concubinary body is semiotized at the very beginning, putting ambitious desire and erotic desire on the double plane of signification. Then, wisdom is semiotized and overlaid with meanings on the different levels of consciousness. Underneath the otherwise platonic motif of wisdom run the hidden yet parallel themes of ambitious desire and erotic desire. Toward the end, ambitious desire is increasingly eroticized through Solomon's multi-ethnic harem. Following the already-established narrative logic of the concubinary body, I argue that the multi-ethnic harem is an erotic allegory of imperial domination. Finally, cultic desire is also eroticized. The Yahwistic cult is semiotized with erotic affects. Solomon's (or the metonymic Israel's) desire to be loved by YHWH is expressed through the psychic mechanism of projective extraversion, which bespeaks the Yehudites's desire to be a privileged ethnic collective, conveying an unconscious wish of ethnic superiority.

In Chapters 5 to 7, I will provide a detailed textual analysis of the characterization of the Pharaoh, Hiram, and the Queen of Sheba. Based on the narrative's internal logic of one-to-one correspondence between a political entity and its leader, I will argue that the composite characters are respectively the metonymic representations of Egypt, Tyre/Phoenicia, and Arabia, each a fragmentary, distorted, and timeless representation of the corresponding political entity produced through the psychic mechanisms of condensation and composition. I will describe the contradictory, incommensurable roles they each play and the psychic mechanisms involved in their portrayal. The Pharaoh appears to be Solomon's father-in-law, the asylum provider to

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[244] For the definition of "semanalysis," see p. 195 below; for the definition of "signifiance," see p. 116 below.
[245] For the definition of "semiotization," see pp. 117–119 below.

Solomon's enemies, and Solomon's trade partner. Hiram the Tyrian king plays the roles of Solomon's vassal-ally, a bronzesmith, and Solomon's maritime exploration partner. The Queen of Sheba is a tributary, suitress, and surrogate mother to Solomon. By tracing identifiable elements of their characterization to their real-life counterparts and pinpointing their symbolic subjugation by Solomon, I will argue that their relations with Solomon (the metonymic Israel) reflect the Yehudites' unconscious desire to take the dominant place of the Persian imperializer and surpass them in subjugating these powerful potentates in a pacifist mode. This desire is satisfied through the various primary processes—introjective identification, subject-object reversal, and projection/introjection.

After the textual analytic chapters, Chapter 8 will focus on the historical context, in particular Persian imperialism. I will argue that many fantasy-sources of the Solomonic Kingdom are traceable to the Persian empire by enumerating the textual allusions. The similitude between the ideal Kingdom and the real empire produces a sense of what Freud calls *umheimlich* (uncanny), in which the familiar returns in an unfamiliar form. The uncanniness reveals again the psychic process of introjective identification and bespeaks the Yehudites' unconscious wish to take the place of the Persian imperializer.

Finally, in the conclusion section, I will evaluate the potential psychological efficacy of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom on the imperialized Yehudites. I will argue that it may result in a cathartic effect (as wish satisfier) and ideological, narcotic impact (as need pacifier) through the Yehudites' transferential mode of interpretation. Because of the heterogeneity of the readers'/auditors' reception and also their shared "imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious," the psychological effects would have been multiple. Subject to the degree of the Yehudite readers'/auditors' complicity with the Deuteronomist's psychic processes

and the extent of their awareness to their imperial circumstances, the Solomonic Kingdom could have produced both collaborative and resistant effects to Persian imperialism among the imperialized Yehudites. In sum, this study provides a detailed textual analysis of the Solomonic narrative from a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective. By positing the textual marks, signs, and symbols in the Deuteronomist's original signifying context, I seek to uncover the text's fantastic elements and psychic mechanisms involved in its production. I argue that the Solomonic Kingdom reflects an uneasy, ambivalent relationship between the imperialized Yehudites and the Persian imperializer. The Persian empire, displaced as the Solomonic Kingdom, is ambivalently portrayed as an object of both desire and derision. The cultural fantasy of the Solomon Kingdom would have satisfied the Yehudites' unconscious wish to take the dominant and privileged place of their Persian imperializer and at the same time to challenge their exploitative acts and militaristic rule.

CHAPTER 2

A PROPOSED MODEL OF POSTCOLONIAL-PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

Introduction

In this psychoanalytic-postcolonial analysis of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24, I employ a contemporary Freudian model of fantasy, treating the text as a wish-fulfilling narrative. In this chapter, I will delineate the reasons and premises of employing such a critical lens to the reading of the Solomonic narrative. The major propositions in this chapter include, first, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story reflects what is called *psychoanalytic temporality*, a sense of timelessness in which the past, the present, and the future are mingled seamlessly. It reflects an unsatisfied, forbidden wish of the imperialized Yehudites heuristically projected into the pre-dynastic past, by imagining the imperial heyday of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom.

Second, I will show that the Solomonic Kingdom constitutes a cultural fantasy of the imperialized Yehudites, reflecting their disguised way of expressing their ambitious wish to take the place of their Persian imperializer and at the same time to critique the social ills of Persian imperialism.

Third, since these wishes were impermissible in real life and their expression would have been suppressed by the Persian imperializer, the consequences of expressing them directly would endanger the lives of the imperialized. I will show that the Yehudites had every reason to believe that their lives were in danger if the Persians discovered such forbidden wishes. Thus, such belief would have led to the repression of such wishes or the expression of such wishes in a disguised way. As Freud discovered, repression causes psychical damming-up that awaits an interstice

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toward discharge.

Fourth, aggressive impulses to repudiate the imperial regime and to criticize its oppressive traits would have been repressed and held back, both in fear of imperial retaliation and out of the guilt toward offending the imperial authority. The latter is particularly salient if the imperialized Yehudites were co-opted as imperial collaborators and had internalized the ethical standards of the imperializer. In support of this claim, I will cite essential texts from the postcolonial studies to show that the colonized subjects are prone to internalize the colonizer's view of their own inferiority and preordained servitude.

Fifth, the production of a cultural fantasy, as a signifying practice, is a roundabout way to lift repression and overcome disruptive urges, in order to maintain psychic equilibrium. The psychic mechanisms in the service of self-preservation that are found in fantasies include projection, identification, projective/introjective identification, displacement, and subject-object reversal. This study argues that the Solomonic narrative is fraught with all these ego-defensive mechanisms. In addition, I will outline the possible additional gratifications that fantasies may yield as described by psychoanalyst Roy Schafer.[246]

The general outlook of my approach is Freudian; however, I do utilize the contributions of post-Freudian thought to the understanding of fantasy and psychic mechanisms involved in the production of cultural fantasy.[247] I utilize Julia Kristeva's theory of semiotics and Melanie

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[246] Roy Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization* (New York: International Universities Press, 1968), 87–90; see pp.142–144 below.

[247] For an example of a contemporary Freudian model of fantasy, see Joseph Sandler and Anne-Marie Sandler, "Phantasy and Its Transformations: A Contemporary Freudian View," in *Unconscious Phantasy* (ed. Steiner, Riccardo; London and New York: Karnac Books, 2003), 77–88. The key difference between the Freudian and post-Freudian conceptions of fantasy lies in the post-Freudians' expansion and modification of Freud's oedipal-based theory of *phantasy,* a term preserved for infantile unconscious fantasy, to the pre-oedipal phase. To Freud, all subsequent fantasies in a person's life are psychical processes derived from the basic structure of the oedipal-based primal fantasies (i.e., primal scene, parental seduction, and castration). Freud fails to account for the relation between biological urges and the psychical origins of phantasy in the pre-verbal, pre-oedipal phase, to which the post-Freudians have filled in the theorization. For an overview of the different Freudian and post-Freudian models of

Klein's theory of projection/introjection that cover the developmental stage of pre-verbal, pre-oedipal period in order to augment my Freudian model of fantasy.[248] Not only do their theories bear no contradiction to the Freudian model of fantasy as a wish-fulfilling narrative, but they actually add to the understanding of how unconscious psychic processes in the pre-verbal stage subsequently become an integral part of all texts, including cultural fantasies.

Psychoanalysis as Textual Analysis

Psychoanalysis, well known as a school of psychotherapy and a theory of human mind, as Sigmund Freud reminds us, is "first and foremost an art of interpreting."[249] In both their clinical practices and theoretical pursuit, psychoanalysts deal primarily with texts as products of the human psyche—be they dreams, jokes, narratives, tragedies, and other cultural artifacts—and attempt to unpack the signifying process in order to glean insights of psychic processes of the individual in question or of individuals as a social collective. For this reason, psychoanalysts are essentially textual analysts,[250] and psychoanalysis is a "textual analysis."

For Kristeva, the term "textual analysis" is preferred over "literary analysis," a term that, she argues, is loaded with preconceived ideal notions of literature and formalistic features as

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phantasy, see Riccardo Steiner, ed., *Unconscious Phantasy* (London and New York: Karnac Books, 2003). For a comparison of different conceptualizations of "phantasy," both Freudian and post-Freudian, their (in)compatibility, and the methodological difficulties to integrate these conceptual models, see Werner Bohleber et al., "Unconscious Phantasy and Its Conceptualizations: An Attempt at Conceptual Integration," *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 96 (2015): 705–30.

[248] See Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (trans. Margaret Waller; New York: Columbia University, 1984); Melanie Klein, "Notes on some Schizoid Mechanism," *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 27 (1949): 99–110; idem, "On Identification (1955)," in *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946–1963* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 141–75.

[249] Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920)*, SE* 18:18; see also idem, "Two Encyclopaedia Articles (1923 [1922])," *SE* 18:239. In a similar vein, Peter Brooks (*Psychoanalysis and Storytelling* [Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994], 47) considers psychoanalysis "a narrative discipline."

[250] Scott Jonathan Lee, "The Psychoanalysts as Textual Analysts," in *Jacques Lacan* (Boston: Twayne Publishers: 1990), 100–31.

evaluative standards.[251] Psychoanalysts as textual analysts look beyond the production of the literary surface of a text into the psychic mechanisms involved in the writing subject's textual-production process and subsequently involved on the readers' side in their meaning-production process. Text is no longer treated merely as a product of language, but rather as a product of the psyche of a writing subject and its interpretation, a derivative of the psyche of a reading subject. Thus, psychoanalytic criticism shifts from the traditional mode of criticism that investigates a text as a literary production to a mode that focuses on the productivity of a writing or reading subject. As Leon S. Roudiez points out succinctly in his introduction to Julia Kristeva's *Revolution in Poetic Language*, the aim of "textual analysis" is "to give an account of what went into a work, how it affects readers, and why."[252] In the same manner, I will treat 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 as a product of psychic processes, seeking to account for the Deuteronomist's productivity and how it may affect the readers'/auditors in their signifying process.

For the psychoanalytic critics, the notion of author-ity is a misnomer. It presupposes a writing subject's complete conscious control over his/her/hir signifying process and neglects the various psychic and cultural-conditioned social forces operating on the unconscious level of the signifying process, of which the writing subject may not even be aware. As psychoanalysts remind us, human actions, behaviors, and cultural actiivities are largely grounded on hidden, inconspicuous motives, with respect to the dynamic interplays between the human psyche, biological urges, family dynamics, social norms, and culture. In a literary production, these forces are operative within the unconscious of a writing subject, rather than an author, and coalesce to bring the text into being.[253] The term "subject" places the emphasis on the person

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[251] Leon S. Roudiez, Introduction to *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 5.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid., 7.

who carries out the writing action, regardless of the extent of his/her/hir control over the action; whereas the term "author" gives the false impression of the writer having complete control (read authority) over the signifying process. Because of the operation of the psychic and social forces within the unconscious, a writing subject does not have absolute author-ity over the production of meaning. Postcolonial critic Gayatri C. Spivak aptly points out that a writing subject constitutes both the condition and the effect of the ideology in action and that the belief in his/her author-ity is a result of "the received dogma of the illusion of freedom."[254] This is not to deny that authorial intent does not exist, but only that a text is always greater than the intentionality of its writing subject, who is himself/herself/hirself a sophisticated, heterogeneous being, whose conscious thoughts are nonetheless directed by unconscious processes. Psychoanalytic literary criticism presupposes textual productivity as a function of a writing subject's psychic energies, driven by biological urges that are partially repressed due to social and cultural constraints, and the symbolic languages that she/he/ze acquires through enculturation and acculturation—what roughly correspond to Kristeva's analytic categories of "the semiotic" and "the symbolic."[255]

Texts are the window leading to a writing subject's unconscious, which contains "uncontrolled and indestructible" motive forces that are otherwise inadmissible to the conscious unless through affective excitations and psychic ideations that bypass or overcome censorship, namely internal inhibitions and external obstacles, to reach consciousness.[256] These hidden forces are the major movers of human actions, behaviors, and cultural activities. Because of the enigmatic operatives of the unconscious, Sigmund Freud calls it an "internal foreign territory,"[257]

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[254] Gayatri C. Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), 97 and 118.
[255] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*.
[256] Sigmund Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), *SE* 5:612–16.
[257] Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1933 [1932]), *SE* 21:57.

while Jacques Lacan coined the term *extimacy* to describe it.[258]

Postcolonial-Psychoanalytic Criticism

Psychoanalysis and Postcolonial Studies

The impact of psychoanalysis on postcolonial theorists can never be overstated.[259] In their

study of colonial discourse, whose production and content are conditioned by colonialism, or

formulating theories on such discursive practices, postcolonial theorists have often employed

psychoanalytic theories as critical tools.[260] For instance, Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalytic

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[258] Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 139.

[259] See Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia Press, 1998): 47–49; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 115–28.

[260] Postcolonialism first appears as colonial discourse studies. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1. In order to look into the subject of postcolonial studies, a firm grasp of what postcolonial theorists meant by "discourse" is crucial. Under the influence of Michel Foucault, postcolonial theorists tend to understand discourse in relation to power and knowledge. To Foucault (*The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, 1st American ed., 3 vols. [New York: Pantheon Books, 1978], 3–35), discourse is in the historically conditioned and ideologically charged social domain that controls the effectiveness of the text and the intelligibility of the author and the reader. In this domain, power is articulated as knowledge and vice versa. This discursive power controls our comprehensibility (or knowing) of the world, and this knowledge in turn contributes to the shaping of the world and the larger discursive framework, with its privileged and dominant position in discursive practices. As readers of discourses, we inevitably take part in this apparatus of power/knowledge through our discursive practices. We are limited by the master discourse and at the same time participate in its perpetuation and/or evolution. With respect to postcolonialism, this is to say that even anticolonial discourses are inseparable from the power structure that they resist, namely colonialism. In attempting to unravel this subtle discursive mechanism that controls the intelligibility of writers and readers, colonial discourse must be read, interpreted, analyzed, and/or critiqued within the master discourse of colonialism. One of the major tasks of colonial discourse studies is to scrutinize and to theorize the workings of power in colonial discourse. The workings of power in the texts limit the intelligibility of the writers and the readers. This delimitation imposed by the text is what literary critics call *textuality*. Textuality involves more than the written texts and the syntactic relations of the signifiers, but rather the larger discursive space of signifiers. It is an endeavor of colonial discourse studies to delineate and theorize textuality. Colonial discourse studies focus on the discovering of colonial ideologies, the dismantling of representations, stereotypes, and Othering in the text, and describing how opposition and resistance can be accomplished within such discursive framework. In sum, colonial discourse studies, through the reading, re-reading, and un-reading of any texts that are produced under the direct or indirect influence of colonialism, aim to reveal the textuality of colonial discourse, whether it is to look at the representation or representability of the colonized, or the reiterability or performativity in the text, or the maintenance of colonial ideologies. To put it in an oversimplified way, the subject of postcolonialism is colonial discourse, and its primary task is to articulate colonial textuality. See also Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory,* 77; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. For the concept of textuality, see Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

concepts have through and through permeated Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*.[261]

Bhabha sees the colonial present in terms of "psychoanalytic temporality," fraught with temporal displacements and charged with affective cathexes (or flows of psychic energy).[262] Many of Bhabha's concepts, including unhomeliness, ambivalence, mimicry, and hybridity, are directly borrowed or derived from psychoanalytic theories. Even though postcolonial critic Gayatri C. Spivak's main concerns are unrelated to psychoanalysis, there are still scarce and sporadic psychoanalytic traces in her works. The Lacanian notion of subject formation and the Freudian notion of *Nachträglichkeit* (deferred action or the retroactivity of meaning) are fundamental to some major ideas in Spivak's theorization.[263] She is, in addition, very critical of Freud's phallocentrism and his amplification of the European middle-class family as the site of desire.[264]

Many anticolonial Marxist critics in the mid-twentieth century have repeatedly demonstrated the detrimental and dehumanizing effects of colonialism on the psychology and psychopathology of the colonized.[265] The imperial apparatus is by nature a repressive regime that seeks to deprive the colonized of their natural resources and exploit their labor power for the economic benefits of the colonizer. As the result, the various desires of the colonized are suppressed, regulated, and even denied in order that the desires of the colonizer can be gratified. The imperialized Yehudites who lived under the Persian overlords were no exception. According to Marxist

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[261] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*; see also Erin Runions, *Changing Subjects*, 79–81; Roland Boer, "Marx, Postcolonialism, and the Bible," in *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: Interdisplinary Intersections* (ed. Stephen D. Moore and Fernando F. Segovia; New York: T & T Clark International, 2005), 169–70.

[262] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 307. See pp. 130 for the psychoanalytic temporality or "timelessness."

[263] For instance, see the Lacanian concept of subject formation in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, 247–52.

[264] Colin MacCabe, Foreword to *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York and London: Methuen, 1987), xiv. For instance, Spivak (*A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, 132–35) subverts the Freudian idea of phallus as the female fetish in her analysis of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

[265] For instance, see Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (trans. Charles Lam Markmann; London: Pluto Press, 1986); trans. of *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Points. Série Essais 26; Paris, Éditions Poitns, 1952); idem, *The Wretch of the Earth*; Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (trans. Joan Pinkham; New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972; repr. 2000); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (expanded ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

biblical critic Roland Boer, ancient Southwest Asia had undergone three phrases of economic dominance: the subsistence regime, the estate (palatine and/or temple) regime, and the regime of plunder or booty. The southern Levant of the first millennium B.C.E. were under imperial dominance that belonged to the third phrase. Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and the Persian empires were all "extractive forms" of institution that sought to siphon surpluses from the subjugated.[266] The Persians' means of extraction, or what Boer defines as "plunder," were more refined than their Neo-Assyrian predecessors. While the Neo-Assyrians literally pillaged their subjects from time to time, the Persian refined their plunder methods systematically to tribute, taxation, and commercial exchange, and they were careful in finding the balance between extraction of the surpluses and the maintenance of the subsistence survival of the imperialized.[267] The Persians' extractive desires could have only been fulfilled with the regulation, suppression, and repression of the Yehudites' desires.

Both postcolonial and Marxist critics have pointed out that the topos of human psychic conflict, between the fulfillment of desire and its repression, cannot be limited to the Eurocentric middle-class family as Freud first conceptualized. It must be enlarged to include cultural and political arenas, putting the categories of race, gender, and class into the consideration of psychic conflicts.[268] Indeed, imperial culture, insofar as it is a means of regulating and frustrating certain biological drives of the imperialized in order to secure and maximize biological and material gratifications of an imperializing sector of the society, is definitely a topos of psychic conflicts. Imperialism has racialized the topos of desire and created a compartmentalized world constantly in confrontation, in which desire is either forcefully repressed on the side of the colonized or

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[266] Roland Boer, *The Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, 141–42.
[267] Ibid., 146–92.
[268] For instance, see Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 115–45.

often uninhibitedly expressed by the other side at the expense of the colonized. The repressed desire of the colonized is thus forced to be momentarily and substitutively gratified through the psychic activities of dreams, fantasies, and if circumstances allowed, other cultural productions.

The colonized have learned to desire what is desirable, coveted, and lusted by the colonizer, a character of all desire that René Girard calls "mimetic desire."[269] Colonialization creates a hiatus of desire, in which the colonized, being put in the position of lack and encouraged to identify with the colonizer, is perpetually wanting what the colonizer desires yet perpetually repressing such want. As Frantz Fanon puts it, "The gaze that the colonized subject casts at the colonist's sector is a look of lust, a look of envy. Dreams of possession. Every type of possession: of sitting at the colonist's table and sleeping in his bed, preferably with his wife."[270] The consequential situation is what Aimé Césaire calls "a universal regression," in which not only the colonized, threatened and driven to despair and taught to be inferior and self-despised, is reduced to basic instincts of survival, but the colonizer, being driven by buried instincts to racial hatred, moral degradation, violence, insatiable avarice, is also decivilized.[271] Under the absurdity of colonialism, the colonized secretly wishes to remove the colonizer from its dominant, privileged position and to take their place. In turn, the colonized becomes identifying with the aggressor and develops this aggressive wish of usurpation. The colonized, being the victims of imperial domination, is not immune from the aggressive wish to be the dominator of others. In sum, colonialism creates a moral impasse on all sides involved.

Both Césaire and Fanon have argued against the pseudoscientific works produced in the mid-twentieth century by the French psychiatrists and psychoanalysts attempting to prove a

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[269] See René Girard, *Mimesis Theory: Essays on Literature and Criticism, 1953–2005* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008).
[270] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretch of the Earth*, 5.
[271] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 35–43.

phylogenetic or ontogenetic dependence complex of the colonized,[272] which is a proposition that Freud would certainly not endorse. Fanon shows from his clinical practices as a psychoanalyst that the degenerative and pathogenic root for the rampaging mental issues of the colonized lies precisely on the sociogene of colonialism.[273] In Fanon's words, "*colonialism…dislocated and distorted the psyche of the oppressed*" (emphasis original).[274] If "cure" means the integration of the colonized into the world of colonial order, then "cure" is just the perpetuation of the pathogenic situation and of the power structure of the colonial world. The hostile, exploitative, condescending attitude of the colonizer and the deprivation of rights and privileges along the racial line place the colonized in a permanent state of confusion and psychic tension. The colonized is not inherently inferior; they were taught to feel inferior. Racialized inferiority complex is the subject effect of colonialism, rooted in the oppressive and repressive colonial regime. Colonialism has made the colonized a *split subject*, whose subject formation is interpellated and effected by imperialism on a discursive level that is often unconscious. The colonial split subject's psyche is in great internal struggle, because she/he/ze is forced to suppress and repress his/her/hir biological urges and desires in order that those of the Other can be gratified. Nonetheless, from a psychanalytic perspective, these repressed drives would never be completely obviated in the psyche, but they constantly seek interstices for expression. According to Freud, drives can never be extinguished; they always search for a channel of discharge. When urges and desires are suppressed and prohibited, they are either left to their own in repression and await a chance to return, or they are expressed in other substitutive, and often pathological, forms. Compensatory gratification, in this case, could be seen as a defensive

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[272] Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 29–78; Fanon, *The Wretch of the Earth*, 181–234.
[273] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 9–16.
[274] Fanon, *The Wretch of the Earth*, 122.

mechanism on the unconscious level that seeks to pacify the uncontrollable and destructive power of the drives, by channelling the discharge. In both repression and compensatory gratification, urges and desires are put in halt only temporarily, what Kristeva calls "stases," but their motility, namely their tendency toward discharge, is never obviated.[275] In an imperial culture, the vacillation between stasis and motility is a function of suppression of the imperial regime and the tendency of discharge on an individual level.

In sum, what the postcolonial theorists and their predecessors have reminded us is that the topos of desire, its expression and repression, covers more than the middle-class family, but it encompasses even the cultural and political arenas. Freud's psychoanalytic studies of culture in his later career, also reflect and support this expanded view of the topos of desire. He ventured into the topics of religion, morality, anthropology, civilization, and antiquities and demonstrated that instinctual drives and repression are inextricably linked to cultural phenomena.[276] In this sense, postcolonial theorists did not depart form Freud's view but rather extrapolate his vision by applying psychoanalytic theories in postcolonial studies. Imperialism, insofar as it is a regime of desire in terms of its expression and control, is also a topos of desire. Through my postcolonial-psychoanalytic analysis of the Solomonic narrative, I will show that the text contains the kind of "mimetic desire" described by anticolonial critics, namely the imperialized Yehudites' wish to take the dominant place of their Persian imperializer. It constitutes a cultural fantasy, a psychic reality produced by the Yehudites, through which their forbidden and inexpressible wish to be the imperializer can be temporarily and compensatorily gratified.

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[275] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 25–30.

[276] For instance, Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (1912-1913), *SE* 13:ix–162; idem, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930 [1929])*, SE* 21:59–145; idem, *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays* (1939 [1937-1939]), *SE* 23:3–137.

Psychoanalysis and "Epic History"

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is an accumulative narrative that contains traces of influences by Greek historiography and Attic tragedies and those by earlier epical traditions in the ancient Southwest Asia. It retains epic's more oral, mythological, and poetic features, and it reflects less inquisitive interest in historical veracity and causation than Greek historiography. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is neither fully an epic nor fully a history, but an accumulative narrative that reflects the influences of multiple genres. It is what Elizabeth Bellamy would have called an "epic history."[277] In an "epic history," historical material is interwoven with fictive material in a complex way. Its characters are neither entirely historical nor entirely fictive, but each embodies ideal and historical components, each is embedded with the ideologies of the time and points toward the anticipations of the future. The epic narratives of mythological and timeless features are reimagined, historicized, and placed in a chronological framework together with the historical narratives from the recent past. They are fused in a way that reflects the present concerns of the writer, influenced by the sociocultural and ideological predilections of his/her/hir time and with the forward movement to create a future envisioned. As Bellamy argues, much of the operations of the production of "epic history" happens on the level of the unconscious, in which fictive, imaginary, contradictory, and inconsistent materials of different realms are amalgamated with the historical material. Thus, "[e]ach individual epic that constitutes the signifying chain of the *translatio imperii* seeks to interpellate and disperse the subjects of its narrative within the particular configurations of imperial power. … These translations of power end up operating largely on the level of unconscious…."[278]

Epic, Bellamy argues, is a narrative of the sociocultural and political terms heavily mediated

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[277] Elizabeth J. Bellamy, *Translations of Power*.
[278] Ibid., 34.

through fictive elements that can be analyzed fruitfully from a psychoanalytic perspective, because its narrative structuration is essentially the psychic structuration of the writing subject, a product of the mind that operates on largely an unconscious level.[279] Peter Brooks puts it in a similar way: "the structure of literature *is* in some sense the structure of mind."[280] Thus, in agreement with Bellamy, "epic history" warrants psychoanalytic criticism that pays attention to the working of the unconscious in light of the sociocultural codes and institutional logics in which it is produced. The Solomonic Kingdom (1 Kgs 1:1–12:24) is a narrative that belongs to the larger Deuteronomistic "Epic History," with its invented, fictive material and other historical or timeless traditions combined in the most imaginative way, whose narrative structuration is definitely also the psychic structuration of the Deuteronomist. Psychoanalytic theories will certainly illuminate the productivity of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story.

Premises of Postcolonial-Psychoanalytic Criticism

Premises on the Signifying Process

The production of a text involves the psychic investment of a *writing subject*, whose psychic processes, governed by the unconscious, operate to form the text. Thus, a writing subject may be unaware of the hidden forces and many, if not numerous, unconscious motives that direct the production of the text. The text is assumed to have been propelled by "primitive materials" of the writing subject's unconscious drives (even on the most biological level), and psychic conflicts arise from social and cultural constraints.[281] A textual analysis in relation to the unconscious

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[279] Ibid., 21.
[280] Peter Brooks, "The Idea of a Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism," in *Discourse in Psychoanalysis and Literature* (ed. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan; London and New York: Methuen, 1987), 148.
[281] Meredith Anne Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 273.

processes of the writing subject can be conducted with what Kristeva calls the semiotic and

symbolic dispositions with the consideration of the subject and his/her/hir sociocultural and

historical contexts.[282] For Kristeva, the *semiotic* (nonverbal signifying systems) and the *symbolic*

(the verbal systems that include signs, syntaxes, stylistics and semantics) are the two modalities

in the signifying process.[283] The semiotic, though inseparable from the symbolic, is the drive-

facilitated precondition for the symbolic or the acquisition of language. For instance, the

semiotic function of drives that orient toward the mother's breasts or the milk bottle and through

discharges results in stasis or the negativity of the drive. The dialectic of the infant's drives and

stases thus completes a nonverbal signifying process that yields the meaning to the mother's

breasts or the milk bottle. This is the stage that precedes the acquisition of the linguistic signs,

but continues to go in tandem with the signifying process after the entrance into the symbolic.[284]

Since then, the subject of enunciation is "always *both* semiotic and symbolic," and never

exclusively one.[285]

The semiotic is the part of the signifying process that is governed by the motility of drives

that seek toward discharge, oscillating between charges and stases. It is a modality dominated by

unconscious processes that constitute biological urges, affects, repression and other defensive

mechanisms (psychic resistance). Since the semiotic belongs to the nonverbal order, Kristeva

coined the term "*signifiance*" to describe this drive-facilitated yet nonverbal signifying process

that permeates the symbolic. The term "signification" is inadequate and misleading insofar as its

emphasis is on the construction of meaning through a set of signifiers and neglects the fact that

textual practice is also governed and driven by the unconscious urges that are socially controlled

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[282] Roudiez, Introduction to *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 3.
[283] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 19–30.
[284] Ibid., 41.
[285] Ibid., 19–24.

and oriented. Signifiers are always appropriated and displaced by a "desiring machine" toward a discharge of affects and urges. [286] Signifiance is a heterogeneous process that involves the dynamics between the tendency of biological urges toward expression and the sociocultural constraints that put these urges under control. It reflects simultaneously the struggle for the expression of desires, the transgression of social constraints, and the repression of forbidden desires as a result of censorship. This process manifests itself in the text not so much on its symbolic surface, but on a semiotic level toward a discharge and restructuring of the psychic energies, for instance through displacement and omission (or "measurable absence"). [287]

Kristeva terms the process of signifiance *semiotization*. Some of the nonverbal ingredients of *semiotization* include, but are not limited to, voice, gesture, colors, and images. While the unconscious is not synonymous to the semiotic, the latter operates on the level of the unconscious, which, as Lacan demonstrated, is structured in the manner of a language and thus its significations are always in reference to the real. [288] Condensation and displacement, the two quintessential operations in Freud's theory of the unconscious, correspond respectively to the figurative devices of metaphor and metonymy. [289] The semiotic and the symbolic, though not identical, correspond roughly to the latent content and the manifest surface in the Freudian theories of dreams and fantasies.

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[286] Ibid., 17.

[287] "Measurable absence" is a term coined by ideological critic Terry Eagleton to denote what is expected to have been said but is not expressed in a text. The term is similar to Freud's notion of "omission." See Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory* (London: Verso, 1976), 72; see also p. 462 below.

[288] Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (trans. Bruce Fink; New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 412–41.

[289] Maud Ellmann, Introduction to *Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism* (ed. Maud Ellmann; London and New York: Longman, 1994), 5; Cynthia Chase, "'Transference' as trope and persuasion," in *Discourse in Psychoanalysis and Literature* (ed. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan; London and New York: Methuen, 1987), 217. For the psychoanalytic concepts of condensation and displacement, see Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:277–309.

Premises on the Text

Psychoanalytic criticism, as I mentioned, deals primarily with the *text*. The object of analysis is nothing but the text.[290] In the absence of its writing subject, a text reveals him/her/hir as a signifying process through both the symbolic and the semiotic. In accordance with psychoanalytic assumptions, no text is taken at face value as merely the manifest (or surface) content. A text is assumed to be semiotized, charged with drive-facilitated marks, and structured according to the psychic processes of its writing subject. It simultaneously reveals and conceals the thoughts of the writing subject. It is the result of largely hidden, forgotten motives of which its writing subject may not even have been aware. As invisible as they are, these hidden forces leave visible traces that hint at their operations and reflect the writing subject's psychic conflicts, as well as his/her/hir unexpressed and inexpressible desires. A sound textual analysis requires the consideration of the sociocultural circumstances that conditioned the psychic processes of a writing subject in order to determine these hidden forces. As Meredith Anne Skura aptly points out, "In actuality, almost nothing is absolutely 'unconscious' in this [hidden, invisible] way; the unconscious motive is always present in some form, however bizarre or disowned, and always provided the analyst with cues to its presence."[291]

It is unclear how a writing subject semiotizes a text and how a text is distributed with the unconscious operatives of the writing subject. However, it is unlikely that these operatives are always achieved through the identification with the protagonist, or the main characters, of the story, as Freud and some early critics theorize. The location of transference, the textual hints of the psychic processes of a writing subject in his/her/hir absence, can emerge anywhere, nowhere,

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[290] For the distinction between traditional psychoanalytic criticism and a textual approach to psychoanalytic criticism, see Peter Brooks, "The Idea of a Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism," 1–18; idem, *Psychoanalysis and Storytelling*.

[291] Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process*, 40.

or sporadically in the entire text with different intensities. It may not appear mimetically, but more likely may be in distorted or displaced forms.[292] It is fluid and constantly shifting; thus, psychoanalytic critics must pay due attention on the textual clues, the text's narrative structure, and its focalization. We must not repeat the pervasive yet fallacious attempts of the textual analysts in the past few decades to psychoanalyze a writing subject by "character analysis" and even attempt, with the "insights" supposedly gleaned from psychoanalysis, to reconstruct the childhood experiences of a character who has no childhood.[293] The ungrounded assumption is that a character is a biographical equivalent of a real persona of the writing subject, whether in fiction or nonfiction (autobiography, poetry), encapsulated with his/her/hir psychological struggles, deepest desires, and insights. This assumption oversimplifies the complex operation of the unconscious in the signifying process and neglects the fact that a text is semiotized unevenly and on a few narrative layers—characters, themes, plot, and/or focalizers. In other words, the entire text, not just the protagonist in the text, should be treated as a psychoanalytic process in which the writing subject reveals his/her/hir thoughts and hidden, unacknowledged or unknown, motives in relation to his/her/hir past. Even if past experiences are forgotten, they are buried somewhere in the unconscious and continue to influence the psychic processes of a subject.

Premises on the Signifying Context

Roudiez summaries the importance of the all-encompassing signifying context in a nutshell, "no text signifies without its context—its *total* context, be it conscious, unconscious, preconscious, linguistic, cultural, political, literary…"[294] (emphasis original). Relevant to the

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[292] Ibid., 56–57.

[293] For a critique of psychoanalytic "character analysis," see Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process*, 30–32. For instance, Ernest Jones analyzed Hamlet, who had no childhood, as though he was a real person (see Maud Ellmann, Introduction to *Psychoanalytic Literary*, 3–4). For an instance of such errant "character analysis" and childhood reconstruction in biblical studies, see David J. Halperin, *Seeking Ezekiel: Text and Psychology* (University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

[294] Roudiez, Introduction to *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 9.

purpose of this study, the Solomonic narrative as a text presumably produced by the imperialized Yehudites is inseparable from its imperial context, invested with the desires, hidden motives, and psychic conflicts symbolically entangled with Persian imperialism. Both symbolic signs and to a certain extent semiotic marks are culturally determined, and they occupy a place in the signifying context. A sign carries a certain meaning in a discursive context and may carry a different set of meanings in another discursive context. Thus, a text is a cultural product, whose signification and signifiance must be interpreted under the backdrop of the social, political, economic, and cultural matrices.

Freud, in the early formative stage of psychoanalytic theories, has accentuated the importance of the signifying context in the psychoanalytic process. He emphasizes that dreams, and I shall add creative writings in general, are "derived from experience" or "the day's residue."[295] Thus, even the symbolic content can only be interpreted with respect to the subject's personal history.[296] In other words, the location of the signs and their symbolic significance and even hidden meanings are inextricably connected. The location includes all aspects of the subjective experience, within a subject's sociocultural and historical contexts. To take the subjective experience into account is to minimize the risk of over-interpretation or assigning meanings alien or irrelevant to the sociocultural contexts of the subject.

"Subjective experience" is here defined broadly as everything that a subject comes across in his/her/hir life, including real or imagined interactions with other people and his/her/hir environment, knowledge acquired directly through primary encounters or indirectly through secondary sources, including received traditions in written or oral form, and visual and performance arts. Even learned traditions of past events that purportedly happened before the

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[295] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:11 and *SE* 5:573.
[296] Ibid., *SE* 4:152.

subject's life time could potentially shape the subject's conception, perception, and subsequent experiences in his/her/hir world. Thus, they are counted as a part of his/her/hir subjective experience. The events that happened externally in the subject's environment and social world also carry a shaping force on the subject's internal processes, and they appear as representations in the psyche; thus, they are also counted as his/her/hir subjective experience. Because of the subject's ability to internalize the external events, these events are constitutive of his/her/hir psyche. This problematizes the simple division between the inner world and the outer world. The inner psyche is where the subject contains the representations of the perceived outer realities.[297]

The sociocultural aspects of the psyche of a writing subject are in particular pertinent to a postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach to the Solomonic narrative. Persian imperialism is not merely an external political apparatus that impacted the production of the text, but a sociocultural force that guides the psychic structuration of the Deuteronomist. This makes empire studies and postcolonial theories indispensable to the psychoanalytic criticism of biblical texts, whose emergence, production, revisions, transmission, canonization, and even interpretation all have happened in the imperial discursive contexts. Imperial culture in which the Deuteronomist were enculturated and acculturated played a significant role on their productivity and the production of the Deuteronomist (Hi)story. Thus, sociohistorically, biblical texts occupy a signifying location of imperialism. Psychoanalytic theories cannot be employed blindly to the reading of biblical texts, without considering how their imperial contexts affect the signifying process. No texts are formed in a vacuum, but they are always situated and consequential to the social, cultural, political, and socio-psychological contexts in which they come into existence. While literary critics may confine themselves to the analysis of literary features and the appreciation of literary

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[297] Thwaites, *Reading Freud*, 26–7; see Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams, SE* 4:97–108.

aesthetics, psychoanalysts always seek to uncover the extra-textual drives, needs, and wishes that shape the manifest surface of a text. These hidden forces are rooted in biological urges stemming from the sociocultural constraints of the writing subject's contexts. Textual analysis on texts produced in the imperial contexts cannot be conducted separately from research on the relevant imperialisms.[298] It is imperative that a psychoanalytic approach of the Solomonic narrative be fortified with postcolonial theories and takes into consideration the imperial context of the signifiers in which the text was produced. Thus, I use the hyphenated term "postcolonial-psychoanalytic criticism" to designate the necessity and equal strength of these two critical lenses to my textual analysis of the Solomonic narrative.

Two major issues complicate the postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach to the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story: the anonymity of the Deuteronomist and the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual production. First, the anonymity of the Deuteronomist means that an inquiry of the biographical details of the writing subject(s) is out of question. However, the anonymity does not disqualify a postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach. As I have mentioned, it is through a text that a writing subject reveals or conceals himself/herself/hirself in his/her/hir absence. What is under scrutiny is the text or the signifying process in the absence of the writing subject. However, since signs always occupy a place and sociocultural contexts shape both the production of the text and the productivity of the writing subject(s), textual analysis must be done with due attention to Persian imperialism, the sociocultural and psychic structuration of the time of production.

Second, the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual production implies that the text

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[298] Philip R. Davies's conception of biblical sociology advocates for a similar historical approach to biblical texts. For Davies, biblical texts are to be read as cultural artifacts and cannot be textually analyzed in isolation from their sociological background. See Philip R. Davies, "The Society of Biblical Israel," 22–33.

as we now have it has undergone the influence of scribal emendations or errors, expansions, omissions, reordering, and harmonization in the process of its transmission, making the production a sort of "collective" effort by multiple writing and transmitting subjects. It is true that when we speak of the unconscious it is always personal and never collective. However, insofar as the sociocultural contexts play a constitutive role in the structuration of the unconscious, it is not wrong to speak of a shared unconscious that engenders specific psychic conflicts and desires among people who belonged to the same or similar sociocultural contexts. This "cultural segment of the unconscious,"[299] as Weston La Barre puts it, is the very basis for collective delusion. Thus, in spite of the "collective" nature of the production of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, I presuppose that this "cultural segment of the unconscious" was shared among those involved in the cultural production of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, irrespective of how miniscule the role they played in it, and its first readers/auditors who lived under the same sociocultural circumstances. Irrespective of their role and the extent of their textual involvement, they all took part in the signifying process of the Solomonic narrative, and participated in the cultural fantasy.

In an imperial context, the "cultural segment of the unconscious" is inevitably configured by imperialism. This "cultural segment of the unconscious" makes it possible for us to speak of the Solomonic Kingdom as a *cultural fantasy* and to analyze its fantasy-sources and fantasy-thoughts with respect to, so to speak, the "imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious" in the Persian period. This "imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious" is different from "the axiomatics of imperialism at work,"[300] namely the underlying imperialistic assumptions that

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[299] Weston La Barre, *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 207.
[300] For the expression that Spivak used to describe the imperial presuppositions undergirding colonial discourse, see Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, 340.

go without saying. They are operative on an ideological level and decisively direct the intelligibility of the readers. Such axiomatics intricately concatenate with each other to form an epistemological structure based on which the world and whatever happens within it are to be interpreted. These axiomatics, even if unarticulated and unchallenged, belong to a perceptible yet involuntary (or automated) level, thus to what Freud calls the preconscious. In contrast, by the "imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious," I refer to the semiotic operatives, with its biological and social integrals, namely the vacillation of psychic energies between stasis and discharge in relation to imperialism. Textual practices happening within the imperial context are inevitably conditioned by both "the axiomatics of imperialism" and the imperialism-regulated psychic energies. The latter is susceptible to the influence of the former, and yet dynamically resistant to it by seeking interstices for discharge. In other words, I have expanded the traditional task of postcolonial criticism from the inquiry of any discursive dependence on imperialist ideology (the symbolic) to cover the inquiry of the dynamics of psychic processes conditioned by imperialism and embedded in the text (the semiotic).

Premises on Readership/Audience

Texts call for a transferential reading through the share of unconscious desire, the displacement of the signifying places, and the will to know of the readers/auditors, with their ability to freely associate the texts analogously to their own particular personal, cultural, and sociopolitical circumstances. Texts always invite the readers/auditors to interpret and to intervene in the textual interstices, constructing a coherent narrative that bridges the texts to their own subjective experience. Texts elicit the will of the readers/auditors to know and entice them to share its unconscious wishes by means of its pleasurable effect.[301] In order to understand, the

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[301] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams, SE* 4:303–10.

readers/auditors must at times suspend their disbeliefs and participate in the fantasizing of the writer(s) by allowing their own fantasies to be aroused. Transferential reading presupposes both the circumscription and the displacement of signifiers. Meanings are circumscribed textually by the signifiers, but these signifiers are always received anew by a reader/auditor who occupies a signifying location, both in terms of his/her/hir subject position and sociocultural position, which is never identical to that of the writer(s).

As Jacques Lacan reminds psychoanalysts, it is "the simple fact that language, prior to signifying something, signifies to someone."[302] Thus, transference happens already at the conceptual stage of a textual production, in which a writing subject conceives the targeted readership/audience's signifying position and receptivity. Pertinent to my study, questions such as whether the Deuteronomist imagined the targeted readers/auditors to be the Yehudite public or just the elite, whether the work was meant for public performance or private consumption, whether it would be read or performed, whether the Deuteronomist expected the work to be accessible or censored by the agents of the imperializer—all are decisive to the signifying process. In other words, they, perhaps largely on an unconscious level, affect what could be safely expressed on the textual surface, what could have been prohibited to be expressed, and what could only be expressed in omission or in distorted forms.

A noteworthy aspect of transferential reading is the text's invitation of the readers' complicity to the perspective of the writer. The complicity can be achieved through the share of psychic state and the socioeconomic and cultural locations that the writer(s) and the readers/auditors have in common. A transferential reading/performance provides an outlet for discharge of affects and possibly leads to a reader's insight of her/his own unconscious

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[302] Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English* (trans. Bruce Fink in collaboration with Héloïse Fink and Russell Grigg; New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 66; trans. of *Écrits* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1966).

processes; thus, it carries a cathartic or therapeutic function, which, as I will argue, ironically could also serve a narcotic function as an ideological tool of containment. The production of a text and its performative reading/listening function as an outlet of affects, through which socially or political sanctioned desires, while dangerous to pursue in reality, can be expressed cathartically and discharged regularly, without subjecting the writer or his/her/hir readers/auditors to the danger of social and political retaliations and the psychological fear or anxiety over such danger. In this sense, drives are contained through compensatory gratification and prevented from reaching an eruptive level that could possibly threaten the political regime in power or disturb social order. Even on the unconscious level, an aesthetic experience could serve a cathartic function as an ego defensive mechanism protecting the subject from real or perceived danger of discharging the forbidden desires in real life. Thus, the unconscious functions as a site of psychic resistance or self-preservation. Even so, the performativity of the aesthetic experience, in their displaced forms, may still serve a narcotic function to prolong the circumscription of the forbidden desires to the textual or performative expression, turning psychic resistance in favor of the repressive regime to further social conformity and to minimize, ironically, revolutionary actions. The unconscious site of psychic resistance colludes and coincides with the site of political repression, if the stases of drives continue to be achieved not through discharges but through compensatory gratification and repression.[303] The Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy may have served both these cathartic and narcotic functions. In other words, the Yehudites' wish to take the imperializer's place is expressed cathartically, but the regular discharge of the repressed desire may in turn function as a containment of this forbidden wish to

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[303] For the notion of substitutive gratification or compensatory gratification, see Sigmund Freud, "A Difficulty in the Path of Psycho-Analysis (1917)," *SE* 17:135–44; Maurice Charney and Joseph Reppen, *Psychoanalytic Approaches to Literature and Film* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1987), 7–8.

textual expression, minimizing revolutionary sentiments and thus potential threat to the Persian regime.

Creative writing (such as fictions, tragedies, jokes, and even epics) is a quintessential art form in which alternative worlds (psychic realities) are created as a psychic strategy of coping with present reality and at the same time are employed for its psychic utility as an ideological strategy of directing the future toward certain trajectories, whether for the maintenance of the status quo, social progression, or social regression. Texts as signifying practices do not reflect reality, but participate in the shaping of cultural realities precisely because of the ideological value of the psychic operation in the signifying process. Ironically, the object of psychic resistance may be the object of ideological containment. What I intend to show with the narrative on the Solomonic Kingdom is precisely this dual function of catharsis and narcosis. I will argue in Chapter 9 that the narrative provides a means of compensatory gratification that reflects the psychic resistance to being subjugated and yet that simultaneously furthers the imperial course of subjugation.

A Contemporary Freudian Model of Fantasy

Fantasy as a Wish Satisfier

Freud puts fantasies (or day-dreams) along with dreams, and other forms of creative writings and art works, into the same functional category of wish-fulfilling devices, through which alternate worlds are created as psychic realities to satisfy repressed wishes that are otherwise unsatisfied, inaccessible, impermissible, or morally reprehensible in real life.[304] A fantasy is the

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[304] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:121, *SE* 5: 491–92, 550–72; Freud, "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming (1908 [1907])," *SE* 9:141–54. For a psychoanalytic criticism of text as fantasy, see also Skura, *The Literary Use of*

functional equivalent of a dream in a waking state, often with conscious ideational content. Thus,

just like a dream, a fantasy is "*a (disguised) fulfilment of a (suppressed or repressed) wish*"

(emphasis original).[305] Many fantasies are the result of conscious ideation; however, like dreams,

fantasies are under the influence of unconscious motives and filled with repressed material.

Thus, they also reflect the psychic mechanisms of "primary process," in which reality testing is

suspended and more narrative allowance is made for unrealistic elements, illogicality,

timelessness, inconsistencies, and contradictions.[306] Fantasies differ from dreams in their larger

extent of conscious reworking, what is called "secondary revision" or "secondary process," that

indicates a concern over accuracy, consistency, and temporal and spatial logicality of object

representations and implicates a reflective subject.[307] The extent of "secondary revision"

corresponds to the amount of repressed material making their entrance to consciousness.[308] In

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the Psychoanalytic Process, 30–31, 58–65; Brooks, *Psychoanalysis and Storytelling*, 27–29.

[305] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:160.

[306] Roy Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 37, 117; Joseph Sandler and Anne-Marie Sandler, "The Gyroscopic Function of Unconscious Fantasy," in *Towards a Comprehensive Model for Schizophrenic Disorders: Psychoanalytic Essays in Memory of Ping-Nie Pao, M.D.* (ed. David B. Feinsilver; Hillsdale, N.J.: The Analytic Press, 1986), 109–23.

[307] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 5:491–92; Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 126–27; Jean Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, "Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality," in *Unconscious Phantasy* (ed. Riccardo Steiner; London and New York: Karnac Books, 2003), 126–27.

[308] The Masoretic family of manuscripts (MT) contains a stream of variants on the Solomonic narrative. In addition, the difference in order, variances, omissions, and additions displayed in the Septuagint (LXX) family of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 suggest that there were contemporaneous, contesting versions of the Solomonic narrative. There are signs in the LXX of rearranging the content to give it a more logical sequence, such as placing Solomon's palace building project after the furnishings of the temple, so the temple construction narratives appear as a cohesive unit in the LXX. Emendations, harmonization, glosses, omissions, and additions that serve to enhance the logical coherence of the narrative and to remove inconsistencies, contradictions, and fantastic elements could be viewed as a means of reality testing, namely "secondary revisions." My intent is not to suggest that the MT is more "original" and therefore superior to the LXX, but that the primary-process elements on the manifest surface of the text invite temptingly the copyists and tradents to revise the content in different stages of transmission. Their "secondary revisions" are likely to be interlocking between the two families of manuscripts. While the Leningrad codex retains the disarrayed appearance of the narrative, it still contains editorial activities and glosses that were added after the emergence of the LXX. As a general outlook, it does seem that the Leningrad codex is closer to an earlier version of the narrative before the LXX reshuffled the narratives. Cf. Frank H. Polak, "The Septuagint Account of Solomon's Reign: Revision and Ancient Recension," *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; Atlanta: SBL, 2001), 139–64; J. M. Wevers, "Exegetical Principles Underlying the Septuagint Text of 1 Kings ii 12–xxi 43," *OtSt* 8 (1950): 300–22. The three manuscripts of Kings discovered in Qumran (4QKgs, 5QKgs, 6QKgs), dated to the first or second century B.C.E., show remarkably continuity with the MT, with mainly minor variants. The most significant difference is that 4QKgs contains an

psychic economy, fantasies, like dreams, serve the principle of constancy by minimizing the excitatory drives, discharging them and gratifying pleasure in a roundabout way, namely through compensatory gratification,[309] forcing wishes denied in real life to be expressed and satisfied in terms of psychic realities, albeit in distorted or displaced forms.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, neither completely fictive nor completely historical, reflects both primary-process and secondary-process object representations. As I have put forth in Chapter 1, like its literary cousin, Greek historiography, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story shows deliberate efforts (read secondary process), but to a lesser extent, of departing from their predecessor, the epic, by the reduction of mythological, magical, and marvelous elements and their increased demand on the critical inquiry of historiographical sources, such as the perceived need of authenticating narratives. However, the Deuteronomist did not go so far as to reject imaginary speeches and dialogues and to claim the critical and reflective author-ity over their (hi)story as some Greek historians did. Thus, the content of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story shows more primary-process representations and thus more pleasure-gratifying mechanisms than their Greek cousin. The anonymity of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the lack of a subjective claim to the work, also invited or made room for the imposition of a divine authority by the later tradents. As far as the Solomonic narrative is concerned, its kaleidoscopic collage of unassociated genres is a sign of primary process. The narrative includes folkloristic materials, records seemingly from palatial and temple archives (for example, temple building specifications and inventory),

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important recovered phrase לחיות נגיד על עמ]י in 1 Kgs 8:16 that is lost by homoioteleuton in the MT, but preserved in 2 Chr 6:5–6. The convergence of the MT and the Qumran fragments corroborates with the antiquity of the MT version of the Solomonic narrative over the LXX and the latter's extensive editing. See Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden and London: Brill, 2010), 323–29; Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Qumran Fragments of the Books of Kings," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography, and Reception* (ed. André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern; Leiden and London: Brill, 2010), 19–39; idem, "4QKgs," in *Qumran Cave 4 IX* [DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995], 171–83.

[309] For the principle of constancy or the nirvana principle, see Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, *SE* 18:55–6; Thwaites, *Reading Freud,* 85–87.

royal narratives, oneiromantic accounts, divine oracles, liturgical performance, and theological expositions.[310] It seems that pits and pieces of materials arising from a variety of disparate, purpose-differentiated, and incoherent genres were interwoven to form a composite text with a somewhat logical temporal frame—a mark of secondary process.

According to Freud, primary process operates in a timeless manner that combines the three moments of time.[311] Occasions in the present provoke the memories of earlier experiences (the past), even those that are forgotten or acquired secondarily through received traditions, and give rise to wishes that are projected onto a situation in the future, the present, or the past. Thus, the three moments are woven together timelessly and seamlessly in psychic ideation and narrative structuration of fantasies.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story reflects such psychoanalytic temporality. Arguably, the sense of land entitlement in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story reflects an unsatisfied, forbidden wish heuristically projected by the Persian generations of the Judahite descent into the pre-dynastic past, with the emphasis on the divine grant of land and the history of conquest, and the dynastic heyday, with the divine ordination and the imperial prominence of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom. The psychic ideation and the narrative structuration of this territorial wish could have been rooted in the longstanding oral and written traditions of monarchic past received by the Deuteronomist and further provoked by the oppressive circumstances that they suffered under Persian imperialism and the deprivation of what was regarded as this ancestral entitlement of Yehud. The wish of land entitlement is then projected into the distant past of their ancestral roots

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[310] See Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon: Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement*, 66–67; Burke O. Long, *1 King*. Long's form-critical approach to 1 Kings yields a useful reference to the various genres contained in 1 Kings 1–11. However, Long's loose definition of "historical literature" as narratives that bear historical referents often leads to the historicizing of what could be a fictive narrative in historical disguise, namely a narrative that transposes a certain historical genre, be it record, list, or report, to a fictional genre; such practice is attested in ancient Southwest Asia as I have pointed out with the well-known Weidner Chronicle and Akitu Chronicle.
[311] Freud, "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming," *SE* 9:424–25.

in a form of the myth of origins. In real life, any attempt to regain territorial right over Yehud would be considered rebellion against the imperializer, and the wish would never be satisfied other than in terms of psychic realities. Fantasies overcome the barriers, whether external threats or internal inhibitions, and the repulsive affects generated by forbidden wishes and yield enjoyment as though these wishes are fulfilled in real life. While this wish of territorial control could never be actualized, the elite Yehudites may have been able to enjoy limited delegated power over regional governance as the imperialized agents of the Persian empire. The political privileges and administrative rights over Yehud could be viewed as a compensatory gratification of the unsatisfied, unsatisfiable, and politically suicidal wish of the land entitlement.

The timeless mechanism, though not as obvious, is also detectable in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24. The creation of a myth of the good old days may be a wish fulfillment that reinforces a sense of ethnic superiority, which could be a reaction resulting from the psycho-affective distress caused by imperialism, namely a psychological, self-deceiving, rationalized effect especially in the face of extreme humiliation and abasement. Stemming from the imperialism-engendered inferiority complex, the perception of superiority over the oppressor was reinforced by a constructed heyday of one's own ethnic, political origins. The fact that this superiority is expressed in a constructed, fantastic narrative of the past does not diminish the rewarding affects of this ambitious wish.

Since dreams and fantasies belong to the same functional category of wish-fulfilling narrative, they share similar mechanisms. First, like dreams, the wish content of fantasies is rooted in the unconscious.[312] The sources of fantasies include the wishes of the past, in particular those that are unfulfilled and repressed, even if they are forgotten, and infantile fantasies and

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[312] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:162–276, 491–92; see also Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process*, 58–60.

their derivatives. By derivatives, I mean those childhood drives whose affective content are provoked by subsequent occasions in a subject's life and grafted onto a new or invented object in the imagined past, present, or future. Derivative fantasies are associated with the here-and-now subjective experience and reflect more awareness of reality and sign of secondary revision, even though they contain affects stemming from the unconscious experience of early childhood.[313]

Meredith Anne Skura in *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process* suggests a reading strategy of literature as fantasy.[314] This approach consists of two stages: first, to read the text as a wish-fulfilling narrative, a fantasy that resembles daydreams; and second, to search for the psychic function of fantasy as both "a need satisfier" and a means of expression and perception of "infantile origins." The search requires the distinction between the manifest surface of a text and its underlying fantasy structure. Two well-discussed examples of infantile material from the psychoanalytic database are the Oedipus complex and the castration fantasy; both should be seen as a structure of conflict. The former is the basic triangular structure descriptive of all unfulfilled desires. What stands between a subject and his/her object of desire is an obstacle or rivalry. Ambivalent affects often dominate the relationship between the subject and his/her rival due to the shared object of desire. The latter, castration fantasy, forms the basic structure of hostile, defensive, and self-punitive wishes, which serves to provide relief from guilt, shame, fear and anxiety. In spite of their repulsive and undesirable contents, Freud insists that even hostile dreams and fantasies must be interpreted as wish-fulfilling narratives.[315]

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[313] Joseph Sandler and Anne-Marie Sandler ("The Past Unconscious, the Present Unconscious, and Interpretation of the Transference," *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 4 [1984]: 367–99) distinguish between "fantasies in the past unconscious" that happen in the first years of childhood and "fantasies in the present unconscious" that happen subsequently in life. The latter are derivative fantasies whose transference is subject to psychoanalytic inquiry. See also idem, "The Gyroscopic Function of Unconscious Fantasy," 109–23; idem, "Phantasy and Its Transformations," 81–88.

[314] Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process*, 59–60.

[315] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:153–54.

The ideational and affective content of a disguised wish is to be found on a deeper,

sophisticated level of the fantasy, what Freud calls a latent content.[316] Freud calls the psychic

operation in which the ideational and affective content of a wish (dream-sources) is distorted and

turned into a disguised manifest content of a dream (dream-thoughts), the *dream-work*. By the

same token, I will use the term *fantasy-work* to describe the same operation in all creative

writing.

Fantasies, Psychic Economy, and Persian Imperialism

Fantasies and Censorship

Wishes can appear undisguised in fantasies; however, when a wish is regarded illicit and

prohibited, the wish content is often distorted to a large extent by the ego defense and becomes

almost unrecognizable on the manifest surface.[317] The ego defense is a mechanism of self-

preservation that often operates largely on an unconscious level when the subject senses a threat

and danger, whether real or imagined, or attempts to save his/her/hir conscience from the attack

of guilt or shame.[318] In other words, the unconscious motives of disguising the true content of a

wish lie in *censorship*, in forms of external obstacles and/or internal inhibitions. The censoring

agency places limitations on the symbolic expression of fantasies that results in distortions and

sometimes also omissions of censored content.[319] Wishes that are suppressed by the ego defense

and inexpressible in a real-life setting could be expressed in a roundabout, concealed, distorted

form that results in a relaxation of censorship and thus enables a pleasure experience that is

otherwise impermissible in real life. In other words, fantasy as a wish-fulfilling narrative is a

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[316] Ibid., 248–49.
[317] Ibid., 141.
[318] On ego defense, see Sigmund Freud, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (1940 [1938]), *SE* 23:145–6.
[319] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 5:489.

psychic strategy to overcome external obstacles and lift up internal inhibitions, in order to yield

pleasure as though wishes are really fulfilled.[320] In the case of the sense of land entitlement that I

mentioned above, the way that the land is invested with feminine attributes and idealized as "a

land flowing with milk and honey"[321] in the biblical texts, from a psychoanalytic perspective,

may be seen as a derivative of the Oedipus complex of infantile origins. The desired land

(Yehud) is likened to the mother's good breasts, a source of nurturance and gratification, whose

full access is obstructed or denied to the Israelites (the Yehudites) by a powerful rival (the

imperializer). The unfulfilled and inexpressible wish to claim the territorial right can only be

compensatorily gratified through other psychic strategies, such as a fantasy.

A part of my thesis is to show through textual analysis that the Solomonic Kingdom reflects

the imperialized Yehudites' disguised way of expressing their ambitious wish to take the place of

their Persian imperializer and at the same time critiquing the social ills of Persian imperialism.

These are wishes impermissible and no doubt suppressed by the Persian imperializer. The

consequences of expressing them in real life could even endanger the lives of the imperialized. In

order for my thesis to be sustained, it is essential to show that the Yehudites had every reason to

believe that their lives were in danger if the Persians found out about such forbidden wishes and

thus such wishes would be repressed. The repression would then cause the psychical damming-

up and await an interstice toward discharge.

Some scholars believe that the Persians gave regional government a great extent of

autonomy in local administration and judicial matters. Local autonomy would be incompatible to

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[320] See Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, *SE* 18:3–64, for Freud's exposition on the pleasure principle and reality principle, namely the dynamics between the drives to pleasure and the circumstances in reality that could turn the pleasure experiences into unpleasure leading to repression and the delay of gratification.

[321] For instance, Deut 6:3; 11:9; 26:9, 15; 27:3; Josh 5:6. The link between Israel's land entitlement and the Oedipus complex has long been identified by psychoanalytic critics, see E. M. Rosenzweig, "Some Notes, Historical and Psychoanalytical on the People of Israel and the Land of Israel," *American Imago: A Psychoanalytic Journal for the Arts and Sciences* 1/4 (1940): 50–64; Dorothy F. Zeligs, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*, 313.

the thesis of external obstacles and the Persians' effective suppression of regional oppositions. Peter Frei has argued against the picture of the Persians' loose control over regional matters and shown with historical cases that the Persians actually exercised systematic control and intervened over regional affairs. Local legislative matters would have required the imperial authorization through their local representatives.[322] Should a dispute arise, it was the role of the Great King and/or his local governor to intervene and settle the dispute in a way that could best serve the empire's interests. While the evidence of Persian interventions in local affairs is territorially uneven and the interventions may not be as uniform throughout the empire as one may believe, the overall picture does show that the imperial government did pay great attention on local affairs and would intervene at all cost should there be an uprising, thereby forestalling all potential rebellions.[323]

It is also well known that the Persians had tight control over the network of communications throughout the empire. The empire monitored and censored all communications circulating in the empire with tight surveillance and maneuvering competitive and antagonistic attitudes among local authorities. According to the Greek historians, an imperial secret service called the King's Eye was responsible for gathering intelligence information for the Great King.[324] According to

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[322] Peter Frei and Klaus Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich* (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

[323] For instance, the brutal measures that Darius I took to quash the Ionian revolt and to secure Persian hegemony, see Herodotus, *Hist.* VI.9–42; see also Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 493–96. As far as cultic autonomy is concerned, the power relations reflected in official documents suggest a strong imperial involvement in the regional administration and authorization of personnel. It appears that imperial approval was required for regional legislative matters. There were instances of the involvement of Persian higher officials in the regional matters. For instance, Persians' overruling of a locally appointed *lesonis* "temple administrative" of the sanctuary of Khnūm at Elephantine and the demand of the satrapal approval for the appointment, see ibid., *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 398. For another instance of Persians' intervention in the regional affairs of Yehud, see ibid., *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 398. Bagoses, the governor of Yehud, requested a prohibitive tax of fifty drachmas for every lamb offered in the Elephantine Temple of Yah to prevent blood sacrifices by the Jews that could further aggravate their tension with the Egyptian priests. The prohibitive law was a condition for the temple restoration project.

[324] See for instance, Herodotus, *Hist.* I.114; Aeschylus, *Persae* 978–81, Xenophon, *Cyr.* VIII, 2:10–12; for a translation, see Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (trans. Walter Miller; 2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914); Lucian, *de Mercede Conductis* 29; for a translation, see *Lucian Volume III* (trans. A. M. Harmon; LCL;

Xenophon, the Great King had installed many officials to be the King's Eyes and the King's Ears to report to him whatever they had heard to the King's benefit. The placements of the King's Eyes and Ears filled the regional governments with dread resulting in the officials behaving as though anyone around them was the King's Eye or Ear.[325] Because of this intelligence service's purported effectiveness of gathering information throughout the empire, the Athenians of the fifth century B.C.E. were said to have adopted it as a model for the Episkopos, their imperial Overseer.[326] Even though the official status of the King's Eye as a Persian institution and the institutional function of the King's Ear are disputed, the central authority's efforts to monitor and control regional affairs are indisputable.[327] Through the messaging system of horse relays across the empire, the Great King was kept informed of regional affairs even in the peripheries of the empire.[328]

Literary evidence supports the thesis of the deliberate fostering of competitions and mutual surveillance among local officials and satraps. For instance, in Asia Minor of the early fourth century B.C.E., Orontes, satrap of Armenia, begrudged his colleague Tiribazus's prominence and secretly sent a petition to Artaxerxes to accuse Tiribazus of treason. Tiribazus was tried and

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Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), 412–81; idem, *Adversus indoctum* 23; for a translation, see *Lucian Volume III* (trans. A. M. Harmon; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), 174–211; see also Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:94, 262; 2:635, 644; Jack M. Balcer, "The Athenian Episkopos and the Achaemenid 'King's Eye'," *American Journal of Philology* 98 (1977): 252–63.

[325] Xenophon, *Cyr.* VIII.2.10–12.

[326] Balcer, "The Athenian Episkopos and the Achaemenid 'King's Eye'," 252–63.

[327] The Aramaic expression for the King's Ear, *gwsky'* (= the Old Persian **gaušaka*), is attested in the Elephantine Papyri (C 27.9). See Arthur E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.* (Oxford: The Clarendon, 1923), 27:97–103; Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 50–51. However, the nature of this institution is disputed. According to Jack M. Balcer ("The Athenian Episkopos and the Acahemenid 'King's Eye'," 256–57), "[t]hese Ears or "Listeners" (plural) served as public functionaries, …but were neither the high dignitaries of the Achaemenid Empire, as were the King's Ears, nor were they simply paid informers. Perhaps they were officials who represented the government in legal cases, a type of state's attorney. They may also have assisted the King's Eyes in their supervision of the satrapies." Drawing from the Greek sources, Balcer is optimistic about the existence of the King's Eye as a Persian institution. However, the Greek writers' view on the King's Eye lacks corroborative evidence from the Old Persian documents. See also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 343–44; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:97, n. 1.

[328] See Xenophon, *Cyr.* VIII, 6:17–18; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 299.

eventually proven innocent.[329] Also happening around the same time was Datames's revolt, for which Mithridates was sent as an undercover rebel to spy on Datames and to collect intelligence data for the Great King. The central authority seemed to be crafted even in utilizing local instability and rivalries for the benefits of the empire. In light of this, the opposition that Nehemiah purportedly encountered from three regional dynasts—Sanballat in Samaria, Tobias the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian—in the fortification project of Jerusalem (Neh. 6:1–19) may have been a part of mutual surveillance that the Persians encouraged to ensure the allegiance of their regional collaborators.

Two anecdotal stories in Herodotus' *Histories* illustrate how the communication network was closely monitored by the Persian authorities. Demaratus was in Susa when Xerxes was planning his campaign against the Greeks. In his attempt to avoid the Great King's surveillance network and alarm the Spartans of the military expedition, he scraped off the wax from a writing tablet, wrote the secret message on the wooden surface, and concealed the message by covering the surface again with wax.[330] The other anecdote accounted by Herodotus is Histiaeus's attempt to instigate Aristagoras of Miletus to rebel against the Great King by sending a messenger from Susa with a tattooed message concealed under his hair. Aristagoras was instructed to shave the messenger's head upon his arrival and thus learned about Histiaeus's bidding for revolt.[331] Although both incidents are anecdotal and ahistorical, they reflect the general perception of the Persians' surveillance network.[332] The Persian empire, just as other imperial powers, was a repressive regime in which communications across the empire were tightly monitored and

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[329] Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XV, 8:3–5, 10–11; for a translation, Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* (trans. C. H. Oldfather and Francis R. Walton; 12 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933–1967); see also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 662–63; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:648–51.
[330] Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.239; see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:753–54.
[331] Herodotus, *Hist.* V.35; see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:213.
[332] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:730–33, 753, n. 1.

censored. The central authority would have made all efforts to suppress and halt all forms of resistance against the regime. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the Yehudites were scrupulous in expressing any anti-imperial sentiments, considering that when such sentiments became accessible to the imperializer, the consequence could be fatal. Wishes such as taking the imperializer's place and reprimanding imperial exploitations would have been inhibited internally and repressed due to possible imperial vengeance and/or the belief over such vengeance, even if immediate threat was not present. Even the belief in the possibility of imperial retaliation, what John Gaventa terms "the rule of anticipated reactions,"[333] is sufficient to result in internal censorship.

Similarly, aggressive impulses of repudiating the imperial regime and critiquing its exploitations of the imperialized would have been repressed and controlled, either in fear of imperial retaliation or out of guilt to the imperial overlords. The feeling of guilt could have been triggered superficially by the impropriety of the action, namely expressing proscribed wishes in front of the very person those wishes aimed at, or on a deeper level by conscience. The latter is particularly salient when the imperialized served as an imperial collaborator and had come to internalize, to a large extent, the ethical standards of the imperializer. However, while impulses could have been pushed out from the conscious, it would have been nonetheless active in the unconscious. Repressed feelings could burst out when opportunities arise, or they need to be channeled through other outlets. As long as the desire is not fulfilled in real life, the force toward its satisfaction will never be quenched, even if it is hidden from the subject. Could repression be a cultural phenomenon? Yes. Freud's analysis on the outbreak of "traumatic war neuroses" brought about by the First World War shows that the war-related psychic disturbances arise from

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[333] John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 15.

a conflict in the ego and have their basis in repression.[334] Fanon also gives numerous case studies of mental disorders among the colonized caused by the colonial subjugation and the war of liberation.[335] Thus, it is conceivable that, when a traumatic or extreme event is a collective experience, its effects are also on a sociocultural scale. Repression and the return of the repressed become common, collective experiences shared by those who were involved. What is repressed, whether as a result of guilt or fear, will always sneak into the conscious and reappear, albeit in a distorted or displaced form, with various degrees of intensity.

Imperialism as a form of repressive regime has a large influence on the psycho-affective development of the imperialized and on their cultural production. Under the harsh reality of Persian imperialism, what was censored and prohibited by the imperializer was repressed and renounced by the imperialized with full psychic force. The imperialized was caught between the urge to express suppressed desires and the ego-defensive mechanism of self-preservation. An imperialized subject was a split subject who vacillated between these two internal psychic forces, constantly caught in the psychic conflict of his urges and the imperializer's incompatible demand and negotiating toward a way out of this double-bind situation.

Nonetheless, repression and renunciation would not bring about the dissipation of dammed-up excitations. The excitatory energy stored in the psyche awaits an opportunity to be discharged, and frustrated wishes are turned into a motive force for literary production of fantasies, a distorted, displaced, roundabout way in which inexpressible wishes of imperialized-imperializer (subject-object) reversal and of critiquing against imperialism can bypass censorship and be expressed without the attack of conscience or the worry over the imperializer's retaliation. The signifying practice, the production of a cultural fantasy as a roundabout path of

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[334] Sigmund Freud, "Introduction to Psycho-Analysis and the War Neuroses (1919)", *SE* 17:205–10.
[335] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 181–233.

lifting repression and overcoming disruptive urges, is what J. Sandler and A.-M. Sandler call the "stabilizing/gyroscopic function of unconscious fantasy."[336] Defenses involved in fantasies to the service of self-preservation include projection, identification, projective/introjective identification, displacement, and subject-object reversal. As I will argue in this study, the Solomonic narrative is fraught with these defensive mechanisms.

Another textual hint of the Deuteronomist's concern over imperial censorship or its own self-censorship is the omission of material sensitive in the imperial situation. Note that the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians are theologized and justified. The Deuteronomist adhered to the Cyrus-Cylinder logic, in which foreign kings are portrayed as divine agents meting out divine punishment against the cultic negligence or culpability of the native kings. In this regard, the Deuteronomist either subscribed to the punitive theologies wholesale, or the censorship had compelled them to collaborate with the foreign regimes in their literary activities and to portray them as divine agents. It could also be a combination of both.

The absence of politically sensitive content may be interpreted as a sign of censorship. Deviating from the general emphasis on the state's military exploits or political history in the chronicles of the ancient Southwest Asia or the Greek historiography, Israel's or Judah's military prowess is either dismissed, underrated, or omitted.[337] Also, any excessive reliance on their military strength or that of their imperial allies is regarded as an offense against YHWH, whom the Deuteronomist regarded as the sole guarantor of peace and victory. To the Deuteronomist,

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[336] Joseph Sandler and Anne-Marie Sandler, "The Gyroscopic Function of Unconscious Fantasy," 108–23; idem, "Phantasy and Its Transformation," 85–86.

[337] For the contrast to the chronicles of ancient Southwest Asia, see John Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 55–187; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 55.

Israel's or Judah's only legitimate defense is their reliance on YHWH and divine intervention.[338]

One way of looking at the omission and dismissal of militarism is to interpret them as a sign of avoiding external censorship, whether it was real or imagined. The omission of the military self-reliance could be interpreted either as an avoidance of creating a belligerent self-portrayal that may have alarmed the imperializer. Even if the Deuteronomist may have identified with aggressive aspects of imperialism, the militaristic portrayal of the Solomonic Kingdom is omitted to avoid the suspicion of the imperial overlords. If this is the case, it must be noted that the absence of a wish in the text does not mean the absence of the wish in real life. The fact that restoration of the Davidic dynasty is not explicitly expressed does not necessarily mean that the Deuteronomist did not wish for its return. It could be a sign that such wish was not expressible, due to censorship, unless it was expressed in a roundabout, precarious way that was subject to alternate interpretations.

Alternately, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the omission of militaristic portrayal may be a sign of *introjective identification*, which is a psychic process that internalizes only the idealized, favorable features of the object of desire and leaves out the unfavorable, namely those perceived by the subject as a source of danger, anxiety, or any psychic conflicts.[339] In the case of

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[338] See also Gerbrandt, *Kingship according to the Deuteronomistic History*, 87. Even the monarchic section of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story tends to focus on the sole allegiance to YHWH and reflects overwhelming concerns over the establishment and consolidation of the YHWH-alone cult and its centralization in Jerusalem. The narratives on the founding kings, David and Solomon, focalize more on their cultic roles as, respectively, the founder of the cult and the builder of the temple in Jerusalem. The Deuteronomist were attentive to the cult-related recurring themes, such as the ark, the temple, the law(book), and the covenantal relationship. Cult-centrism provides the structuration of the deuteronomistic ideologies and even imperial ideologies.

[339] See Melanie Klein, "Notes on some Schizoid Mechanism," 99–110. Klein's view of unconscious phantasy is considered post-Freudian because it is a pre-oedipal development, rather than an oedipal development and limited to repressed phantasies according to classical Freudian view. For Klein, unconscious phantasy is the underlying structure of psychic process, without which the distinction between subject and object would be impossible. Projection and introjection are two rudimentary concepts in relation to unconscious phantasy. While these mechanisms are pre-oedipal, they persist in both normal and pathological ways throughout a person's life. For this reason, there is no methodological contradiction to use the Kleinian notion of "phantasy" along with the contemporary Freudian notion of phantasy in analytic practices. The contemporary Freudian view of phantasy as a wish-fulfilling device formulated by Sandler and Sandler has taken into consideration of the post-Freudian

the Solomonic narrative, it is arguable that the Deuteronomist had eliminated what he identified as a bad aspect of Persian imperialism, namely its claim of military superiority. The main difference between projective identification and introjective identification lies in the direction of transference. In a collective sense, projective identification could be described as "what are ours have become yours" or simply "you are us," namely a part of the self projected into the object. Introjective identification would then be "what are yours have become ours" or simply "we are you," namely a part of the object, real or imagined, incorporated into the self. The introjectively identified object is split into the good and the bad aspects. The bad aspects of the object of desire are rejected, and only the good aspects are introjected into the self . The Solomonic narrative reflects such splitting of the object of desire by the Deuteronomist. The image of the imperializer is idealized and purged of its militaristic aspects. Only the good aspects—prosperity, extravagance, and imperialization by means of sapiential supremacy—are introjected. The splitting of the object of desire, along with the selective introjection, is a defensive mechanism to protect the ego from potential hostility or aggression turning inward. It reveals both the splitting of the object and simultaneously the splitting of the subject. It is my contention that the absence of militarism in the description of the Solomonic Kingdom corroborates my thesis that the Solomonic narrative is a cultural fantasy. I will elaborate more on the notion of introjective identification and how the Solomonic narrative manifests this mechanism in the chapters to follow.

Psychoanalyst Roy Schafer has listed a few additional gratifications that fantasies may yield.[340] First, they are "momentary moratoria" that offer "some relief from the inevitable difficulties and complexities of life and provide a respite from the painful feelings stimulated by

conceptualization. See Joseph Sandler and Anne-Marie Sandler, "Phantasy and Its Transformation," 77–88.
[340] Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 87–90.

them."[341] In an imperialized world where being oppressed and demeaned were part of the inescapable experiences of the imperialized, fantasies provide some relief from the harsh imperial realities into the alternate worlds in which the power dynamics between the imperializer and the imperialized, the dominator and the subjugator, can be temporarily reversed. This provides a psychic refuge from the unalterable, oppressive imperial realities.

Second, fantasies offer "some relaxation of superego function."[342] Superego is the ego ideal that a subject identifies with and strives to be, but it also includes unidentified yet internalized authorities or ethical/moral standards. It is a self-critical mechanism, the yardstick that a person measures against himself/herself.[343] Fantasies relieve the subject from his/her superego function; thus, they alleviate any feelings of guilt and shame that may be associated with the fulfillment of forbidden and reproachable wishes. This gives additional sources of pleasure to fantasies.

Third, additional pleasure is gained from the fantasist's "omnipotence in the *making* of the daydream" (emphasis original).[344] In the imperial context, because forbidden and illicit wishes appear in disguised, distorted form, they can easily go unnoticed and uncensored by the imperializer. The successful avoidance of imperial censorship and punishment yields an additional pleasure. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)story, as an accumulative, eclectic narrative that combines the features of epic and historiography, is a convenient way to disguise ambitious aspirations and resentment against the imperializer. The historiographical pretense serves to minimize the imperializer's suspicion and avoid imperial censorship with the maximal propagandistic result achieved within the learned circle and the cult. In real-life situations, any expressions of these anti-imperializer wishes would have been an experience of unpleasure and

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[341] Ibid., 87.
[342] Ibid.
[343] For more on superego, see Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, *SE* 22:73–75.
[344] Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 88.

potentially brought the wish-maker's doom, yet through their textual disguise—these wishes become a source of enjoyment.

Finally, the gratification by the wish-fulfilling content often yields libidinal (erotic) and egoistic (ambitious) pleasure.[345] In other words, they result in sexual satisfaction and inflation of self-esteem. Schafer's list of gratifications focuses more or less on the functional effects on the personal level. However, as Skura points out, the model of fantasy as wish satisfier has its limitations. Skura sees a fantasy not only as a wish satisfier, but also as "a "vaccination" against larger indulgences outside the safe bounds of the text."[346] As I have stated in the section on the premises on readership/audience, and Skura's view also accords, a social effect implicit in cultural fantasy as a need pacifier, given its social circularity to a larger readership/audience, is its potential in ideological containment. In other words, cultural fantasy could function well as a need pacifier. I will argue in this study that the Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism carries all of these functions.

Conclusions

The pleasure efficacy of fantasies does not depend on their unrealistic content, or realistic content for that matter. However, their capacity to yield pleasure depends on the suspension of reality testing. In order for fantasies to yield the effect of the real, they must be experienced as though they are actual events, irrespective of their degree of realism. To quote Freud, "Actually, we can never give anything up; we only exchange one thing for another. What appears to be a renunciation is really the formation of a substitute or surrogate."[347] In the case of the

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[345] Ibid., 89.
[346] Skura, *The Literary Use of the Psychoanalytic Process*, 63.
[347] Freud, "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming," *SE* 9:422.

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the more the readers/auditors suspend their reality testing and historicize the fictive components of the "epic history," the more rewarding their wishes of imperializer-imperialized reversal, ethnic superiority and the land entitlement would be.

Fantasy is a psychic process through which a subject seeks to satisfy a repressed desire or pacify an urge temporarily. When a cultural fantasy, such as the Solomonic Kingdom, disguises as an "epic history," whether the received, oral or written, traditions incorporated in to the text have basis on real events, persons, or facts is less a concern for the writing subject and his/her/hir readers/auditors. In fact, immersed in an oral culture, a majority of our ancient readers/auditors possessed few critical means to verify the historicity of the narratives of their ancestral past, other than subjecting to the test of common sense. However, to subject the content to reality testing would inevitably diminish the pleasurable effect and compensatory gratification of the fantasy. In fantasizing, the Yehudite subject is absorbed into the world of the fantasy, being taken the psychic forces of the semiotized signifiers that the Yehudite readers/auditors shared with the Deuteronomist within the "cultural segment of the unconscious." In order to theorize the productivity behind the manifest surface of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom and how it may have affect the first readers/auditors in the Persian Yehud, it is necessary to situate its signifiers within their signifying context and to probe into the signifiers' plausible signifiance and significance within their specific social, cultural, and political contexts. This hermeneutic process, though imaginative (as in all historical investigations), is crucial if over-interpretation that inadvertently grafted anachronistic significance into the text is to be minimized.

Fantasy as a wish satisfier is an ego-defensive mechanism, a mediation between pleasure principle and reality principle in a psyche of a subject. However, cultural fantasy as a need pacifier could well serve an ideological tool of containment to prevent, even temporarily,

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antisocial, anti-institutional, and revolutionary sentiments from looming and actualizing in real life.[348] In this study, I strive to argue that the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom reflects this inherent ambivalence. It could potentially affect the readers/auditors in two opposite ways: either leading to an intellectual awakening of their precarious imperial situation or, as La Barre already notes, keeping them from "a clear knowledge of their predicament."[349] In other words, I will argue that even Yehudites' absorption into the fantasized world of the Solomonic Kingdom may provide temporary relief from the psychic conflicts stemming from the repressed regime of Persians, their further indulgence in that the fantasized world may lead to their dissociation from the harsh reality of Persian imperialism and weaken their will to resist the exploitative and the oppressive acts of their imperializer.

The postcolonial-psychoanalytic approach that I propose will yield a new perspective into the signifying process of the Solomonic Kingdom, and the productivity of its Deuteronomist and their Yehudite readers/auditors, taking into consideration the total contexts of the signifying process and the psychic mechanisms in operation in both ends of the signifying process. Rather than explaining away textual ambiguity, ambivalence, inconsistencies, and contradictions by means of assigning texts to temporally differentiated sources or redactional layers, assuming each's ideological consistency, as the historical critics have accustomed to do, I will treat these textual "anomalies" as integrals, with some allowance for scribal errors, and as signs of psychic structuration of the Deuteronomist and their perceived readers/auditors under the oppressive

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[348] My view of cultural fantasy as a need pacifier and thus a potential ideological tool of containment could be considered an antithesis to Julia Kristeva's view of a text as a signifying practice with a revolutionary dimension of shaping the social world (see her *Revolution in Poetic Language*). While I do not disagree with Kristeva's view, I see that the semiotic force of even a revolutionary nature could simultaneously be an immobilizing force of ideological containment, serving to further repress the repressed. In my opinion, these two extreme poles coexist as potential forces in the text; their actualization depends on the readers'/auditors' transferential role in the signifying process, based on the process of analogizing between the text and their experiences. In other words, it depends on the readers'/auditors' interpretive role in the construction of meaning.
[349] La Barre, *The Ghost Dance*, 207.

regime of the Persians. I will argue that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy of the

imperialized Yehudites, through which they gratified their inexpressible wishes of taking the

place of the Persian imperializer and critiquing their social ills. I aim to analyze the literary

surface of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 as fantasy-thoughts, to trace back the fantasy-sources within the

sociocultural and imperial context of the Deuteronomist, and to describe the psychic mechanisms

involved in the fantasy-work.

CHAPTER 3

WISHES AND DESIRES ON THE MANIFEST SURFACE

Introduction

Before I conduct a textual analysis of the deeper, multi-layered level of the narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom (1 Kgs 1:1–12:24) using the Freudian model of fantasy as a wish-fulfilling narrative, I will show that on its manifest surface, the text is already overflowing with motifs of wish or desire and themes of the desirable. The Solomonic Kingdom is thoroughly a narrative of wish and desire even on its manifest surface.

The Overflow of Wish-Motifs and Everything Desirable

First on the lexical level, three roots related to the meaning "wish", "desire", "delight," or "pleasure" appear in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24. The most frequent one is חפץ, which occurs seven times, twice in its verbal forms (9:1; 10:9) and fives times in its nominal form (5:22[Eng. 8], 23[Eng. 9], 24[Eng. 10]; 9:11; 10:13). With the exception of the phrase אֲשֶׁר חפץ לעשׂות "whatever [Solomon] wishes to do" (9:1), in which the verb is a part of the narrator's bridge that connects the preceding narrative of the temple dedication to YHWH's theophany in Solomon's second dream, all the other occurrences appear in the Hiram narrative (5:22[Eng. 8], 23[Eng. 9], 24[Eng. 10]; 9:11) and the Queen of Sheba narrative (10:9, 13). In Hiram's pledge (direct speech) to provide Solomon with the timbers of cedar and cypress for the temple-building project, he promises to fulfill את־כל־חפצך "all your [Solomon's] wish" (5:22[Eng. 8]), and in turn he expects Solomon to fulfill את־חפצי "my [Hiram's] wish" (5:23[Eng. 9]) for food provisions. Then, the

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narrator summarizes the wish exchange by highlighting that Hiram gives Solomon the timbers according to כל־חפצו "all his wish" (5:24[Eng. 10]). In addition to the timbers of cedar and cypress, the narrator supplements gold, another temple-building material, to Solomon's wish list in 9:11 and again stresses that Hiram supplies Solomon according to כל־חפצו "all his wish." The totalizing כל "all," which is used to denote the totality of the wish and its fulfillment, is a word used to qualify Solomon's wish and not Hiram's. This establishes a hierarchy of desire between Solomon and Hiram. Not only do they wish for different things (Solomon wishes for luxury items, timbers of cedar and cypress and gold, whereas Hiram wishes for basic provisions, food), but the absence of a qualifier כל in Hiram's wish suggests that the wish-fulfillment burden lay more heavily on Hiram, creating an exploitative division of wish-fulfilling labor. In the Hiram narrative, Solomon is the quintessential subject of desire who wishes all, but would not give all.

In the Queen of Sheba eulogy (1 Kgs 10:8–9; direct speech), she blesses YHWH who חפץ בך "has taken delight in you [Solomon]" (v. 9). The construction of חפץ followed by the preposition ב with pronominal object as an expression of YHWH's satisfaction with a human object is frequently found in thanksgiving hymns.[350] However, this construction is also commonly used explicitly for erotic wishes.[351] The libidinally charged expression of desire is transferred to the divine-human relationship, which semiotizes the human party to the object of divine desire. As Jacques Lacan reminds us on the mutuality of desire, "what the subject desires, in the most general terms, is 'the desirer in the other' (*le désirant dans l'autre*): 'to be called to as desirable.'"[352] The divine-human formula of desire is a projection of desire. The object of desire is the subject who desires to be desirable.

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[350] For instance, see 2 Sam 22:20; Ps 18:20[Eng. 19]; 22:9[Eng. 8]; 41:12[Eng. 11]; also see Num.14:8.
[351] For instance, see Gen 34:19; Deut 21:14; Esth 2:14; cf. 1 Sam 18:22; 19:1.
[352] Jacques Lacan, *Le séminaire de Jacques Lacan. Livre VIII : Le transfert* (ed. Jacques-Alain Miller; Paris: Seuil, 1973), 414; the English translation is cited from Brooks, *Psychoanalysis and Storytelling*, 70.

The second occurrence of חפץ in the Queen of Sheba narrative appears in the totalizing form את־כל־חפצה "all her wish" (10:13). The Queen of Sheba occupies a rare, "privileged" subject position of desire, the only female subject explicitly said to have desired in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24. While the narrative is specific on the gifts that the Queen of Sheba gives to Solomon (10:10), it leaves out the content of the Queen's object of desire. The absence of the object of desire invites the transferential interpretation of the readers/auditors. Because of the totalizing qualifier, the readers/auditors are allowed to assume that Solomon has satisfied her desire unlimitedly and unquestionably, however far-fetched and eccentric are her wishes. Given Solomon's extraordinary virility portrayed in 1 Kgs 11:1–12:24, unsurprisingly this narrative gap has invited a variety of erotic supplementation in various religious traditions.[353]

Another root conveying the meaning "wish" or "desire" is חשק, which occurs three times in the narrative on Solomon's various building projects, once in verbal form (1 Kgs 9:19) and twice in nominal form (9:1, 19). In 9:19, the verbal form and the nominal form are combined to form a paronomastic structure. Unlike the חפץ-motif, the חשק-motif is not used for concrete objects of desire, be they tangible things, an anthropomorphized deity, persons, or unknown objects. Rather, it is used for ambitious desire, in particular Solomon's building activities or civilization projects. In both verses, the חשק-motif functions as an all-encompassing notion, with or without the totalizing qualifier כל (9:1), to denote the remainder of the building activities that Solomon desires to achieve and has achieved.

Finally, the last root associated with the meaning "wish" or "desire," is אוה, which occurs only once in a verbal form with the subject נפשך "your [Jeroboam's] soul" (11:37). The אוה-motif

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[353] For a glimpse of these erotic transferential readings of 1 Kgs 10, see Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: British Academy, 1968), 131–45; Nicholas Clapp, *Sheba: Through the Desert in Search of the Legendary Queen* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company), 2002; Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon: Israel's Ironic Icon of Human Achievement*, 225–44.

is a part of the divine oracle that Y<small>HWH</small> communicates to Jeroboam through the prophet Ahijah (11:31–38). Unlike חפץ or חשק, אוה in its verbal constructs is frequently, yet not exclusively, used in an unfavorable sense (see Prov 13:4; 21:10; cf. Prov 10:24) to convey "longing," "craving," or "lust," namely "wish" or "desire" of an improper or illicit nature. Ahijah's oracle is a part of the preamble to the schism of the Solomonic Kingdom, in which the heyday of the Solomonic Kingdom is about to turn into a dark age. The object of Jeroboam's desire is political power or, to be specific, the domination over Israel. In spite of the fact that Y<small>HWH</small>, the divine, is the wish granter, as the אוה-motif suggests, it is an ambitious desire of a morally questionable nature.

Thematic Hints: Dreams and Wish Fulfillments

Solomon's two dreams are a part of the narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom (1 Kgs 3:5b–15; 9:1–9). However, we should not be tempted to analyze these dreams as actual dreams that happened in a sleeping state.[354] Even though these "dreams" may still reflect a certain extent of primary processes and contain some unconscious material, they are literary constructs based on a larger extent of the conscious "secondary revision" of the writing subject(s). In fact, Solomon's two dreams are structured in accordance with the cultural conception of dreams in ancient Southwest Asia. These dreams are portrayed as oneiromantic revelation, a means through which divine messages or omens are communicated to human beings in a sleeping state. Their oneiromantic structure betrays the Deuteronomist's "secondary revision." Even though Solomon's dreams are not actual dreams, they do reflect primary processes in which reality testing is suspended and the main theme of at least the first dream coincidentally reflects the

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[354] For instance, see Ilona N. Rashkow, *The Phallacy of Genesis: A Feminist-Psychoanalytic Approach* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 49–64. While Rashkow is aware of the distinction between actual dreams and fantasies (daydreams), she has not paid due attention to the analysis of secondary processes of Abimelech's "dream" in Genesis 20 and tends to confuse actual dreams with fantasies (fictive dreams).

psychoanalytic understanding of dreams as a wish-fulfilling device.

In Solomon's first dream at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:5b–15), YHWH appears to Solomon as a wish-granting deity and asks Solomon what he wishes to be granted. Even though Solomon asks for "an understanding mind to judge your [YHWH's] people, able to discern between good and evil" (3:9), YHWH is actually expecting Solomon to ask for longevity, affluence, and the life of his enemies, presumably what any king would have wished for. At the end, YHWH decides to give Solomon both what he wishes for, "a wise and discerning mind," comparable to no one in human history and also what he does not ask for but is expected to have wished for, namely "wealth and honor" comparable to no king in his lifetime (3:12–13) and conditional longevity based on his obedience to YHWH's commandments and statutes. Although both parts of the wish granting contain the formula of incomparability, the contrast in comparison bases (to all people vs. to other kings) and that in the temporal specificities (perpetuity vs. his lifetime) make the incomparability formulae incomparable. YHWH grants Solomon to be the wisest person in human history, but only the richest and most honorable king in his own lifetime.

Two further observations are warranted. First, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the underlying wish of the dream is actually what Solomon does not ask for, which does not mean it is not wished for. It is not wished for on the manifest surface because of the internal inhibitions of the dream constructor, who probably wishes for all material wealth, earthly honor, and longevity, but whose intellectual upbringing may have taught him to consider the chase for wealth and honor as vanity (1 Kgs 3:11–13; see Eccl 6:2) and that longevity is a reward only to the pious (1 Kgs 3:14; see Prov 10:27; 16:31; Eccl 8:13) as a conditional grant.[355] However, the

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[355] The conditionality in Solomon's first dream has puzzled both Dorothy F. Zeligs (*Psychoanalysis and the Bible*, 268–92) and David Jobling ("'Forced Labor'," 69), who noticed its contradiction to the unconditionality of dreams as wish-fulfilling narratives in Freud's theories (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:318). Zeligs and Jobling have confused actual dreams with constructed dreams, namely fantasies, and overlooked the extent of "secondary

fact that in the storyline YHWH expects Solomon to request and eventually grants without being

requested suggests that wealth, honor, and longevity are actually considered desirable divine

blessings and are thus wished for. In fact, in the sapiential traditions, wealth, honor, and

longevity are often considered along with and tied to the acquisition of wisdom (see Prov 3:13–

16). In keeping with the sapiential traditions, the dream constructor makes wisdom the

quintessential desire above all desires through the discrepancy in the formulae of

incomparability. However, wealth, honor, and longevity are definitely wished for and perhaps

more so than the unquantifiable wisdom. Not only do wisdom and wealth continue to be paired

in the text (1 Kgs 10:23; cf. 10:7), but, as the narrative progresses, wisdom becomes more and

more an imperializing, dominating device. The wisdom-motif is prominent in 3:5–14, 16–28;

4:29–34; 5:7, 12; 10:1–10, 23–25. It culminates in 10:23–25 with the mention that, year after

year, kings from all over the earth come to see Solomon and offer him luxurious gifts in

recognition of his wisdom (10:23–25). As Jobling aptly points out, wisdom is what fuels the

"ideal economics" of the Kingdom, and it "becomes implicated in the economic organization of

our text, including the economic tensions."[356] The Solomonic Kingdom is a political institution

of "wisdom imperialism," in which wealth and power are not independent from wisdom, but the

results of wisdom politics.[357]

    My second observation has to do with the sociohistorical context of the first

readers/auditors. Presumably, the readers/auditors of the Persian period may have had no

difficulties in believing that Solomon was the wisest person in human history due to the

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revision" in the latter.

[356] Jobling, "'Forced Labor'," 64.

[357] Many scholars have recognized the instrumental value of Solomon's wisdom in the Kingdom's economy. See Jobling, "Forced Labor," 64–66; Bezelel Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3–11)," 213. Bezelel Porten explains the cause and effect: "The Deuteronomic concern lest the king multiply horses, silver, and gold (Deut. 17:14 ff.) is absent. On the contrary, horses, silver, and gold are the products of Solomon's wisdom (I Kings 10)" (ibid.).

unquantifiable and unverifiable nature of "wisdom," but they would not have been so gullible as to accept the claim of Solomon being the richest and greatest king (1 Kgs 3:13) in human history. Even in the fantasy of a narcissistic dream that serves to boost the sense of ethnic pride through a peerlessly wise king of the past and his fantastic imperial success, any portrayal of Solomon as the richest and greatest person in human history would go against reality testing. However wise Solomon was, he could not have been richer and greater than the Great King of their time with his vast empire. The "dream" constructor's scrupulousness to construct the "dream" in accordance with the cultural understanding of oneiromancy of his time and his scruples to portray Solomon against the perceivable realities of his time reflect the conscious process of "secondary revision." Nonetheless, the belief in oneiromancy and the narcissistic claim of Solomon's peerless wisdom still indicate a high degree of primary processes—in the sense of delusional thoughts, timelessness, and the establishment of a "fact" based on non-verifiability— that go against reality testing.[358]

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[358] Solomon's unsurpassable wisdom is exemplified in seven different ways of quantification in 1 Kgs 5:9–14 [Eng. 4:29–34]. First, the Deuteronomist attempted to quantify the unquantifiable by comparing Solomon's divinely endowed wisdom, great discernment, and ample understanding to כחול אשר על־שפת הים "the sand on the seashore" (1 Kgs 5:9 [Eng. 4:29]), which is an expression of innumerability for quantifiable items, such as the way the expression was used in 1 Kgs 4:20 [LXX 2:46] to signify the population explosion in Judah and Israel due to their unprecedented prosperity. Thus, in 1 Kgs 5:9 [Eng. 4:29], the unquantifiable is disguised as quantifiable. Second, Solomon's wisdom is further objectified and portrayed as peerlessly superior to that of all men of the east (Mesopotamia) and all sages of Egypt (5:10 [Eng. 4:31]), namely to sages of countries famous for their sapiential traditions. Third, the Deuteronomist expanded the geographically specific comparison and universalized the comparison to cover "all men," only then to contract the comparison to four individual wise men, whose wisdom is presumably well known and exemplary to the first readers/auditors (5:11 [Eng. 4:31]). The specificity of countries and individual sages in 5:10–11 [Eng. 4:30–31] gives an illusion of the objectivity of the comparison and masks the subjective nature of any comparison of unquantifiable qualities. The totalizing qualifier כל "all", which occurs four times in 5:10–11 [Eng. 4:30–31], hyperbolizes Solomon's wisdom to an extent of universal significance. A universal comparison of such extent is in reality impossible, since it presupposes the omniscience of the Deuteronomist, not to mention the objectifiability of wisdom and thus its comparability. Here, the Deuteronomist utilized quantitative incommensurability to convey Solomon's unsurpassable wisdom by juxtaposing one man to all men. Fourth, the Deuteronomist went on to emphasize Solomon's prolificacy in wisdom literature, an achievement befitting a great sage. He is said to have composed three thousand proverbs and one thousand and five (LXX: five thousand) songs. The number of works that Solomon produced, though impressive, could not be used as a proof of his great wisdom, especially when the quality of these works is taken for granted and is in no way verifiable. The emphasis on Solomon's prolificacy in literary production is another attempt of the Deuteronomist to manipulate (great) quantities in support of something unquantifiable. Sixth, the Deuteronomist portrayed Solomon as a "renaissance man" by

The narrative structures of Solomon's two dreams differ to a great extent. Solomon's first dream bears the cultural, yet wishful, understanding of dreams as a wish-granting device, which resembles the Freudian model of dream as a wish-fulfilling device. Whereas Solomon's second dream (1 Kgs 9:1–9) reflects only the oneiromantic belief in dreams as omens or divine threats, it carries no relevance to the Freudian model. The first dream contains a dialogue between YHWH and Solomon interwoven with the narrator's dream commentaries (3:5b, 10, 15), while the second dream, after the narrator's introduction (9:1–3a), appears entirely as a divine speech. Moreover, the word חלום "dream," used as a framing device in the first dream (3:5b, 15), does not even appear in the second dream, whose dream status can only be inferred from the line "YHWH appeared to Solomon a second time, just as he appeared to him at Gibeon" (9:2).[359]

emphasizing his vast knowledge on dendrology, botany, mammalogy, ornithology, herpetology, and ichthyology (5:12[Eng. 4:33]), making technical knowledge a part of, if not equivalent to, wisdom. This list of fields of "natural sciences" is a way of quantification. The abundance of Solomon's fields of knowledge is used as another indicator of his great wisdom. Seventh, we are already told in the beginning of this corroborative exposition on Solomon's wisdom that, because of his wisdom, Solomon's fame has diffused בכל־הגוים סביב "to all surrounding nations" (5:11 [Eng. 4:31]). A few verses later, the narrator concludes this section with the picture of a universal procession of מכל־העמים "[representatives] from all peoples," in particular "from all the kings of the earth," to listen to Solomon's wisdom in presumably Jerusalem (5:34 [Eng. 4:34]). The parallel expressions "to all surrounding nations" and "from all peoples" form an *inclusio* of oppositional movement, namely the centrifugal force and the centripetal force of Solomon's wisdom. Representatives come from all the peoples to hear Solomon's wisdom because of the promulgation of the report of his wisdom. Here, the totalizing qualifier כל "all" functions to convey the magnitude of the propagation of Solomon's fame and wisdom. The aforementioned seven ways of quantifying and objectifying Solomon's unqualifiable wisdom belong to the primary processes that go against reality testing. It is the only way that Solomon's wisdom, an unquantifiable quality, could be made unsurpassable. They indicate the Deuteronomist's arduous (and unconscious?) effort to convince their readers/auditors of a "fact" that is otherwise impossible to verify. 1 Kgs 5:9–14 [4:29–34] could be considered primary corroborative exemplifications of Solomon's wisdom. As I will argue below, the folkloristic wisdom-judgment with the unnamed king (1 Kgs 3:16–28) is a floating tale that was adopted by the Deuteronomist and attributed to Solomon because of Solomon's tie with sapiential tradition. By "a floating tale," I meant a folktale whose motif has been widely diffused and adopted by various regional tradents, who tend to infuse historical specifics of their region into the folktale. The expression "floating tale" is used to the emphasis of the folktale's phenomenal propagation and malleability. Furthermore, in 1 Kgs 7:48–50 and 10:16–20 Solomon is portrayed as a goldsmith (see pp. 336-338 below for more elaborations). Since craftsmanship was considered a manifestation of wisdom, the portrayal of Solomon the goldsmith further enhances Solomon the Wise.

[359] In between the two dreams, there lies another epiphany of YHWH to Solomon (1 Kgs 6:11–14), which would make YHWH's epiphany in 9:1–9 a third one, instead of the second one. There are a few reasons to believe that 6:11–14 is a late insertion, aside from its obvious contradiction to the view of 9:1–9 as the second epiphany and that, according to 11:9, YHWH only appeared to Solomon twice. First, the four verses in its entirety are missing from the *Vorlage* of the LXX, which could reflect a recension earlier than the MT. See Frank H. Polak, "The Septuagint Account of Solomon's Reign," 145. Also, based on the principle of *lectio brevior praeferenda est*, the LXX is preferred. Second, the divine oracle in 6:11–14 is embedded in the pericope of the third-person detailed description

The second dream reflects more "secondary revision" than the first one. First, linguistically and ideologically, 9:3–5 is thoroughly deuteronomistic. The temple was built to accommodate YHWH's name (v. 3), a well-recognized deuteronomistic feature. The Davidic promise of a perpetual reign is invoked in 9:4–5 on the condition of Solomon's loyalty to the divine commandments, namely his "walking before YHWH" (v. 4), a parallel expression found also in the first dream (3:14). Second, YHWH lays out the consequences of worshiping foreign deities in 9:6–9 even before the theme of "idolatry" enters the narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom. Moreover, even though this is supposedly Solomon's personal dream, YHWH addresses the "dreamer" as אתם ובניכם "you [plural] and your [plural] descendants." Thus, the dream emphasizes collective responsibility, rather than places the blame solely on Solomon, as the narrative seems to suggest subsequently. Third, the "dream" constructor included rich historical facts, namely the deportation and the destruction of the temple (vv. 7–8), which he retrojected into the dream omen as *vaticinia ex eventu*, and the exodus tradition (v. 9) to induce a fear of

of the construction of the temple (6:1–38), which is stylistically incommensurable. Since v. 15 is linked to v. 9, the pericope actually flows more smoothly without 6:11–14. Third, the temple completion motif in 6:14 creates an abrupt transition to the continuation of the temple-building description in 6:15–38. It is likely to be a *Wiederaufnahme* (resumptive repetition) of the completion remark in 6:9a placed there for the purpose of insertion. See Johan Lust, "Solomon's Temple according to 1 Kings 6,3–14 in Hebrew and in Greek," in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books* (ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Trebolle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven, Paris and Walpole, Mass.: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2012), 267; Polak, "The Septuagint Account of Solomon's Reign," 139, 145. Fourth, 6:11–14 reflects extensive deuteronomistic style and ideologies; coupled with its omission in the LXX, it is likely to be an insertion in the MT inspired by the longstanding deuteronomistic traditions. In view of the omission of 6:11–14 in the LXX, it is plausible that 6:11–14 is one of these insertions added by a deuteronomistically inspired tradent. Textual critic Eugene Ulrich (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, 69) points out that deuteronomistic expressions are likely to be a part of the general Judean theology whose language became very influential in the Second Temple period and had fostered many deuteronomistically stylistic insertions. The passage functions as a deuteronomistic refrain, perhaps added for liturgical purpose, in the lengthy, meticulous description of temple construction in chapter 6. Fifth, in 6:11–14, YHWH appeared and spoke to Solomon directly without sending a divine intermediary or any means of divination (not even through a trance). This deviates from the two oneiromantic accounts in the Solomonic narrative by making Solomon the direct recipient of divine revelation, which is a rare privilege among the Israelite kings (cf. 1 Kgs 11:11-13; 2 Kgs 10:30; 21:7-8). The aspect of divine immediacy to Solomon discredits the opinion that 6:11–14 belongs to the genre of "prophetic report" (see Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 251–52); however, it could be regarded a transposition of such genre. In light of all these considerations, 6:11–14 is likely to be a much later insertion.

divine abandonment as the punishment to the worship of foreign deities. Fourth, the dream constructor imagined a dialogue among "all the peoples" (vv. 8–9), who became deuteronomistic spokespersons and knew better than the "idolatrous" Israelites, a thoroughly deuteronomistic perspective. This imagined dialogue constitutes a ridicule of Israelites and it also reflects an imposition and rehearsing of an exclusive Yahwistic ideology. All in all, Solomon's second "dream" is not constructed as a personal dream, but it has undergone an extensive amount of "secondary revision" and appears more as a deuteronomistic refrain to be used in a communal, liturgical setting. Solomon's second "dream" does, however, reflect the "dream" constructor's underlying wish for a community that would worship only YHWH. In fact, his persuasive tone on an exclusive cult actually conveys that this was a not-yet-fulfilled wish, which supports the view that the narrative is written in a period dominated by a polytheistic culture.

There is a third, highly disguised and almost unnoticeable, constructed "dream" (1 Kgs 3:19–20) in the Solomonic narrative. It is embedded in the folkloristic wisdom-judgment of a dispute between two זנות "fornicators"[360] over the motherhood right of an infant (vv. 16–28). In this floating tale,[361] none of the characters is named, and the setting of the scene remains unspecified.[362] This vagueness of the identity of the characters and scene details distinguishes the

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[360] Strictly speaking, rendering זנות as "prostitutes" is, to say the least, misleading. זֹנָה denotes, in a broader sense, a woman who is involved in any kind of sexual practices outside of the legitimized patriarchal framework, which may include, but is not exclusively limited to, the notions of commodification of sex and extra-marital affairs. Monetary exchanges and multiple sexual relationships could be involved in the act of זָנָה, but neither of them is its necessary condition. It is hard to translate the Hebrew term זֹנָה. For the lack of a contemporary equivalent, I have rendered it "fornicator."

[361] See n. 358 for the definition of "floating tale."

[362] About a century ago, Hugo Gressmann ("Das salomonische Urteil," *Deutsche Rundschau* 130 [1907]: 212–28) published a comparison of about twenty stories with the plot structure similar to the Solomonic wisdom-judgment, in both ancient and modern times. Most of these folkloristic stories are about the dispute of two women who share the same husband over motherhood of a child. Based on the overwhelming similar themes observed in these stories and the abundance of the variants found in India, Gressmann conjectures a common ancestry of these stories from India, including "Solomon's" wisdom-judgment, which, to Gressmann, has nothing to do with Solomon originally. Gressmann attributes the eastbound migration of the original Indian tale to the propagation of Buddhism and argues that the westbound migration of the tale to Palestine is imaginable if Ophir, the place where Solomon's fleet traveled to (1 Kgs 10:11), is to be identified as India. For a few reasons, I find Gressmann's monogenetic theory of

tale from the rest of the Solomonic narrative. The unnamed, floating protagonist has been

assumed to be Solomon due the *Märchen*'s narrative position in the larger Solomonic

narrative.[363] The "dreamer" in this tale is the plaintiff (hereafter Woman A) who accuses her

roommate (Woman B), the defendant, of baby-snatching. Woman A's case presentation (vv. 17–

21) is partially a retelling of a "dream," namely a psychic reality that happens while she is yet in

"Solomon's" wisdom-judgment unconvincing and confusing. First, there are fundamental differences between the tales in Gressmann's comparative studies and the Solomonic one. Instead of the dispute between two wives of the same husband, the Solomonic wisdom-judgment has an unparalleled dispute between two "fornicators." Also, the wives in the other tales are vying for the husband's favor rather than the child per se, who is only a pawn to the fake mother in most of these stories. This important motive of jealousy is missing in the Solomonic wisdom-judgment. The dream-like character of Woman A's account (see below) is nowhere to be found in these parallels. In all but one of these parallels, the culprit and the victim were named from the beginning. Thus, only one parallel shares the same kind of indeterminacy with the Solomonic wisdom-judgment, namely the identity of the culprit remains open-ended. While the stories share many common motifs with Solomon's wise judgment, these fundamental differences could outweigh their shared motifs. Second, the appeal to the expedition of Solomon's fleet to Ophir presupposes the historicity of 1 Kgs 10:11 and the identification of Ophir with India, for which there is no archaeological evidence to support. The selective and ungrounded reliance on the historicity of Solomon's fleet further weakens Gressmann's thesis. The assumption that the tale, as Gressmann postulates, traveled to Palestine through Solomon's fleet to India and was a late modified version is inconsistent with his view that some variants of the tale closer to the original India one have happened to be preserved even in modern China through the spread of Buddhism (i.e., after the fifth century B.C.E.). This would make a late modified version at least 500 years earlier than many well preserved variants. Finally, Gressmann's monogenetic theory of folktales must be understood within the intellectual *Zeitgeist* of his time, in which comparative mythology of the 19th century based on the common ancestry of Indo-European languages was still in vogue. This view of common origin has been refuted as a "myth" in itself. While the tendency for folktales to diffuse and to be borrowed by other cultures is undeniable, the possibility of polygenesis cannot be ruled out. Societies that share similar social structures, in particular of desire, concerns, customs, beliefs, and values, may have developed stories of similar themes. Arguably, any cultures that have developed the institution of polygyny, a court system, and wisdom traditions, along with the assumption of a biological bond between a mother and her child, could have produced similar stories of wise judgment. This is not to dismiss the diffusive and the mutually influential natures of folktales, but rather to dispel the "myth" of the monogenetic theory of myths as the only explanation of the shared themes of folktales and to assert that these folktales could be developed independently through common sociogenes or psychogenes. The fundamental differences that I have mentioned suggest that the possibility of an independent development could hardly be ruled out. However, Gressmann is certainly right to point out that the Solomonic judgment has nothing to do Solomon and that it exhibits common folkloristic characteristics, in particular the unspecificities of the characters and scenes.

[363] Framed by Solomon's first dream and the narrative on Solomon's imperial administrative structure, the unnamed wise king could not have been interpreted as anyone else other than Solomon. However, the concealment of his identity may well be a sign of "secondary revision." Presumably, if this tale of the unknown wise king was widely circulated among the populace during the time of the Deuteronomist, the concealment of the king was a way to retain the enigmatic tone of the tale to which the ancient readers/auditors may have already become accustomed. There was no intent to historicize the tale by naming the wise king. The tale's narrative position in the larger literary context is sufficient to imply that the unnamed king is to be taken as Solomon. If my hypothesis is right, this would mean that the anecdotal, ahistorical nature of this tale was no secret to its original audience. By the same token, the integration of this conspicuously folkloristic, floating tale in the Solomonic narrative suggests that narrative historicity and historiographical accountability were of no major concern to the Deuteronomist and the first readers/auditors.

a sleeping state, and she reconstructs immediately after she wakes up.

Woman A claims that Woman B gave birth three days after she did. They delivered in each other's presence, but they were alone, namely there were no other witnesses to the alleged crime. Then, Woman A recounts in detail the death of Woman B's baby, the cause of death, and the baby swapping, even though the series of events supposedly happened while she was fast asleep (according to the MT; v. 20).[364] She claims to have discovered or have come to realize (ואתבונן; hithpolel) what happened during her sleep only after she woke up (v. 21). In other words, she is reconstructing what happened in her sleeping state immediately afterwards. While the account is an impossible scenario, within the tale Woman A is a trustworthy witness. She is recounting what she thinks had happened in her unconscious state. If Woman A was conscious when her baby was substituted with the dead one of Woman B, she would have fought back (considering how proactive and vocal she is in comparison to the defendant). In defense, Woman B makes a short, simple rebuttal, directed toward Woman A, that the living son is her own and the dead one is Woman A's (v. 22).

The king demonstrates his recently divinely bestowed wisdom not by making a judgment, but by devising a ruse to force the actual mother to reveal herself, who presumably would not want her living son to be cut into halves (1 Kgs 3:22–25). In the narrator's conclusion (v. 28), the readers/auditors are told that the king's "judgment" (ruse?) is a success and "all Israel" is amazed by the divine wisdom in him. However, the tale only allows the readers/auditors to conclude that the actual mother must be the compassionate one

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[364] In the MT, Woman A's statement includes ואמתך ישנה "while your servant was asleep," a phrase that is missing from the LXX, as well as other manuscripts and Vetus Latina. It is more likely that the two lexemes were omitted in the LXX than they were added to the MT, considering the illogicality and impossibility of recounting an event that happens while one is sleeping. It is likely that the scribe-copyist or translator of the LXX deleted the lexemes due to the illogicality and impossibility, which would be an act of "secondary revision."

(v. 26). The tale is built on the assumption of motherly love—the desire of the actual mother to save the life of her son.[365] Nonetheless, the tale's inherent ambiguity leaves the identity of the actual mother undeterminable or open-ended, to be decided by the readers/auditors.

The omniscient narrator, who knows better than the wise king, tells us the tormenting (psychical) state of the actual mother, even before the king makes the judgment (v. 26). The question is: Who is the compassionate mother? Is she Woman A or Woman B? The king orders to give her (the compassionate mother) the living boy and acknowledges that she is his mother (v. 27). However, who is "she"? The LXX clarifies but does not resolve the ambiguity by having the king order, δότε τὸ παιδίον τῇ εἰπούσῃ δότε αὐτῇ αὐτο "Give the kid to her who said, 'Give it to her.'" Similarly, NRSV supplements the word "first" in v. 27a, "Give the *first* woman the living boy…" (my emphasis), and it seems to suggest that the actual mother is Woman A. However, it is not certain whether the "first" refers to the order of appearance in v. 26 or that since the beginning of the tale. If it predicates the first woman mentioned in v. 26, namely האשה אשר־בנה החי "the woman whose son was alive," then the additional predicate "first" has failed to remove the cloud. This "first" woman could be Woman A or Woman B. The judicial case has a dream-like, bewildering ambiguity over the identity of the living infant's mother. Unless the episode is performed as a play to an audience, there is no way to identify the actual mother from the narrative. Even so, her identity would still be subject to the "director's" decision. In conclusion, the narrative never reveals the actual mother's identity. The indeterminacy invites the transferential reading, since the readers/auditors have to decide whom they want the actual mother to be and this decision can only be made according to their own cultural assumptions,

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[365] The assumption of the biological bond between a mother and her child, and thus motherly love, is also a common assumption of the majority of the similar stories of wise judgment in Gressmann's ("Das salomonische Urteil," 212–28) comparative analysis.

understanding, and primary or secondary experiences of motherhood and motherly love in real life. The wise king has not decided for the readers/auditors; even he is assumed to have done so. The tale invites each reader/auditor to enter a psychic exercise and correlate their own subjective experience with the tale.

As a critic, my reading is informed by psychoanalytic theories. For a moment, allow me to interpret this part of the tale as though it is based on an actual event. (It could well be such, and a wise king is invented to solve the impossible mystery.) Based on the fact that Woman A could not have possibly known what happened when she was asleep, she must have reconstructed the story after she woke up and found a dead child lying beside her. Her child is dead, but she wishes desperately that he is alive. Unconsciously she convinces herself that Woman B's living child is hers and reconstructs the baby-snatching incident in her psyche. How does she know that Woman B laid on him? From a psychoanalytic perspective, it is plausible that Woman A laid on her own child. The somatic feelings of lying on him, though forgotten, remain in her unconscious, but are subsequently displaced to Woman B. Her version of the incident is reconstructed with primary processes, against reality testing, and through the psychic mechanism of transference her own trauma is transferred to Woman B in an attempt to protect her own conscience from the guilt of killing her own child, even if it happened accidentally in her unconscious state. Alternatively, it could be a denial of the death of her own child. If her emphasis on the absence of witnesses is meant to portray her as the only trustworthy witness (and victim) and that no one is there to counter her statement (other than the narrator's way to deprive the king of all necessary resources for a sound judgment), then she may have a slight insight over the denial. The emphasis is another defensive mechanism to further convince herself of her own story. In terms of personality portrayal, Woman A's assertiveness also matches that

of the pretentious mother in v. 22. Thus, my psychoanalytically informed reading leads to the conclusion that Woman B is the real mother, in spite the fact that the NRSV seems to suggest otherwise.

Woman A's defensive story could be her own fantasy, namely her wish-fulfillment narrative that she did not crush her own baby. However, as I have mentioned, the inherent indeterminacy over the identity of the actual mother makes the tale intriguing and inviting. It is a riddle that invites transferential reading. Whomever a reader/auditor wishes to be the actual mother bespeaks the reader's/auditor's transferential process, his/her/hir subjective experience of motherhood, and his/her/hir own psychic state.

Moreover, the placement of this floating tale within the Solomonic narrative produces a link that invites the readers/auditors to associate the tale with narrative details presented thus far in the larger Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The bereaved mother's role as a "fornicator" implies that the birth of her baby boy is a result of her morally reprehensible sexual act. As my psychoanalytically informed reading suggests, it may be interpreted that the "fornicator"-mother is overwhelmed with the guilt of infanticide, and in her struggle against her own conscience or in her denial she takes the other woman's baby boy to be her replacement child. The motifs of the bereaved "fornicator"-mother and the replacement child are likely to trigger an association to the common motifs in the episode of David taking Bathsheba in 2 Sam 11:1–12:25.[366] Bathsheba, being the married woman, enters an adulterous relationship with King David and would be considered a "fornicator." Her one-time affair with David leads to the conception of their first child, which consequently leads to David's cover-up murder of her husband Uriah the Hittite. The readers/auditors are told through Nathan's oracle the child conceived of their illicit union is

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[366] For an instance of such association, see Zelig, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*, 276–77.

destined to die prematurely as a part of divine punishment (2 Sam 12:14–15) for David's infringement on another man's sexual rights and the subsequent murderous contrivance.

The circumstances create an emotional turmoil in which bereavement over the death of a newborn child is mingled with the parents' guilt feelings. Divine justice is meted out in the form of human suffering, and the blood of an innocent man is divinely avenged with the blood of an innocent child. After the retributive death of their first child, David consoles his wife Bathsheba by lying with her, and she conceives again and gives birth to Solomon (2 Sam 12:24–25). As indicated by the series of waw-consecutives, the consoling intercourse is aimed to beget a replacement child. There are numerous parallels between the characterizations of the bereaved "fornicator"-mother in 1 Kgs 3:16–28 and the bereaved "fornicator"-mother, Bathsheba, in 2 Samuel 11–12. In the storyline, the character association invites an interpretation of Solomon's transference between the bereaved "fornicator"-mother in the judgment scene and his own mother Bathsheba, and presumably his insight of motherly love even in women with morally questionable character and that between the child in dispute and himself.

The third "dream" of Woman A is a wish-fulfillment narrative in a few senses. First, its ambiguity fulfills the readers'/auditors' wish to judge and their desire for transferential reading. Second, it triggers our desire of motherly love in the cultural segment of our unconscious. Third, it further reinforces the original readers'/auditors' narcissistic wish of cultural superiority through an invented king of incomparable wisdom and judgment, who is about to solve an impossible riddle (even though, at the end, the wise king does not really solve the case and the identity of the actual mother remains concealed from the readers/auditors). This wish stems from the imperial ideology of a just and wise king in ancient times. The indeterminacy could have been deliberately left in the tale because there is never a wise king and the mystery is never

solved. Even if the case is real, given the benefit of doubt, the wise king is an invented, floating

character who devises a ploy to solve the case that has never been solved and remains unsolved.

Amplification of Wishes and Collective Narcissistic Discourse

Not only is the Solomonic narrative is fraught with motifs and themes on wishes/desires, but

also the wishes/desires are often aggrandized. Both quantitative and unquantifiable

wishes/desires are often exaggerated through the rhetorical use of intensifying

adjectives/adverbs, expressions of totality and nullity, comparatives, incomparability,

innumerability, and sheer hyperbole, in particular the plebification of luxury items. The sum of

the rhetorical forces serves to create the unprecedented, unparalleled, and unsurpassable

magnificence, prosperity, and extravagance of the Solomonic Kingdom.[367] Whatever could be

used to bolster this grandiose image, however exaggerated and hyperbolic, the Deuteronomist

seemed to have no scruples in expressing them. Even Solomon's unparalleled wisdom and the

universal submission of foreign dignitaries, named or unnamed, are part of the grandiose

portrayal of this splendid kingdom.[368]

First of all, there are a plentitude of intensifying adjectives and adjectival constructs that

serve to amplify quantitative and qualitative values. רב occurs nineteen times as an adjective,

"great, much, or many," or a noun, "multitude, abundance, or greatness," within an adjectival

construct.[369] Among the fifteen occurrences of the adjective גדול "great," all but one are used for

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[367] For instance, see 1 Kgs1:37; 3:8, 12–13; 7:47; 8:5; 10:7, 10, 12, 21.
[368] See n. 358.
[369] For the adjectival occurrence of רב, see 1 Kgs 2:38, 3:8, 11; 4:20; 5:9[Eng. 4:29], 21 [Eng. 7]; 10:2, 10, 11; 11:1. For the noun רב as a part of an adjectival construct, see 1:19, 25; 3:8; 4:20; 7:47; 8:5; 10:10, 27. In addition, it occurs once in 5:10[Eng. 4:30] in a verbal form for the purpose of comparison.

amplifying purpose.[370] The adjective כבד "heavy, great" occurs four times.[371] In addition, the

adverb מאד "very" is often used as an adjective or verb intensifier.[372] In six of its thirteen

occurrences, מאד is used to intensify רב. The intensifying adjectives and adverb are mostly used

quantitatively to emphasize the magnificence, extravagance, and prosperity of the Solomonic

Kingdom, predicating its demographical strength, the enormity of Solomon's sacrificial rites, the

large flow of tributary surplus, Solomon's luxurious court life, and even Solomon's erotic

capability. The adjectival expression רב מאד "very great" is also used to describe Solomon's

unparalleled wisdom and discernment (5:9[Eng. 4:29]), giving the unquantifiable virtue a general

impression of quantitative greatness.[373] The use of intensifying adjectives, along with the adverb

מאד, indicates that imperial wishes/desires are habitually amplified to a large extent.

Second, there is an excessive use of expressions for totality (to indicate entirety or absolute

unity) and, to a lesser extent, nullity.[374] The Hebrew expression for totality כל has not failed to

appear in any of the chapters in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24. Its occurrences amount to eighty-two times in

twelve chapters. Not all of these כל's are used to aggrandize the Solomonic Kingdom. However,

its ubiquity suggests the writer's customary thinking in terms of totality, usually in forms of a

sheer exaggeration or unrealistic hyperbole.

For instance, at Solomon's inauguration, "*all* the people" (כל־העם) hail and follow Solomon

in procession. The people play on pipes and jubilate greatly; even the earth quakes at their fervor

(1 Kgs 1:39–40). The Deuteronomist painted a picture of a total participation of the people in

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[370] The adjective גדול occurs in 1 Kgs 1:40; 2:22; 3:4, 6 [twice]; 4:13, 20; 5:31; 7:9, 10, 12; 8:42, 55, 65; 10:18. In 2:22, the adjective is used to denote a sibling relation. In addition, the root also occurs as verbal forms in 1:37, 47 and 10:23 for comparative purpose.

[371] See 1 Kgs 3:9; 10:2; 12:4, 11. In 12:4, 11, כבד is used negatively to predicate Solomon's, namely "my [Rehoboam's] father's," exploitation of the people of Israel. The root also occurs in hiphil verbal forms in 12:10, 14 with the same predicative function.

[372] See 1:4, 6, 15; 2:12; 5:9, 21; 7:47 (double); 10:2 (twice), 10, 11; 11:19.

[373] See also n. 358.

[374] For instances of nullity, see 5:7[Eng. 4:27], 18[Eng. 4].

Solomon's enthronement conveying a unanimous democratic acceptance of Solomon's reign—

which contradicts, first, the earlier narrative details that all the king's sons and the men of Judah,

the royal servants, are at Adonijah's banquet (1:9) and, second, to Adonijah's claim that "*all*

Israel expected him to reign" (2:15). "*All* Israel" (כל־ישראל) then come to recognize the divine

mandate of Solomon's kingship through Solomon's demonstrated divine wisdom (3:28) and in

turn submit themselves to his reign (4:1, 7). The domination extends further to the voluntary

submission of "*all* the kingdoms [כל־הממלכות][375] from the River [= Euphrates, מן־הנהר] to the land

of the Philistines, and as far as the border of Egypt" and all these kings in his dominion pay

Solomon tributes "*all* the days of his life" (5:1[Eng. 4:21]). Solomon achieves finally "dominion

over *all* Beyond-the-River [= Euphrates, בכל־עבר הנהר] from Tiphsah unto Gaza, over *all* the

kings of Beyond-the-River [בכל־מלכי עבר הנהר], and there was universal peace on *all* of Beyond-It

[מכל־עבריו מסביב]" (5:4[Eng. 4:24]).

The series of totality from "*all* the people" at his inauguration to "*all* Israel" and ultimately

to "*all* Beyond-the-River" progressively conveys the geographical expansion of Solomon's

power from regional to provincial, namely the entire Trans-Euphrates (עבר־הנהר; Ezra 4:10; 8:36;

Neh 2:7, 9; 3:7), and peace is maintained even with the countries beyond his dominion. The

progressive use of the totalizing qualifier כל is an amplifying device to convey Solomon's

universal dominance and prominent peace maintained with the surrounding countries.

According to the Solomonic narrative, there is unparalleled, uninterrupted prosperity throughout

"*all* his days," for the Israelites are "each under his vines and under his fig trees" (5:5[Eng.

4:25]). The "prefects" (הנצבים) are keen to provide for the King's Table, so that "nothing was

lacking" (לא יעדרו דבר; 5:7[Eng. 4:27]). There is a universal audience drawn to Solomon's

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[375] Cf. The LXX has ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν "over all kings" (2:46k).

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wisdom: "*All* peoples (מכל־העמים) came to listen to Solomon's wisdom, among whom were *all*

the kings of the earth (כל־מלכי הארץ) who heard of his wisdom" (5:14[Eng. 4:34]; see also 10:24).

In 1 Kgs 1:1–11:13, Solomon is *the* Great Imperializer to whom *all* other ethnic groups and *all*

kings of the earth willingly submit themselves to his wisdom imperialism. *All* the people of Israel

unanimously support him at his inauguration, and "*all* Israel" stands by his side at his dedication

of the temple, offers sacrifices with the king, and for the subsequent seven-day festival (1:39–40;

8:62–65). The Deuteronomist's portrayal follows the binary categories of peoples, the

imperializer and the imperialized, with the latter willingly and voluntarily submitting to the

former.

In order to convey the grandeur of the temple, the Deuteronomist emphasized twice that the

adytum (דביר), the altar, and the interior of the temple are overlaid with fine gold (1 Kgs 6:20–

22). In repeated emphasis, the Deuteronomist stated, "And the *entire* temple [ואת־כל־הבית] was

overlaid with gold, to the *entire* temple's perfection [עד־תם כל־הבית], and the *entire* altar [וכל־

המזבח] in front of the adytum was overlaid with gold" (v. 22). The totalizing qualifier כל occurs

three times, rather redundantly, to emphasize the complete extravagance of the temple. Gold is

repeatedly mentioned as a lustering metal for the wooden floor, the principal material used to

make the hinges of the doors, ornaments, and the only material used for the paraphernalia (6:28–

35; 7:29–51; cf. 2 Kgs 25:14). The wooden floor, in particular, is said to have been overlaid with

gold "from inside to outside" (לפנימה ולחיצון; 6:30), impressing the readers/auditors with the

ubiquity of gold embellishment, and thus the greatest extent of extravagance, yet betraying the

hyperbolic nature of the description.

In the description of the temple-building project, the text focuses sharply on the material

aspects, elaborating the minute details of the temple's splendor, listing the luxurious, exquisite

materials used in its construction and decoration, from the use of precious timbers, finest gold, to a variety of costly stones. The text disregards the ritual and social significance of the temple's architecture and focuses merely on opulence, and thus its imperialistic features. Given the relative central position that the temple building occupied in the Solomonic narrative (1 Kings 6–7), the temple becomes the quintessential exemplar of the grandeur of the Solomonic Kingdom. Subsequent tradents and commentators of the text are inevitably drawn by the focalizer of extravagance and have displayed a strong desire to further aggrandize the magnificence of the temple.[376]

The Deuteronomist's use of totality logic to convey Solomon's universal dominance and the unprecedented, unparalleled peace, magnificence, and prosperity of his kingdom runs consistently throughout the Solomonic narrative until its collapse, beginning with the introduction of Solomon's "adversaries" (שטן) in 1 Kgs 11:14–40, which contradicts the previous picture of universal peace maintained in 1 Kgs 5:1–18[Eng. 4:21–5:4]: "There was neither adversary nor disaster" (אין שטן ואין פגע רע; v. 18[Eng. 4]). YHWH raises Hadad, the Edomite king, and Rezon, the king of Aram, to be Solomon's divine adversaries (שטן; 11:14, 23, 25), which is followed by Jeroboam's rebellion against the king (11:26). These regional enemies exist even before Solomon joins his ancestors in peace.

Third, in drawing a picture of Solomon's unprecedented, unparalleled, unsurpassable success, the Deuteronomist used a fair number of comparatives (1 Kgs 1:36–37, 47; 10:6–7). For instance, internally, the unprecedented greatness of Solomon's reign and his fame within the kingdom are foreshadowed at David's announcement of Solomon's succession through, rather

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[376] For instance, according to 1 Kgs 6:31–35 and 7:50, the temple doors are made of wood and overlaid with gold, and only the hinges are made with gold, whereas according to the LXX, the doors of the sanctuary are made of gold, and according to 2 Chr 4:22 all temple doors are made of gold.

awkwardly, the benedictory invocation of Benaiah (1 Kgs 1:36–37), a military figure,[377] and at Solomon's coronation ceremony through a benedictory invocation of David's servants (1:47). The two benedictory invocations are partially identical, and both are in the comparative form with the piel construct of גדל, invoking the divine favor on Solomon so that he could surpass the Great King David in fame and his kingdom in power.

Besides the portrayal of universal submission through the totality logic just mentioned, Solomon's unparalleled external greatness is also conveyed through the comparative form with the qal construct of גדל: "King Solomon excelled *all* kings of the earth in wealth and in wisdom" (10:23). This comparison makes Solomon the wealthiest and wisest king on the surface of the earth; thus, it is also a form of incomparability. Another occurrence of incomparability masked in comparative form happens in 5:10–11[Eng. 4:30–31]: "Solomon's wisdom surpassed (ותרב) the wisdom of *all* people of the east and *all* the wisdom of Egypt. He was wiser than *any* person (ויחכם מכל־האדם)…." The text goes on to render a list of sages that Solomon surpasses in wisdom, even though it has already stated in the antecedent that nobody is wiser than Solomon. Also, in Solomon's first dream, he is already promised a mind of unprecedented and unsurpassable wisdom and discernment and incomparable wealth and power beyond any kings in his life (3:12–13). In other words, the comparability formulae in 5:10–11[Eng. 4:30–31] and 10:23 function as the fulfillment of the divine promise in 3:12–13, with elaborated and expanded details.

Three other formulae of incomparability are found in the narratives of the Queen of Sheba's visit and the return of Hiram's and Solomon's fleet (1 Kgs 10) to describe the unsurpassable

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[377] At the time of Solomon's accession, Benaiah is in charge of the palace warriors, the Cherethites and the Pelethites (2 Sam. 8:18; 20:23; 1 Kgs 1:44; 2:35). He subsequently becomes Solomon's chief executioner (1 Kgs 2:25, 29–34, 46) and is appointed the chief commander of the army in lieu of Joab (1 Kgs 2:35; 4:4), whom he has executed (2:34). It is rather awkward that such a benedictory address is attributed to a belligerent figure rather than a cultic or prophetic figure.

amount of fragrance (בשם) that the Queen of Sheba offers to Solomon (10:10),[378] the singular incident of "almug wood" (עצי האלמגים) brought back by the fleet (10:12), and Solomon's unprecedented ivory throne (10:20). These imported, exotic goods—the unsurpassable quantity of fragrance, the unheard-of "almug wood," and the ivory used for the exquisite, artistically embellished throne—are part of the bloated portrayal of the Kingdom's unforeseen and unfollowed economic prosperity and political power. Also noteworthy is the formula of incomparability found in Solomon's temple dedicatory speech: "there are no deities like you [God of Israel], in heaven above or on earth below" (8:23). Solomon acknowledges not only YHWH's superiority, but also his universality. As I will argue below, the belief in the supremacy of the ethnic deity embodies the belief in ethnic superiority.

Fourth, another amplifying device is the formula of innumerability. Similar to the relation between comparatives and the formula of incomparability, the Deuteronomist's overabundant use of the formula of innumerability reflects ironically its preoccupation with numbers and enumeration. The Solomonic narrative is fraught with quantitative figures and different kinds of lists.[379] The impressive figures and elaborated lists are part of the exaggerated and hyperbolic expressions of the grandiosity of the Solomonic Kingdom and its unprecedented economic prosperity. For instance, after his accession, Solomon offers a thousand burnt offerings at the primary high place at Gibeon (3:4). At the end of the temple dedication rite, he and "all Israel" offers 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep (8:62–63), which means, within twelve hours, about 300

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[378] The Hebrew word בשם probably refers to "balsam oil," an aromatic essense. I have rendered it "fragrance." See *HALOT*, 163; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräische und Aramäisches Handwörtebuch über das Altes Testament* (17th ed.; Berlin: Springer, 1949), 182.

[379] The narrator enumerates the branches of Solomon's knowledge of botany and zoology (5:13[Eng. 4:33]), Solomon's building achievements (9:15–19), the unconquered groups of indigenous people that the Israelites have enslaved (9:20–21), the specific spectacles that takes the "breath" (רוח) of the Queen of Sheba (10:4–5), the precious metals and exotic items brought by the fleet of Tarshish (10:22), the tributes and gifts offered by the "kings of the earth" (10:23–25; 5:14[Eng. 4:34]), the ethnic diversity of Solomon's wives (11:1), and the religious diversity among his wives (11:5–7, 33).

oxen and 1500 sheep are slaughtered per hour.[380] After this sacrificial rite with incredibly large

figures of oxen and sheep, Solomon continues to offer burnt offerings, cereal offerings, and

peace offerings at the center of the consecrated court because the bronze altar is too small to hold

all the offerings (8:63–64). Thus, a quantitative exaggeration is followed by an unquantified

hyperbolic expression. In addition, other impressive figures are used to convey Solomon's

sumptuous style of daily food consumption (5:2–3[Eng. 4:22–23]), his equestrian and equine

power and wealth (5:6[Eng. 4:26]; 10:26, 29), his prolific production of sapiential literature

(5:12[Eng. 4:32]), his generous ration to Hiram and his household (5:25[Eng. 5:11]), the force of

his conscripted laborers and the large number of their supervisors (5:27–30[Eng. 13–16]; 9:23),

the architectural and furnishing specifications of the temple and the palace (6:2–38; 7:1–44), the

fabulous size of his harem that grossly outnumbers any of the Davidic kings (11:3; cf. 2 Sam.

3:2–5; 14:16; 20:3; 2 Chr. 3:1–9; 11:21) and any kings of Israel's neighbors, and the troops that

Rehoboam gathers (but has never deployed) against the northern Israelites (12:21). The

incredibly large numbers of sacrificial animals offered by Solomon, just like other exaggerated

and hyperbolic numbers found in the Solomonic narrative, are better interpreted as an indicator

of Solomon's imperial strength, rather than his piety.

The Deuteronomist's obsession with extremely large figures reached an extent that, instead

of actual figures, the rhetorical force of grandiosity is simply replaced by the formula of

innumerability. For instance, Solomon's Israel was "a great people, so numerous that they could

not be counted or estimated" (3:8). The demographical innumerability and prosperity are further

captured with the simile: "Judah and Israel [are] as numerous as the sand by the sea [כחול אשר־

על־הים]" (4:20). A similar simile, "as [vast as] the sand on the seashore" (כחול אשר על שפת הים;

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[380] Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 451.

5:9[Eng. 4:29]), is later used to describe Solomon's "ample mind" (רהב לב), serving to impart the unquantifiable attribute with an innumerable, and thus quantitative, greatness.[381] The formula of innumerability is also used in a couple of occasions to emphasize the abundance of material resources. In the chapter that details Hiram's bronzework on the temple, the narrator highlights the abundance of the bronze vessels by pointing out that they are "unfathomable/impenetrable" (לא נחקר משקל ;7:47), namely the weight is beyond determinable.[382] In a sacrificial rite at the beginning of the dedication, immediately following the installation of the ark and holy vessels into the temple, it is simply stated that Solomon and the entire congregation of Israel sacrificed sheep and oxen so numerous that they "could not be estimated and counted" (אשר לא־יספרו ולא ימנו מרב [Eng. 8:5]). In sum, both the exaggerated and hyperbolic figures and the formula of innumerability are of the same rhetorical force, to convey the unparalleled magnificence and extravagance of the Solomonic Kingdom.

Finally, another amplifying device that is prominent in the Solomonic narrative is the hyperbolic plebification of luxury items, what F. E. König calls "Extreme Ausdrücke der Geringschätzung" (the hyperbole of disdain).[383] Highly luxury items whose access is limited to a few privileged and affluent people are described as though they are daily commodities enjoyed by the populace and the value of less luxury items have diminished greatly. Gold is a part of the staple income of the Solomonic Kingdom (9:14, 28; 10:10, 11, 14, 22, 25), and it has become so overly abundant that Solomon is said to have made two hundred shields of beaten gold, each of six hundred shekels, and another three hundred shields of beaten gold, each of three minas, and

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[381] See n. 358.
[382] See 1 Kgs 7:47. The niphal of חקר "to find out" occurs always with a negation. As Mulder puts it, "The idea may be that, though people tried to determine the monetary value of the objects, they did not succeed, because it exceeded all human standards." See Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 363.
[383] Eduard König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1900), 71.

placed them in the Royal Treasury, the Forest of the Lebanon (10:16–17). It seems that these shields are not made for the purpose of warfare, but rather for the hoarding of wealth. In addition, the royal house does not even consider silver vessels worth keeping (10:21). In Jerusalem, silver has become as common as stones and cedars as numerous as sycamores (10:27). Gold is so overabundant that it is applied in great quantity for gilding the interior of the temple and its decorations and for making the holy vessels (6:21–35; 7:48–50).

Also, only precious and luxurious materials are used for the construction of the temple and the palace. The text also gives an impression of the king's privileged access to exotic items, and that all the wealth and material privileges are incessantly flowing into the metropolis (4:21; 5:22–25[Eng. 8–11]; 9:28; 10:2, 11–12, 18–22, 24–25). With these hyperbolic expressions, the text suggests that during the time of Solomon everyone is wealthy and luxury items are overabundant. The Solomonic Kingdom is portrayed as a utopia for its residents in every imaginable way.

In sum, the quantifiable aspects of wishes/desires, such as national grandeur and prosperity, opulence, universal dominion, equestrian power, and a harem of multiethnic women, are amplified through exaggerated and hyperbolic expressions, amplifying adjectives/adverbs, the formulae of comparison/incomparability, grossly exaggerated figures, and the formula of innumerability. The rhetorical devices are consistent with the imperial aggrandizing discourse of ancient times to convey a sense of ethnic superiority and invincible imperial strength over *all* other peoples. The Deuteronomist incorporated almost all conspicuous signs of imperial superiority to impress the readers/auditors with an image of a great empire, whose magnificence and extravagance are unprecedented and unparalleled and whose king possesses unsurpassable wisdom. However, as a discourse of imperial aggrandizement, the Solomonic Kingdom lacks a

ubiquitous motif of military potency, the most prominent feature in ancient aggrandizing imperial discourses. This absence of militarism constitutes a measurable absence and demands an explanation. I will return to this point in Chapter 8.

How are these wishes/desires to be interpreted from a psychoanalytic perspective? The exaggerated and hyperbolic nature of most of these wishes and desires suggests the prominence of primary processes, in which reality testing is suspended in an attempt to gratify the sense of ethnic grandeur, a kind of collective megalomania of the imperialized ethnic group, by fantasizing an introjective identification of political and economic superiority, directly or through displaced (erotic) desires, enjoyed by the imperializer. The portrayal of an unprecedentedly prosperous and unrivaled Solomonic Kingdom conveys the vacillation between unconstrained aggrandizement and internal contradictions. The qualitative and quantitative excesses evidently constitute a representation by *overstatement* that generates an effect of fabulousness.[384] However, such fabulousness is simultaneously in constant tension with and even subverted by the Solomonic narrative's historical overtones. When a cultural fantasy takes on the guise of historiography, it is inevitable that primary processes would not withstand reality testing but would clash with the critical demands of historiography.

1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 follows a fantastic pattern of omnipotent grandiosity. It is fraught with wishful thinking and hyperbolic expressions that even on the manifest surface contradict the experiential reality. The text reflects the ambitious wish of ethnic grandeur and the imperial wish to be the subjugator of all other peoples. The wish to be in the position of the imperializer, as many postcolonial critics have pointed out, could well have stemmed from the imperialized's inferiority complex, in relation to the psycho-affective distress fueled by imperialism. The

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[384] For the concept of overstatement, see Sigmund Freund, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1906), *SE* 8:71–73.

wishful thinking of taking the place of the imperializer could have functioned to alleviate the psychological pain caused by real or perceived threats on collective self-esteem that leads to the formation of an inferiority complex, allowing the imperialized readers/auditors to discharge the negative affects associated with the subjugated position. As I have already pointed out with La Barre's concept of "cultural segment of the unconscious,"[385] the plausibility of the imperialized's fantasy of being the imperializer is based on the "imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious." Thus, what the Solomonic Kingdom represents is the imperialized's unconscious wishes conditioned by imperialism, which the Deuteronomist shared with their readers/audience. The producers of the Solomonic Kingdom represented, collectively, the ethnic personality whose cultural production was driven by and embodied in the cultural fantasy of which they are a part.

As a member of a group, a subject's sense of collective identity depends on the image of the group that she/he/ze belongs to and identifies with. The Solomonic Kingdom bears an image of grandiosity and a sense of entitlement that could be called *collective narcissism*,[386] a term proposed and defined by A. G. de Zavala, A. Cichocka, R. Eidelson, and N. Jayawickreme as "an ingroup identification tied to an emotional investment in an unrealistic belief about the unparalleled greatness of an ingroup."[387] If ethnocentrism or nationalism conveys a sense of

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[385] La Barre, *The Ghost Dance*, 207; see also p. 123 above.

[386] The term *narcissism* has a kaleidoscope of meanings in Freudian literature. Robert Raskin and Howard Terry ("A Principal-Components Analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and Further Evidence of Its Construct Validity," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 [1988]: 890) classified these meanings into five categories according to the behavioral manifestations: "(a) a set of attitudes a person has toward oneself, including self-love, self-admiration, and self-aggrandizement; (b) several kinds of fears or vulnerabilities related to a person's self-esteem that include the fear of loss of love and the fear of failure; (c) a general defensive orientation that includes megalomania, idealization, denial, projection, and splitting; (d) motivation in terms of the need to be loved, as well as strivings for self-sufficiency and for perfection; and (e) a constellation of attitudes that may characterize a person's relationships with others. This constellation includes exhibitionism, feelings of entitlement involving expectation of special privileges over others and special exemptions from normal social demands, a tendency to see others as extensions of oneself, feelings and thoughts of omnipotence involving the control of others, an intolerance for criticism from others that involves the perception of criticism of others who are different from oneself, suspiciousness, jealousy, and a tendency to focus on one's own mental products." It is in the fifth sense that the term is used in this study.

[387] Agnieszka Golec de Zavala, Aleksandra Cichocka, Roy Eidelson, Nuwan Jayawickreme, "Collective Narcissism

ethnic/national superiority, grandiosity, and entitlement over other ethnic groups or nations, then they can also be seen as a special case of collective narcissism.[388] Huajian Cai and Peter Gries define national narcissism as "an inflated view of the importance and deservedness of one's own nation."[389] This definition is also descriptive of ethnocentrism if the word "nation" is replaced with "ethnos." Cai and Gries measure the extent of national narcissism by modifying the first-person pronouns to "my group" in W. Keith Campbell's nine-item Psychological Entitlement Scale and comparing to Ryan P. Brown, Karolyn Budzek, and Michale Tamborski's sixteen adjectives descriptive of individual narcissism (perfect, prestigious, extraordinary, acclaimed, superior, prominent, heroic, high status, omnipotent, brilliant, unrivalled, dominant, authoritative, envied, glorious, and powerful). They argue that two prominent traits of national narcissism are national grandiosity (in the intragroup dimension) and national entitlement (in the intergroup dimension).[390]

While it is not difficult to identify these narcissistic attitudes and traits in the "metonymic Israel" through the characterization of Solomon and Rehoboam in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24, due to the limited scope I will turn to and modify a shorter list of more concrete criteria used to identify pathological narcissistic traits and trends in the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-V) to argue that 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 contains textual signs that

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and Its Social Consequences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97/6 (2009): 1074.

[388] Huajian Cai and Peter Gries, "National Narcissism: Internal Dimensions and International Correlates" *PsyCh Journal* 2 (2013): 122–32. See Boris Bizumic and John Duckitt, "'My Group Is Not Worthy of Me': Narcissism and Ethnocentrism," *Political Psychology* 29 (2008): 437–53; Reuben Fine, *Narcissism, the Self, and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 21.

[389] Cai and Gries, "National Narcissism," 123.

[390] W. Keith Campbell, Angelica M. Bonacci, Jeremy Shelton, Julie J. Exline, and Brad J. Bushman, "Psychological Entitlement: Interpersonal Consequences and Validation of a Self-Report Measure," *Journal of Personality Assessment* 83 (2004), 29–45; Ryan P. Brown, Karolyn Budzek, Michael Tamborski, "On the Meaning and Measure of Narcissism," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 35 (2009): 951–64. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory, a standard test tailored to measure individual narcissism, whose accuracy and efficacy are disputed, cannot be appropriated to measure collective narcissism. See Raskin and Terry, "A Principal-Components Analysis," 890–902.

corroborate my view of the Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism.[391] I will search for these traits and trends in the characterization of Solomon and Rehoboam and the portrayal of the Solomonic Kingdom and show that Solomon and Rehoboam, being the "metonymic Israel," encapsulate all recognized components of pathological narcissism, which, as David M. Buss has shown, also matches the lay conception of narcissistic personality.[392]

I use the term "metonymy" in a sense of *pars pro toto*, which is roughly equal to the psychoanalytic concept of displacement.[393] According to Freud, displacement is a psychic mechanism through which the psychical intensity of an object is displaced and expressed in a distorted and disguised form. Metonymy is displacement in the sense that a part of an object comes to bear the full weight of the psychical affects of the object in its entirety.[394] In the Solomonic narrative, every major political figure is a metonymic representation of the ethnic group or geographical region to which s/he belongs, albeit in a fragmentary, partial, and condensed way. For instance, the Pharaoh, Hiram, the Queen of Sheba are respectively the metonym of Egypt, Tyre/Phoenicia, and Sheba/Arabia. Each of these foreign potentates represents and encapsulates, in a distorted and disguised form, the contemporaneous socioeconomic and political significance of the corresponding entity traceable to the signifying world of the Deuteronomist. They each bear the affects associated with the corresponding region. Their portraitures are built on the Deuteronomist's subjective experience with these political entities.

However, Solomon and Rehoboam are the metonym of "Israel" in a sense different from the

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[391] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2013), n. p. Accessed 5 May 2016. Online: http://dsm.psychiatryonline.org.

[392] David M. Buss, "The Psychodiagnosis of Everyday Conduct: Narcissistic Personality Disorder and Its Components," in *Thinking Clearly about Psychology: Essays in Honor of Paul E. Meehl.* Vol. 2 Personality and Psychopatholog*y* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 333–45.

[393] See n. 289.

[394] For the Freudian notion of displacement, see Freud, *Interpretation of Dream*, *SE* 4:305–09.

aforementioned characters. Archaeologically evidence does not support the historicity of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom.[395] In addition, during the Persian period, Yehud was a Persian province and both the petty kingdoms of Israel and Judah had already become defunct. The powerful Solomonic Kingdom described in 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 is a cultural fantasy shared by the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors. It is a psychic introject built on the combination of both identifiable historical elements and invented details, embedded in the imperialized Yehudites' subjective experience with Persians, their diverse sociocultural surroundings, and their struggle to form a territorialized ethnic identity. As I will argue in the chapters to follow, the imperial image of the Solomonic Kingdom is created through different psychic mechanisms such as subject-object reversal and introjective identification, with its fantasy-thoughts traceable to the Yehudites' world. Only in this sense of a psychic entity do I use the term "metonymic Israel" in reference to Solomon and/or Rehoboam. The two Israelite kings, in combination or individually, encapsulate metonymically the Yehudites' wish to be a part of this great imagined collective, "Israel," a psychic reality composed of disparate creative material and historical material traceable to the time of Persian period. As the metonymic Israel, Solomon and Rehoboam are semiotized and encapsulated in the Yehudites' sense of collective identity, or their collective ego so to speak. The combined characterization of Solomon and Rehoboam bears all the narcissistic traits of pathological narcissism in the DSM-V. This has a significant bearing on the view of the Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism.

According to the DSM-V, the criteria for pathological narcissism are as follows:

(1) Has a grandiose sense of self-importance (e.g., exaggerates achievements and talents, expects to be recognized as superior without commensurate achievements). (2) Is preoccupied with fantasies of unlimited success, power, brilliance, beauty, or ideal love. (3) Believes that he or she is "special" and unique and can only be understood by, or should associate with, other special or high-status people (or institutions). (4) Requires excessive admiration. (5) Has a sense of entitlement (i.e., unreasonable expectations of especially favorable treatment or automatic compliance with his or her expectations). (6) Is interpersonally exploitative

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[395] See pp.17, 83–85 above.

(i.e., takes advantages of others to achieve his or her own ends). (7) Lacks empathy: is unwilling to recognize or identify with the feelings and needs of others. (8) Is often envious of others or believes that others are envious of him or her. (9) Shows arrogant, haughty behaviors or attitudes.[396]

With all the arguments that I have presented thus far, it should be reasonable to establish the fact that Solomon and his Kingdom, being the metonymic Israel, clearly satisfy the first two criteria. There is a difference between fantasizing being great, on the one hand, and actually being great, on the other. As far as "commensurate achievements" are concerned, textually the presence of numerous hyperbolic expressions and the overflow of wish-motifs and wish-fulfilling themes convey primary processes and thus suggest fantasizing and betray, to a large extent, the ahistoricity of the Solomonic narrative. From the perspective of ancient historiography, the ancient "epic history" of a distant past is typically characterized by myths, legends, and folktales and written in response to the present exigencies of the writer's time. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, comprised of an epic history that purportedly spanned the time from Moses to the release of Jehoiachin (ca.1400–562 B.C.E.), bears the trademarks of ancient "epic history" that creatively interweaves history with fiction. Archaeologically, as I have mentioned, the hill country of Judah at the time of Solomon was at most a modest chiefdom.[397] The Solomonic narrative is a cultural fantasy that was based parsimoniously on historical traditions but predominantly on literary creativity shaped by the present circumstances of the Deuteronomist's time. Solomon's political and economic achievements encapsulate the ambitious wish of the imperialized to replace their imperializer's aggressive position, to express and be gratified through literary creativity of a variety of narcissistic desires that were otherwise deprived within the structure of imperialism.

As for the second criterion, I have already elaborated on the characterization of Solomon

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[396] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2013), n. p. Accessed 5 May 2016. Online: http://dsm.psychiatryonline.org.
[397] See pp. 83–85 above.

and the portrayal of his Kingdom in terms of "unlimited success, power, brilliance." His

success, power, brilliance lie in his implementation of "wisdom imperialism," namely his ability

to subjugate "all peoples" and "all kings of the earth" with his wisdom, and not with coercion or

threat of coercion as it would happen in real-life imperialism. All peoples around him, far or

near, willingly submitted themselves to be Solomon's tributaries and servants. As for "beauty,"

Solomon's physical attributes are never underscored, but the "beauty" of his Kingdom is always

under the spotlight in the narrative.[398] The spectacle of the architectural splendor, the lavishness

of the temple and palatial renovation and decoration, the possession of exotic animals and goods,

the sheer size of his multiethnic harem, and the elaboration of his sacrificial rites amount to an

exhibitionistic display of wealth, prestige, and power. The text is preoccupied with flaunting the

Solomonic Kingdom's extravagance, power, and prestige.

In terms of "ideal love," the portrayal of Solomon and Israel as YHWH' beloved and his

chosen people respectively (1 Kgs 3:8; 6:13; 8:23–61, 66; 10:9; cf. Deut. 7:6–8),[399] who enjoyed

divine favouritism, bespeaks a narcissistic "ideal [divine] love." Israel is said to be "separated

from *all* the peoples of earth to be your [YHWH's] inheritance" (I Kgs 8:53). YHWH is portrayed

as a wish-granting genie who favored Solomon over *all* kings of the earth and the people of

Israel over all other people, who granted Solomon's wish for wisdom and bestowed power,

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[398] See Chapter 8 for the Deuteronomist's tendency to undermine physical beauty as a kingly attribute.

[399] The Hebrew verb בחר "to choose" is found thirty times in the book of Deuteronomy with God as subject. It is variously applied to the divine election of the king, the people, and the temple site. The first and the last concepts, namely the divine election of kingship and of temple site, are common theological concepts in ancient Southwest Asia. However, the divine choice of temple site was never considered exclusive in the ancient Southwest Asian culture. In this regard, the deuteronomistic concept of Jerusalem as the exclusive, centralized site of theYahwistic cult stands as an innovative idea. As for the divine choice of a people, it is considered a democratization of the divine election of the king, a novel concept in the history of the ancient Southwest Asia. See H. Wildberger, "בחר *bḥr* to choose," in *TLOT*, 1:215. YHWH's election of a people out of all peoples of the earth presupposes the universal sovereignty of YHWH. See H. Seebass, "בָּחַר *bāchar*," *TDOT*, 2:83. In the Solomonic narrative, both the concepts of Israel as the chosen people (3:8) and Jerusalem as "the place that YHWH chose" (1 Kgs 8:16, 44, 48; 11:13, 32, 34, 36) are explicitly present. These concepts are considered "very deuteronomic." Deut 7:6–8 is considered the *locus classicus* of the 'election of Israel' in the Hebrew Bible. See Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 142–44.

honor, and longevity on him without even being asked, and who implicitly held the power of destroying Solomon's enemies (1 Kgs 3:11–14). Such a portrayal of an ethnic deity is unmistakably a projection of collective narcissistic wish of omnipotence. The collective wish of omnipotence is projected into an almighty deity who shows favoritism to one's ethnic group over all other ethnic groups. In addition, Solomon's possession of an enormous multi-ethnic harem, where foreign women readily and willingly submit themselves for the erotic pleasure of the king, reflects a belief of narcissistic charm and extraordinary virility, albeit a displaced ambitious desire.[400]

The third criterion, the belief of self-uniqueness, is also detected in the Solomonic narrative through the association and even subordination of dignitaries and prominent figures of the time. Both Hiram, king of the prominent coastal city Tyre, and the Queen of Sheba, a place that epitomizes the success of international trade and paramount economic prosperity, are described in the narrative as Solomon's vassals and tributary sycophants who presented tributes, gifts, and adulation to the king. The subjugation of these international figures, as I will argue later, constitutes a reversal of historical situation. On the manifest surface, the text already runs self-contradictory by portraying Hiram's subordinate position and having him address Solomon as "my brother" (1 Kgs 9:13), a title that frequently appears in the diplomatic contact in ancient Southwest Asia between rulers who considered themselves in a position of equality.[401] This contradiction requires further analysis in relation to the mechanisms of primary process. Moreover, Solomon is also portrayed as the Pharaoh's son-in-law, a privilege that was barred by

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[400] See Chapter 4 for more details.
[401] See Y. Lynn Holmes, "Egypt and Cyrus: Late Bronze Age Trade and Diplomacy," in *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.; AOAT 22; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukircherner Verlag 1973), 97; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* (Lund: Gleerup, 1976), 227. See pp. 312–315 below for the textual analysis of Hiram's address of Solomon as "my brother."

the ancient Egyptian diplomatic marriage policy but, according to Herodotus (*Hist.* III.1–2), is said to have been enjoyed by Cambyses II or Cyrus II, to whom Pharaoh Amasis allegedly gave the hand of Nitetis, the daughter of the former Pharaoh Apries, in the late sixth century B.C.E.[402] Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter is reminiscent of the Herodotean tales that elevated Cambyses to the Pharaonic status through a marital bond. It is likely that the Deuteronomist's deliberate association of Solomon to these important figures of major political and economic powers stemmed from a narcissistic motive. The repeated emphasis on the Egyptian-Israelite marriage alliance (3:1; 7:8; 9:16 [LXX 5:14], 24 [LXX 2:35]; 11:1) underscores the Deuteronomist's wish of Israel being the super imperial power worthy of the exceptional union.

The fourth criterion, the demand of excessive admiration, is detected in the diegetic adulations delivered by Hiram (5:21[Eng. 7]) and the Queen of Sheba (10:6–9) in praise of Solomon's kingly attributes and the "wisdom pilgrimage" that Solomon attracted from "the entire earth" (כל־הארץ; 10:23–25; see also 5:14[Eng. 4:34]), which bespeak of a desire for admiration. The subject's desire of being affirmed and adulated by others, including the divine, is a kind of projective narcissism, where self-admiration is projected to be the admiration by others. Upon hearing Solomon's accession, Hiram "rejoices greatly" and blesses YHWH for divine providence in setting David's wise son over "this great people" (5:21[Eng. 7]). The Queen of Sheba's grand entrance is represented by "a very great retinue, camels loaded with fragrance and very much gold and precious stones" (10:2). After her examination of Solomon's wisdom and her inventory of its extravagance and greatness, she is totally flabbergasted to the point that "there was no more spirit in her" (ולא־היה בה עוד רוח). She then compliments Solomon's

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[402] See Chapter 5 for more details.

achievements and wisdom by acknowledging that what she witnesses exceeded the report she

heard. She is envious of Solomon's wives and servants who have the privilege of constantly

being in Solomon's presence and immersing in his wisdom, which is consistent with the eighth

criterion for pathological narcissism.[403] The Queen of Sheba, just as Hiram does in 5:21[Eng. 7],

praises Solomon's god YHWH: "Blessed be YHWH your God, who desired you [חפץ בך] and put

you on the throne of Israel. Out of YHWH's perpetual love for Israel [באהבת יהוה את ישראל לעלם],

he set you king to execute justice and righteousness" (10:6–9).

Both Hiram's adulation and that of the Queen of Sheba have a two-birds-with-one-stone

effect. Their diegetic speeches acknowledge, explicitly, the legitimacy and superiority of

Solomon (the metonymic Israel) with the ideology of divine election, and, implicitly, the

universal significance of Solomon's (the metonymic Israel's) god, YHWH. YHWH's universal

sovereignty is conveyed through the Yahwistic worship of these foreign dignitaries. The text

does not tell the readers/auditors if Hiram and the Queen of Sheba are exclusively worshipers of

YHWH, but its silence about the religious background serves to direct their readers/auditors

toward fantasizing their sole worship of YHWH and renouncement, however momentary, of their

own deities and own cultural upbringing. However, in the polytheistic cultural milieu of the first

readers/auditors, they might have been contented to fantasize that these foreign dignitaries are

simultaneously worshipers of YHWH and their own deities. The portrayals of these supposedly

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[403] Based on the principle of *lectio difficilior* (see Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 518), I follow the MT reading "Happy are your wives!" rather than the LXX and Peshitta that read "Happy are your men!" (10:8a). Many commentators have argued for the plausibility of a scribal "correction" that intended to avoid a sign of admiration of Solomon's women, who have supposedly turned the king's heart away from YHWH. For instance, see Julius Friedrich Böttcher, *Neue exegetisch-kritische Aehrenlese zum Alten Testamente* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1863–1865), 2:86. Thus, the emendation constitutes a "secondary revision." For the commentators who prefer the LXX reading, they argue that the words 'men' and 'servants' form a hendiadys. However, there is no reason that the two blessings in 10:8a must constitute a hendiadys. Below, I will argue, based on the psychoanalytic concept of transference, that the MT reading is more consistent with the text's overall tendency to eroticize and semiotize motifs related to women. See Chapter 5 for more details.

worshipers of alien deities as the sole (however temporary) worshipers of YHWH, from a

psychoanalytic perspective, could be described as "projective extraversion born of extreme

narcissism."[404] Others' ethnic-religious integrity is compromised in order to uphold the

superiority of the deity of the group with which one identifies, which is a rare form of cultural

superiority in ancient Southwest Asia where religious diversity, along with syncretism, was

generally accepted.

The Deuteronomist had pushed this projective extraversion to an extent that the foreigners

are given the role of the harshest critics of Israel's idolatrous practices, in case of a breach of

Yahwistic covenantal relationship by the Israelites and their descendants. Israelites would

"become a proverb and a taunt among *all* peoples" (9:6–9). By ridiculing the idolatrous

Israelites, rhetorically, foreign peoples are actually affirming *via negativa* Israelites' position as

YHWH's chosen people and upholding the pre-eminence of their covenantal relationship. The

belief that one's ethnic group is privileged and favored by the divine to be the chosen people

constitutes cultural narcissism of an inflated ethnic image. When the ethnic grandiosity is

projected onto the thoughts of other peoples, the cultural narcissism is conveyed through

projection. It is a fantasized superiority that could only be affirmed metaphysically, but it could

never be proven empirically.

Both the notion of "entitlement," the fifth criterion, and the idea of "deservedness" are found

in the Solomonic narrative. Even though both terms convey a favorable outcome or reward to the

self or the ingroup, they have distinct meanings. Strictly speaking, deservedness suggests an

expectation of a favor as a result of one's merit, whereas entitlement suggests an expectation of a

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[404] See Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983; repr. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 108.

favor or a special treatment as a part of a social contract irrespective of one's merit.[405] Both the sense of deservedness and entitlement could be inflated, leading to the narcissistic belief that one deserves special treatment and is entitled to privileges that are incommensurable to one's merits and even social position. Because of Solomon's unparalleled wisdom, the Deuteronomist not only suggested that the king deserves to be heard and venerated by all other peoples and the kings of the earth, but that he deserves even more, to receive tributes and gifts from all kings, namely to subjugate the whole world through his wisdom imperialism. However, since Solomon's wisdom is never a personal merit but rather a divine gift, it could be argued that his deservedness is actually an entitlement due to divine favoritism, a favor gained indirectly through his special relationship with the divine.

Criteria five to seven and nine are prominent in the characterization of Rehoboam in 1 Kings 12. Rehoboam, who inherits the Kingdom from Solomon in the absence of any personal merits, rules the Israelites purely out of a sense of entitlement, which entails his unchallengeable position as the head of the state and his expectation of Israelites' unquestionable submission to his rule. Because of his belief in his entitlement of power and his lack of empathy (Criterion 7) toward the northern Israelites' hardship and distress from the forced labor that Solomon imposed on them (Criterion 6), Rehoboam becomes ever more exploitative than his father. Rehoboam's insensitivity toward the drudgery of the northern tribes and his subsequent callousness to intensify their burden and torture suggest his sense of entitlement through his inherited position as the king. He maintains his sense of self–importance and superiority through the exploitation of others. Other lives are unimportant insofar as they merely exist for his own ego.

As 1 Kgs 12:6–15 suggests, Rehoboam attempts to emulate his father's exploitativeness and

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[405] Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, and Bushman, "Psychological Entitlement," 31.

callousness in inflicting pain on the northern Israelites. Thus, the Deuteronomist suggested that these narcissistic traits, exploitativeness and lack of empathy, are already traceable in the characterization of Solomon. Indeed, from the beginning of his reign, Solomon has demonstrated exceptional callousness and apathy in the extermination of his opponents (2:13–46). Solomon begins the institution of massive organized forced labor of "all Israel" for the preparation of the temple-building project and his other building projects (5:27–32[Eng. 13–18]; 9:15). He enslaved the indigenous non-Israelites for manual labor (9:20–23). Hiram, the king of Tyre, and the Queen of Sheba, along with other kings, are among Solomon's tributaries to be exploited for natural resources and material gains and in Hiram's case also for his craftsmanship and naval technologies (5:15–32[Eng. 5:1–18]; 7:13–51; 9:26–28; 10:1–15). Their relationships with Solomon are never on an equal footing, nor in reciprocity. Even the cities that Solomon awarded Hiram are despised by the latter with the name "Cabul" (כבול), meaning "as good as nothing" (9:13). As I have argued in the analysis of the wish-motifs, the treaty that Solomon makes with Hiram (5:12) actually establishs a hierarchy in Solomon's favor. Solomon is entitled to all the luxury items that he wishes for, and Hiram in return receives only the basic provisions. The treaty, as I argued, creates "an exploitative division of wish-fulfilling labor." In the Solomonic narrative, these main characters exist purely as the aggrandizing and imperializing means of the Solomonic Kingdom.

I have already slightly touched on Solomon's and Rehoboam's lack of empathy in their exploitation of others. The motif of empathy is hardly noticeable, if not absent, in 1 Kings 1–11.[406] However, the motif begins to occupy a central place in the Rehoboam episode (1 Kings

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[406] The anonymous judge's act of eliciting motherly love in the judgment of wisdom (3:16–28) and Solomon's taking heed of all that the Queen of Sheba desired (1 Kgs 10:13) might be or might not be considered acts of empathy. The judge's objective of evoking motherly love is primarily strategic and utilitarian to the making of a sound judgment. The Queen of Sheba's desires are never revealed and thus subject to the readers'/auditors'

12:1–24). This folkloristic tale begins with the representatives of the Israelites appealing to Rehoboam to lighten the "heavy yoke" that Solomon imposed on them.[407] In dealing with this schismatic crisis, Rehoboam subsequently seeks the advice of both the old men who have served Solomon and the young men with whom he has grown up. The old men's advice is most empathetic, whereas the young men's advice is most unempathetic. The old men urge Rehoboam to "be the people's servant… and speak good words to them" (12:7), namely to show up in humility and be empathetic to the people's plea. In contrast, the young men urge him to speak with callous, contemptuous, and cruel language (12:10–11) that shows no empathy for the people's suffering and their demand of alleviation of their burden. Instead of foregoing his grandiose self and putting on the image of a humble servant, Rehoboam chooses to uphold his arrogance and appear as an oppressive dictator. Instead of lightening the northern tribes' heavy yoke, he decides to intensify the burden that his father imposed on them and to inflict even more physical torture. Rehoboam's attitudes toward the downtrodden Israelites reflect not only his lack of empathy, but also his arrogance and his haughtiness (Criterion 9). He perceives himself as a king greater than his father Solomon, even though he lacks the divinely bestowed wisdom that Solomon had. In fact, his frivolity and chutzpah create a stark contrast to Solomon's scrupulousness and discernment. However, Rehoboam should not be regarded simply as the negative of Solomon. Rather, Rehoboam, the Folly, is arguably the alter ego of Solomon, the Wise, in that Rehoboam absorbed and amplified the dark side of Solomon, his exploitativeness,

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transferential filling. Solomon's act of granting her desires could be interpreted as an act of empathy or equally as an act of egotism, depending on the nature of her desires.

[407] This episode of Rehoboam consulting the advice of elders followed by that of the young men at a time of political crisis is remarkably analogous to the opening section of the Sumerian epic poem "Gilgamesh and Akka," dated to the Old Babylonian period, in which Gilgamesh consulted the counsel of the elders of Uruk followed by that of the young men of the city. In both tales, the elders advised pacification or submission, while the young men urged for antagonism. Even though literary dependence of the Rehoboam episode on the Sumerian epic poem has not been established, the remarkable parallels between them, coupled with the presumed popularity of the Gilgamesh story, does make such linkage tempting.

cruelty, and heartlessness, to the maximal capacity.[408] Rehoboam's inability to take criticism,

insults and perceived provocation, his tendency to treat them as ego attacks, and to react

defensively in a violent and aggressive way in order to safeguard his own inflated self-image,

according to the theory of threatened egotism, are to be considered narcissistic traits.[409] As one

of their personality traits, narcissists are intolerant of criticism.

Finally, I have mentioned in passing the last two criteria, the traits of envy and arrogance.

The element of envy constitutes a weak trait in the characterization of Solomon and Rehoboam.

Solomon perceives Adonijah's request of Abishag to be given as his wife as a sign of his

ambitious desire over the kingdom (1 Kgs 2:22), as I will argue in the next chapter, and it could

well be justified due to the assumed semiotic value of the concubinary body. Thus, Solomon

reacts aggressively to Adonijah's disguised ambitious request and is determined to exterminate

him. Is Adonijah envious of Solomon? He certainly regards himself as the legitimate successor

in accordance with the principle of primogeniture and the democratic support he has harnessed (1

Kgs 2:15), and thus, to him, Solomon is the "true usurper." If Solomon has interpreted his

request for Abishag as an act of envy, this was not a delusional thought, but a highly reasonable

conjecture. In the case of the Rehoboam episode, it is subject to the readers'/auditors'

interpretation whether Rehoboam perceives the request of Jeroboam and the assembly of Israel

for the reduction of manual labor of the Israelites as one motivated by envy. If the content of

Ahijah's divine oracle is trustworthy, there would be no doubt that Jeroboam is covetous of the

Solomonic Kingdom (11:37). It would be reasonable to interpret the request of burden alleviation

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[408] The introduction of the character of Rehoboam functions as focalization on the exploitative, oppressive, and arrogant dimensions of the Solomonic Kingdom.

[409] For the narcissists' tendency to react aggressively to criticism, see Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, and Bushman, "Psychological Entitlement," 39–41; de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, and Jayawickreme, "Collective Narcissism and Its Social Consequences," 1074.

as a strategic means to obtain the power. In sum, it is inconclusive if Solomon and Rehoboam believed their opponents were envious of their power and privileges to the point of being delusional. As the ruler of a powerful state, if they have speculated about the motives of envy and ambition in their potential rivals, it would be totally reasonable. Given the privileged position they occupy, it would be natural that they believe others are always envious of them and of their privileged status, as the Deuteronomist had portrayed through the Queen of Sheba's dumbfounded reaction upon witnessing the grandeur of the Solomonic Kingdom and through her diegetic adulation (10:6–9) of Solomon. The queen shows great admiration for Solomon's wisdom and his Kingdom's prosperity. She expresses envious feelings toward Solomon's wives and officials because of the proximity they enjoy to the wise king. To the Deuteronomist, both Solomon and his Kingdom are definitely enviable by others and deserved be venerated.

Conclusions

On the lexical level, there are eleven occurrences of wish-motifs in the Solomonic Kingdom. The חפץ-motif occurs seven times and permeates the manifest surface of Solomonic Kingdom to express wishes of different natures—desires of luxury items, basic provisions, and sublimated divine-human love. The erotic connotation of the חפץ-motif semiotizes the text and drives the readers/auditors toward the fantasizing of their own wishes. The חשק-motif occurs three times, all in association with Solomon's building activities and civilization achievements, namely his ambitious desire. Finally, although the אוה-motif occurs only once, it takes the wish-fulfillment narrative to a next level to include the notion of a wish of unfavorable, morally questionable nature and the desire of the most abstract sense, namely domination over a territory or an ethnic collective, as opposed to desire of a concrete or concretized object (חפץ-motif) or the desire of an

accomplishment through an activity (חשק-motif). What the wish of domination entails is subject to interpretation and open to further construction. In sum, the Solomonic Kingdom is filled with explicit wish-motifs even on the text's manifest surface. It must be pointed out that none of these wishes has failed to be fulfilled, which is a trademark of fantasy as a wish-fulfilling device. In the unconscious, one only fantasizes to have their wishes fulfilled and never unsatisfied.

I have analyzed the three constructed "dreams" in the larger narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom and the kinds of wishes embedded in each of these fantasies. Besides these dream-fantasies, there are many other themes of wish/desire on the manifest surface of the narrative. For example, the narrative begins with Adonijah's unfulfilled ambitious wish to be David's successor (1:1–53). The royal-court intrigue of Adonijah and his faction then forces their opponents, in particular Nathan and Bathsheba, to counter intrigue in order to save their own lives (1:11–37). This contains a theme on the desire for self-preservation (1:12). Bathsheba's entry to David's chamber carries a subtle theme of erotic wish (1:15–21). To be sure, erotic wish, ambitious wish, and self-preservative wish are not discrete categories that aim for different gratifications. In fact, these categories are often overlapping. For instance, in this chamber scene, David plays the role of the patriarch wish-granting genie and explicitly asks Bathsheba to express her wish (1:16), and her wish is both ambitious and self-preservative.[410] Similarly, Adonijah's request of Abishag to be his wife (2:13–25) contains both erotic wish and ambitious wish. The Solomonic Kingdom is overflowing with different kinds of desire and all things

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[410] Parallels of this wish-granting theme are found in 1 Kgs 3:1–15, Josh. 15:15–19, and Mark 6:21–29. In a similar wish-granting motif in Josh. 15:15–19, Caleb gives his nephew Othniel his daughter Achsah as wife—a reward for his conquering Kiriath-sepher. Achsah "comes to" (בבואה; v. 18) Othniel and entreats him to ask Caleb for a field, but she ends up asking herself. Here the wish-granting motif is set within the theme of sexual favor and manipulation. David's wish-granting question (1 Kgs 1:16) is also that of Caleb to Achsah (Josh. 15:18). Note that in a Hebrew manuscript fragment found in the geniza Cairensis, the Greek text from the Lucianic recension, the Syriac version, a Targum manuscript, and the Vulgate, the wish-granting question in 1 Kgs 1:16 is completely identical to the expression in Jos. 15:18, which implies their assumed identity in linguistic construction.

desirable.

Numerous quantitative and unquantifiable wishes/desires are amplified through the rhetorical use of magnitude adjectives/adverbs, expressions of totality and nullity, comparatives, incomparability, innumerability, and hyperbole to produce an image of an unprecedented, unparallel, and unsurpassable Solomonic Kingdom. Solomon's (the metonymic Israel's) sense of grandiosity and entitlement bespeaks the common traits of collective narcissism. How does collective narcissism, the belief in collective superiority, grandiosity, and entitlement, develop? What are the psychological causes for the need to bolster a sense of ethnic or national pride at the expense of other ethnicities or nations? While the scope of this study does not allow me to probe deeper into the subject, I will make some preliminary notes. All forms of imperialism, whether cultural, political, or economic imperialism, are to various extents narcissistic. The grandiose belief of one's ethnic, cultural, evolutionary, and/or technological superiority with the associated sense of mission to subjugate and civilize the "inferior races" is a common narcissistic trait of modern colonialism. It should be noted that cultural superiority was not necessarily upheld by the ancient imperializers, and quite to the contrary they often acknowledged the cultural advancements of the subjugated peoples and utilized their cultural achievements in their political consolidation and expansionism, which is also the picture that we see in Solomon's utilization of the Tyrians' logging skills, metallurgy, and naval technology. Nonetheless, ancient imperialisms are in many ways narcissistic as reflected by their beliefs of divine election, divine mandates, ethnic superiority and entitlement, and military prowess.

It is a well-known fact that modern nationalism developed in many colonized countries as a reactionary product of colonialism. In the midst of threats to their collective identity, a national identity is created among the colonized to counter the colonial discourse that seeks to define the

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colonized by the colonizer's terms and to forge a sense of solidarity among a people of diverse ethnicities. In a similar vein, the grandiose omnipotent fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom could have been a reactionary product to Persian imperialism to undermine their discourse of aggrandizement and subordination. Collective narcissism stemming from resistance to imperialism is also rooted even on an individual level, as an imperialized subject's sense of self-esteem is often damaged by the social and ethnic hierarchies set by imperialism. Being forced into a disadvantaged, underprivileged position, the imperialized individuals are prone to psycho-affective disturbances. Feelings of inferiority, vulnerability, hopelessness, helplessness, shame, fear, rage, and envy threaten the sustenance of a coherent self-image and correspondingly a coherent group-image. The narcissistic fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom allowed the imperialized readers/auditors to escape their narcissistic hurt and to take flight from the psychologically damaging imperial reality, in order to temporarily sustain a sense of self-worthiness and ethnic worthiness through a subject-object (imperialized-imperializer) displacement and to regain a sense of coherence that was shattered and damaged under the brutal reality and belittling discourse of imperialism.[411] Collective narcissistic desires in this case are spawned from the imperialism-rooted inferiority complex and reflect an attempt to resist a disintegration of ethnic integrity by portraying the ethnic collective to which one belongs as the "superior" and idealized other, namely the imperializer, albeit by undermining their exploitative and oppressive traits that the imperialized finds threatening.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the readers'/auditors' participation in the narcissistic cultural fantasy may not even be happening in their awareness. As I will argue in Chapter 8, the

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[411] The function of unconscious fantasy to sustain an inner psychic balance and minimalizing disturbing affects is what J. Sandler and A.-M. Sandler calls the gyroscopic/stabilizing function of unconscious fantasy. See Sandler and Sandler, "The Gyroscopic Function of Unconscious Fantasy," 109–23.

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Solomonic Kingdom's resemblance to the Persian empire is likely to produce a sense of unnameable familiarity, what Freud calls the "unheimlich" (the uncanny) that yields a pleasure or excitation even if the readers/auditors are not fully aware of the familiarity. The Yehudite readers/auditors could have participated unknowingly in the reversal of the imperialized (Israel) and their imperializer (Persian empire) and simultaneously in the critique of the latter's social ills, which were the cause of their own predicaments. It may be counterintuitive that the extent of pleasure yielded by the cultural fantasy is inversely proportional to the extent of their awareness of the similarities. The greater is their unknowing, the least their internal inhibitions and anticipated reactions, and thus the greater pleasure that the text would yield. Generations of readers/auditors have continued to participate in the reproduction of the text and the cultural fantasy, intensifying the pleasure with the snowball effect of aggrandizement. For instance, as a Roman collaborator of Jewish descent, Josephus (37–100 C.E.) arguably participated in the expansion of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom in his *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII.61– 100) by substantially inflating the extravagance of the Solomonic Kingdom and the magnificence of the Solomonic Temple. In his description, the cherubim in the adytum were made of solid gold, instead of olivewood as the MT (1 Kgs 6:23) describes.[412] He supplemented the inventory of temple vessels with exaggerated numbers, such as 80,000 pitchers and 100,000 bowls of gold, and a double number of silver, et cetera.[413] Martin J. Mulder aptly suggests that Josephus's impressive enhancement should be read as a part of a longstanding, tendentious snowball effect carried out by tradents and commentators of many generations to inflate the grandeur of the Solomonic Kingdom.[414] It is beyond the scope of this study to provide a detailed psychoanalytic

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[412] Josephus, *Ant.* VIII.72; for a translation, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray et al.; 9 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1930–1965).
[413] Ibid., VIII.91–94
[414] Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 371–73. By the same token, the kaleidoscopic range of traditions developed on the

critique of Josephus's work. However, as a preliminary note I would like to point out that, given Josephus's role as a Jewish-Roman officer, a native Judean who fought against the Romans and later became a Roman captive and collaborator, his ethnic identity must have been fragmented, hybridized, and complicated. His allegiance and attitude toward the imperializer must have been ambivalent and vacillating, characterized simultaneously by both admiration and contempt. His expansionistic participation in the narcissistic cultural fantasy could have fulfilled his forbidden wish for an imperializer-imperialized reversal.

Queen of Sheba is another kind of readerly participation in expanding this particular section of the cultural fantasy.

CHAPTER 4

SEMANALYSIS: DYNAMIC OF DRIVE IN AND OUT OF THE SOLOMONIC KINGDOM

Introduction

Semiotization refers to the writing subject's psychic processes through which a text is invested with drive-facilitated marks, in and out of the language of the text, which in turn affect the drive-orientated psychic processes of the reading subjects, whose urges and affects tend to flow with the semiotized text.[415] By eroticization, I refer to a particular aspect of semiotization, in which the investment is an explicit erotic or sensual one. The textual analysis that aims to identify the drive-facilitated marks and to trace their operations within the text is what Kristeva calls *semanalysis*.[416] These drive-facilitated marks semiotized not only the text to charge it with libidinal energies; they also act as excitatory agents that absorb the readers/auditors into the unconscious of the text. In this section, I will show how the Solomonic narrative is invested with semiotic and erotic energies even from the very beginning.

At the Outset: The Beginning of the Semiotization

The Semiotization of the Concubinary Body

The Solomonic narrative conspicuously starts with an erotic theme: the recruitment of a young female attendant to warm the aging David (1 Kgs 1:1–4). The girl has to be a young virgin

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[415] See Chapter 2.
[416] Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 103.

(נערה בתולה; v. 2)[417] and beautiful (v. 3). The recruitment narrative emphasizes the exceptional

physical attractiveness of Abishag the Shunammite (v. 4). The intention is clearly sexual. The

officials "brought" (יָבִאוּ; v. 3) Abishag to the king for his sexual pleasure, "to be his attendant

and to lie with him" (ותהי-לו סכנת ושכבה בחיקך; v. 2). Presumably, due to David's decrepit state,

the sexual relationship is never consummated, as the readers/auditors are told that "the king did

not know her [לא ידעה]" (v. 4).

Both the verbs בוא "to go in" (qal) or "to bring in" (hiphil), ידע "to know" (qal), and the

verbal construction שכב ב־ "to lie in" (qal) carry sexual connotations.[418] On the manifest surface,

Abishag is actually brought in to be David's compensatory gratification. David's dwindling

virility would not permit any actual intercourse, and thus sexual desire could only be gratified

metonymically through limited physical contact with a beautiful young girl. Abishag "warmed"

(qal חמם; v. 2) the king in the sense of inflaming his passion, not just regulating his body

temperature;[419] otherwise, any heating aid or any one of David's wives would serve the purpose.

David's sexual unknowing in 1:4 (לא ידעה) is echoed in with his political ignorance in v. 11

(לא ידע) and in v. 18 (לא ידעת), both referring to David's obliviousness of Adonijah's self-

enthronement (cf. v. 6), which suggests David's administrative incompetence. Later, through

Solomon's direct speech, the readers/auditors are reminded that David's ignorance (לא ידע) of his

servants' operations actually began at an earlier time in which he was unaware of Joab's killing

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[417] While the Hebrew word בתולה in itself could be used to denote a "virgin" or a "young, marriageable woman," the apposition נערה בתולה suggests that virginity is a prerequisite (see Deut. 22:15, 20, 23, 25; Judg. 21:12; Esth. 2:2–3).
[418] For בוא אל, see Judg. 15:1; 16:1; Gen 6:4; 16:2; 30:3; 38:8–9; 39:14; Deut. 22:13, 2 Sam 12:24, 16:21; 20:3; Ezek 23:44; Prov. 6:29; Gen 19:31, Deut 25:5; Prov. 2:19; with the subject rarely woman: Gen. 19:34; 2 Sam 11:4, see also 2 Sam 13:11 even it is imperative, the feminine verb indicates the subject is clearly Tamar. For ידע, see Gen 4:1, 17, 25; 19:5, 8; 24:16; 38:26; Num 31:17, 18, 35; Judg 11:39; 19:22, 25; 21:11–12;1 Sam 1:19. For שכב ב־, see Gen 39:14; 2 Sam 12:24; 13:11; Gen 19:34 and 2 Sam 11:4.
[419] Cf. Isa 57:5. Many cultures believe in the ability of a young woman to revive an old man's vitality. See Kyung-sook Lee, "Books of Kings: Images of Women without Women's Reality," in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (ed. Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker; trans. Martin Rumscheidt; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 162.

of two commanders (2:32). The expression לֹא יָדַע functions to associate David's political

incompetence with his sexual impotence. David's ignorance is semiotized and his affects

associated with sexual impotence are transferred to his administrative incompetence. However,

at a certain point, the text seems to hint at the possibility that David may not be totally ignorant

of what has been going on. Nathan points out David's ignorance about Adonijah's sacrificial

feast to Bathsheba (1:11), and later Bathsheba directly confronts David's ignorance (v. 18).

Nathan, later in David's presence, appears to be discreet and avoids any direct confrontation. He

expresses himself with a rhetorical question to suggest that David may have orchestrated

Adonijah's accession without telling the officials (v. 27). Again, the inherent textual ambiguity

invites the readers'/auditors' transferential reading to decide whether or not David is truly

incompetent.

My psychoanalytically informed reading suggests that David is not completely ignorant. 1

Kgs 1:6 suggests that David is all along cognizant of Adonijah's political ambition, and to him it

is a *déjà vu* of the Absalom episode of coup d'état (2 Sam 13:1–19:10). David's attitude toward

both Absalom and Adonijah tends to be permissive and lenient, allowing them to act arrogantly

in the manner of a king. In the Adonijah episode, Absalom's name is explicitly mentioned three

times (1 Kgs 1:6; 2:7, 28), making nuanced association of Absalom's intrigue to Adonijah's one.

In terms of character portrayals, Adonijah is clearly a Doppelgänger of Absalom. The

Deuteronomist seemed to suggest, as a part of the portrayal of their expected ascendancy to the

throne, that both Absalom and Adonijah have survived their older brothers and become the

primogenitor at the time of their intrigue (2 Sam 3:2–5; 1 Kgs 1:6).[420] They are both described as

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[420] Absalom, David's third son, murders Amnon, David's firstborn, allegedly to avenge the rape of his full sister
Tamar (2 Sam. 13:23–39). Daluiah, David's second son by Abigail appears only once in 2 Sam. 3:3 and never again.
(The second son's name Daluiah, based on 4QAmᵃ *dl*[ ] and LXX Δαλουια, is preferred over MT כִּלְאָב "Chileab,"
which is likely to be corrupt in consideration of the identity of the last three letters לאב to the beginning of the next

of extraordinary beauty, particularly Absalom, whose beauty is lauded more than anyone else by the Israelites and who is said to be physically unblemished (2 Sam 14:25; 1 Kgs 1:6). They both aspire to the throne and scheme for ascension while David is still alive (2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:5). They muster enormous popular support and form alliance with some of David's high officials (2 Sam 15:12–13; 1 Kgs 1:7). They both behave and act in similar ways in their political schemes and conspiracies. The narrator explicitly states that they both prepare a public procession with a chariot, horses and fifty men to march in front them (2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kgs 1:5), which could be interpreted as a display of ambition and an act of arrogance by elevating oneself to a position to which one is not entitled.[421] They are both portrayed as a cultic leader. Absalom offers sacrifices at Hebron, while Adonijah offers sacrifices by the stone Zoheleth (2 Sam 15:9–12; 1 Kgs 1:9). They both organize, for different reasons, a big feast to treat all David's sons. Absalom prepares "a feast just like a royal feast" (2 Sam. 13: 23, 27). In Adonijah's case, he also invites his allies among David's officials (1 Kgs 1:9, 19, 25). Ironically, their feasts both, for different reasons, end with the dreadful flight of the guests. At Absalom's feast, the king's sons flee presumably for their lives after their host and brother murdered their other brother Amnon. The narrator even hints at the princes' dread of Absalom's massive murderous intent by giving an account of the messenger delivering a fallacious report of all royal sons' death to David (2 Sam 13:23–36). At Adonijah's banquet, the guests flee presumably also for their lives after Jonathan's

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word.) According to one possible reading, his transient appearance is due to his premature death. See P. Kyle McCarter, Jr, *II Samuel* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1984), 101–02; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 41–42. Admittedly, Daluiah's subsequent absence invites different interpretations. Aside from the reading of premarture death, it is also possible to interpret the textual silence as a sign of his illegitimacy to the throne, such as physical deformity, mental disability, or personality issues. The silence could then be interpreted as avoidance of a social taboo. However, it is most natural to assume that his subsequent absence suggests his premature death. If so, Absalom is presumably the primogenitor at the time of his rebellion, who is then killed by Joab and his ten young men (2 Sam 18:14–15). Adonijah is the fourth son and in turn becomes the primogenitor at the time of his own self-enthronement.

[421] Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 43.

announcement of Solomon's succession, in an attempt to dissociate themselves from Adonijah, the throne aspirant, and thus to avoid possible associative vengeance from the newly enthroned king (1 Kgs 1:41–49). In addition, both Absalom and Adonijah are both hailed by their supporters: יהי המלך "Long live the king!" (2 Sam 16:16; 1 Kgs 1:25). Finally, they have either expressed or are advised to express erotic interests in David's concubine(s). Absalom sexually exploits David's ten concubines on the rooftop in public sight, while Adonijah expresses his desire to marry Abishag, David's last woman. Adonijah is in many ways Absalom's phantom.

The Deuteronomist seldom revealed the inner thoughts of its characters, and is even more parsimonious with their emotions. It is an anomaly that the Deuteronomist chose to divulge repeatedly David's concerns, feelings and emotions toward Absalom's wellbeing. This sentimental portrayal gradually intensifies from the time of Absalom's self-banishment, consequential to his fratricidal act,[422] to his ultimate defeat and murder by David's officials.

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[422] Commentators differ in their interpretation of Absalom's motive for the fratricide. For a theory of revenge, see Eugene H. Peterson, *First and Second Samuel* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 196; Robert D. Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel* (NAC 7; Nashville, Tenn.: B & H, 1996), 384; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 327–28; Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1964), 325–26. For a theory of eliminating Amnon the throne competitor, see McCarter, *II Samuel*, 333–34; David F. Payne, *I & II Samuel* (The Daily Bible Series. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1982), 219; E. C. Rust, *Judges, Ruth, I & II Samuel* (The Layman's Bible Commentaries; London, SCM, 1961), 139. For a theory of eliminating both King David and Amnon, see Peterson, *First and Second Samuel*, 196. Noteworthy is Ken Stone's (*Sex, Honor, and Power in the Deuteronomistic History* [JSOTSup 234; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996], 106–19, 122) interpretation under his anthropological-narratological framework. Stone interprets the heterosexual misconduct as a homosocial affair over safeguarding masculine honor determined by their responsibility to protect the sexual purity of their kinswomen and to avenge the sexual offender in case of a sexual misconduct. In the case of Tamar's rape, the onus of avenging the culprit falls on David, the paterfamilias of the royal house. Absalom takes justice into his own hands when David fails to defend his own honor by holding Amnon accountable. Thus, Stone interprets Absalom's fratricide as a vigilante justice against Amnon for his sister Tamar's defloration and subsequent desolation and at the same time a vigilante justice against David for his inaction. Stone's interpretation is not incompatible with the common view that Absalom takes Tamar's defloration as a pretext to kill the primogenitor and to advance his likelihood of succession. It also corroborates the interpretation of Absalom's vigilante act as an overt challenge to David's role as the paterfamilias, for his failure to safeguard the sexual purity of the female members of his household. What I would add to Stone's interpretation is that by "usurping" David's role as the male protector of his female subordinates and the dispenser of justice, Absalom is already symbolically emasculating David before his sexual exploitation of David's housekeeping concubines (2 Sam 16:20–23). The question of motive, which commentators have in general overlooked, is the cause of David's inaction toward Amnon's sexual misconduct and Absalom's vigilante justice. It should be noted that the narrative on intrafamilial sexual misconduct and fratricide follows immediately after the narrative on David's own sexual misconduct with Bathsheba, who becomes pregnant as a result of this illicit union, and David's subterfuge to cover up the adultery by plotting the murder of Uriah,

David's longing for his banished son is so obvious that Joab does not fail to notice it (2 Sam 13:37–39; 14:1).[423] At the emotional apex of their reunion, according to the text, David "kissed" (וישק) Absalom, a rare yet deliberate sign of affection and reconciliation in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story (2 Sam 14:33; 1 Sam 20:41; 2 Sam 19:40[Eng. 39]; cf. 2 Sam 15:5; 20:9). David's feelings to Absalom are ambivalent. The father-son relationship vacillates between hatred and love, estrangement and amorousness. It is a close yet highly competitive relationship, except that their shared object of desire is not the oedipal mother, but its derivative, namely political dominance, vying to be the alpha male. In spite of Absalom's repeated challenges to David's authority and the gravity of his crimes (fratricide and treason), David never fails to forgive and accept. We can infer from the intensity of this father-son relationship, on the manifest surface,

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Bathsheba's husband, at the battlefront (2 Samuel 11–12). Uriah is depicted as a man of virtue, who holds fast to the wartime protocol. Uriah, having been intoxicated by David, refrains from sexual contact with his own wife as a sign of solidarity with other soldiers. The innocent, honorable Uriah is cuckolded by David and murdered under his scheme. According to the cultural norms of the time, David's sexual union with a married woman is considered a more grievous misconduct than Amnon's forced sex with his virgin half-sister. David's infringement on the sexual privileges of another man and his murderous cover-up are eventually reprimanded by the prophet Nathan, who announces the divine punishment against David. In accordance with the *lex talionis*, David, who infringes on the sexual privileges of another man, is condemned to have the women under his protection violated. YHWH is to set against David "an evil within his household" (רעה מביתך) and to give his wives to another fellow to be sexually exploited publicly under the sun. These punitive measures are eventually fulfilled through Amnon's rape of Tamar, then David's virgin daughter, and Absalom's rape of David's ten concubines (2 Sam 13:1–22, 16:20–23). Putting aside the moral and theological issues that David's female subordinates are sentenced to be sexually violated for the adultery that David committed, David's inaction could be interpreted as a resignation to divine justice and a result of guilt feelings stemming from the Bathsheba-Uriah episode. Both Amnon and Absalom (even Tamar and David's ten concubines) become divine agents to mete out the *talionis* justice against David. As Stone points out, the sexual violations of women often function as an index of male honor. David deprives Uriah of honor through the adultery with his wife Bathsheba, and in turn his honor is deprived through Amnon's defloration of Tamar and Absalom's orgiastic violation of his ten concubines. This long causal chain of events—David's adultery, Tamar's rape, Absalom's fratricide, Absalom's rooftop orgy, and in particular David's inaction to these intrafamilial crimes and his resignation from the punitive role of the paterfamilias—that reflects the Deuteronomist's retributive logic is often overlooked by commentators. Furthermore, Amnon's rape, Absalom's fratricide, and Absalom's rooftop orgy are displaced expressions of their ambitious desire of taking David's place as the head of the royal house, see n. 428 for further elaboration.

[423] The text is ambiguous as to whether the son that David mourns for continually is Amnon or Absalom (2 Sam 13:37b). On the one hand, based on the preceding narrative of Absalom's self-banishment (13:37a), David could be mourning for the loss of Absalom. On the other hand, based on the subsequent mention of the end of David's bereavement over the death of Amnon (13:39), he could be mourning for Amnon. Due to the sequential narrative of Absalom's flight and David's mourning, the readers/auditors are more likely to associate David's mourning with the loss (flight) of Absalom, rather than the death of Amnon.

that Absalom was David's favorite son.

David's recollection of the events associated with the Absalom episode (1 Kgs 2:7, 28) suggests that David is never quite over the traumatic experience of Absalom's usurpation and the loss of his beloved son through Joab's murderous intent (2 Sam 18:1–19:7). Thus, it may be interpreted that David is prone to re-experience the affects associated with this unresolved trauma, which ultimately lead to his inaction or to his indulgence of Adonijah's ambition (1 Kgs 1:6). The text is unclear on David's knowledge of Adonijah's political ambition, which could not be ascertained through the diegetic views of Nathan and Bathsheba or the non-diegetic view of the narrator. However, from a psychoanalytic perspective, with the Absalom episode taken into consideration, David may have known but does not react to it. In other words, David's apparent ignorance may be interpreted as a denial resulting from the Absalom episode. The portrayal of Adonijah as the Doppelgänger of Absalom supports a reading of David's transference of affects from his relationship with the late Absalom to that with Adonijah.

David remains non-responsive to Adonijah's ambitious activities, until "Bathsheba went in to the king in his chamber" (ותבא בת־שבע אל־המלך החדרה; 1 Kgs 1:15). The sexual connotation that this construction carries serves to invest the chamber scene with erotic energy (1:15–21). The same construction occurs, albeit in gender reversal, in Judg. 15:1: "I [Samson] will go in to my wife in her chamber" (אבאה אל־אשתי החדרה). Both the use of בוא אל "to go in to" and the mention of sleep chamber make Samson's erotic intent clear. The sexual euphemistic use of בוא (אל) "to go in (to)" is not strictly limited to a male subject and a female object. [424] In 2 Sam 11:4, we have the expression ותבוא אליו וישכב עמה "And she [Bathsheba] went in to him [David] and he lay

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[424] Even though בוא (qal) as a sexual euphemism is normally applied to a male subject and a female object of desire, there are two occurrences in which the gender positions are reversed (Gen 19:34; 2 Sam 11:4). Even in 2 Sam 13:11, where the verb occurs as a feminine singular imperative, the subject of the anticipatory action is clearly Tamar.

with her." The use of בוא in conjunction with שכב "to lie (with)" makes the sexual implication of

בוא even clearer (see also Gen 19:34; 2 Sam 13:11).

חדר "Chamber" occupies a literary topos of intimacy or sexual exploitation in the Hebrew

Bible.[425] The act of entering a sleep chamber is a metonym of erotic desire. In the Solomonic

narrative, the word "chamber" is used exclusively to predicate Bathsheba's first entry scene to

the royal presence (1:15). It is not used for the entries of other officials or for Bathsheba's second

entry. Bathsheba's erotic wish is expressed with the euphemistic use of בוא אל "to go in to" and

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[425] See 2 Sam 13:1–20; 1 Judg 15:1; Song 1:4; 3:4; Josh 2:16. For instance, Amnon asks Tamar to bring the food into his chamber (2 Sam 13:10) and violates her. I am arguing against Kristin de Troyer ("Bathsheba and Nathan: A Closer Look at Their Characterization in MT, *Kaige* and the Antiochian Text," in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*" [ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Trebolle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2012], 119–42) whose textual criticism of the MT, *kaige*, and Antiochian Text of the narratives related to Bathsheba and Nathan in the books of Samuel and Kings led her to a conclusion that Bathsheba's entry scene to David carries no sexual connotation. Counter to my view that the chamber motif is libidinally charged, de Troyer argues that "[t]he fact that the narrator specifies that Bathsheba goes into a room indicates that there is no sexual intention connected with Bathsheba's going" (ibid., 125). De Troyer did not look into other narratives in the "historical books" that contain the chamber motif, such as the ones I listed, and therefore she failed to recognize that "chamber" is actually a drive-facilitated mark and thus in itself a libidinally charged motif. De Troyer gave a few instances of women going into a king in the books of Samuel and King, such as the Woman of Endor to Saul (1 Sam 28:21), the Tekoaite woman to King David (2 Sam 14:4), the Queen of Sheba to Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1–2), and Jezebel to her husband King Ahab (1 Kgs 21:5). She argues that, with the exception of 1 Kgs 21:5, in none of these cases is there a clear sexual intent (ibid., 124–30). To my mind, one could at most argue that the sexual intent is not explicitly stated in these narratives, but it does not mean that there is none. Whether there is sexual intent is subject to transferential reading of the readers/auditors within the textual interstices of the semiotically charged narratives. Arguably, with the exception of the Tekoaite woman's visit to King David (the only case in which the verbal construct בוא אל is not used; a textual feature already noted by de Troyer), the textual interstices of all other cases that de Troyer analyzed would allow a subtle reading of libidinal intent, even if there is no sexual union. In 1 Sam 28:21–25, the woman of Endor functions as a motherly figure coaxing the despondent Saul into eating and providing him and his entourage with lavish nourishment. Thus, the textual interstices permit the transferential reading of the woman's wish to be "up close and personal" with King Saul. As for Jezebel's visit to King Ahab in 1 Kgs 21:5, the sexual implication can never be obliterated on the ground that they are already husband and wife (a textual feature already noted by de Troyer). As for the cases within the Solomonic narrative, I will further lay out my arguments for their sexual significance in this study.
Even though she argues against the sexual connotation carried by the verbal construct בוא אל in 1 Kgs 1:15, de Troyer (ibid., 128–29, 139) points out that the MT reserves the right of "going into" the king for Bathsheba and the right of "going into" Bathsheba for King David in order to highlight Bathsheba's prominent role. Thus, בוא אל is not used in the MT's accounts of the Tekoaite woman's visit to King David and Nathan's visit to Bathsheba (1 Kgs 1:11). This argument, contrary to de Troyer's thesis, actually supports the view that the MT's tradents were aware of the sexual connotation carried by בוא אל, and that they deliberately avoided using the libidinally charged construct in a purely platonic context, which in turn supports the libidinally charged reading of all other occurrences of בוא אל in the MT's Bathsheba narratives. In any case, I agree with de Troyer that the verb בוא does not necessarily carry a sexual connotation. However, its sexual connotation cannot be totally removed, especially when the verb is used to describe an action performed on the opposite sex. However, since the verb בוא is polysemous and its sexual content is always implicit, it would also open a textual interstice for sexual-resistance reading, such as those of the Greek tradents mentioned by de Troyer.

the metonymic gesture. Noteworthy is the semiotization of David's old age with the erotically

charged verb בוא in the opening of the Solomonic narrative: "but king David was old [and]

advanced in age [בא בימים]" (1 Kgs 1:1). In view of the semiotic signifiance of בוא in the larger

narrative, I will argue that it is already suggestive of David's impotence.

Even if Bathsheba has an erotic wish toward David because of the presence of a love rival

Abishag and to a larger extent of David's old-age impotence, the wish is nonetheless destined to

be unrequited other than in the form of compensatory gratification. David's grant of a wish to

Bathsheba immediately after she enters the chamber could be interpreted as a means of

compensatory gratification. The fulfillment of Bathsheba's erotic wish is replaced with a grant of

a wish. Bathsheba takes the opportunity and asks to be granted her son's succession, which

reflects her desire for their self-preservation.

We do not really know the reason why Solomon and presumably his supporters Benaiah,

Zadok, and Nathan are not invited to the sacrificial feast. The narrative gap invites the

readers'/auditors' imagination. Could it be his way of showing his repugnance at his father

David and Bathsheba's infamous union? After Nathan's warning (1:12), Bathsheba seems to

realize that if Adonijah ever gets on the throne, her life and her son's life would be in jeopardy

(1:21). As for Nathan, his exclusion from the feast, thus alienation to the potential sovereign,

would be a sufficient incentive for him to do everything to save his own life. He goes to

Bathsheba because he probably knows already that the king would care more about Bathsheba's

life than the lives of those not invited to Adonijah's feast. Out of the desire for self-preservation,

she goes in to see the king. Could it be that David realizes that he has not sworn to her, nor

Nathan, to name Solomon as his successor, but he somehow realizes that the life of the woman

for whose "love" he willingly compromised moral standards and his own conscience is in

danger? As the narrative suggests with Bathsheba's debut in the chamber scene, this woman is still very important to David. David has done many morally and socially reproachable deeds for her: to enter an adulterous relationship with her and even to the point of killing Uriah the Hittite, her husband, in an attempt to cover up their illicit liaison and to save her from the potential jealous vengeance of her husband, as well as to recover her honor from being named an adulteress pregnant with a child out of wedlock. It is certainly believable that she still has an erotic power, if only a sublimated one, over him. Taking into consideration that it is Bathsheba that David first summons and swears to (vv. 28–30; then the others in v. 32), and not the other chief officials (a political decision that calls for a preferential treatment of a woman?), the choice of Solomon as successor to throne may have been motivated by his "love" for Bathsheba. David wants to save her and her son from the foreseeable life-threatening political persecution by Adonijah. As irrational as it seems, David is willing to give up everything and everyone else for his desire for Bathsheba; this episode illustrates how relentless and indestructible libidinal drives could be. David could no longer satisfy the woman sexually, but at least he could compensate her by granting her wish, not less a wish that could save her and her son's lives.

Bathsheba, David's once mistress and then wife, for whom David has risked his ego ideal and contrived murder (1 Sam 11:1–12:25), plays a decisive role in David's change of attitude. Only when Bathsheba stresses the perils that Adonijah's succession could inflict on her and *her* son Solomon (1 Kgs 1:21) would David then take actions to halt Adonijah's political ambition. Her efficacy on David's transformation is rooted on her erotic power. In conclusion, the readers/auditors are left with a puzzle as to whether David is oblivious to Adonijah's ambition. According to my psychoanalytically informed reading, the answer is negative. However, the ambiguity within the episode invites the readers/auditors to decide through their transferential

reading.

The ambitious desire expressed in the Solomonic narrative is, however, semiotized and eroticized from the very beginning to the end, giving the text an extra boost of excitatory (libidinal) energy. Before the Adonijah episode, the erotic theme is already expressed in terms of territorial domination. Abishag is found in a search conducted throughout the territory of Israel (1 Kgs 1:3). The search for an extraordinary beauty is also a processional claim of territorial privileges, to which the Deuteronomist included also the erotic right over their female subjects. The narrative of the Solomonic Kingdom continues to develop this eroticization of ambitious desire, expressing political domination in overt erotic terms.

Adonijah's request for Abishag ultimately leads to his own death and a series of bloodshed. Abishag, still young and beautiful, is an object of Adonijah's desire. Arguably, the order of events that happen in 1 Kings 1–2 may lead to a transferential reading that Abishag is all along Adonijah's object of desire and motive to overthrow David. The text is reticent on Adonijah's motive for plotting his own ascension while his father David is alive. This narrative gap invites the readers'/auditors' supplementation. In the narrative, Adonijah is described as the most likely candidate to the throne. He is the oldest surviving prince, with kingly attributes, and receives popular support among the officials and other princes. Moreover, David is old and feeble, which implies that it should not be long before Adonijah could rightfully claim the throne. It is rather indiscreet that he chooses to defy his father's rule under such circumstances. Why does he commit such an impudent, treacherous act then? The narratives in which Abishag is mentioned (1:1–4; 2:13–25) are used to frame the narratives of Adonijah's attempt of self-enthronement and Solomon's ascendance (1:5–2:12). Abishag's recruitment to be David's bedmate (1:5–10) comes before Adonijah's plot. Adonijah's request to marry her follows Solomon's coronation and

David's death. The sequence of events invites a causal association between Abishag's arrival at court and Adonijah's plot against David. It is possible to interpret within the textual interstices that Adonijah's motive for ascendance is not so much to sit on David's throne as to sleep in David's bed with Abishag. While speculative, the textual interstices do allow a possible reading of Abishag being a major motivator, or at least the occasion, for all of Adonijah's daring acts— treason and request to marry David's last concubine.

Adonijah repeats what David has done for Bathsheba, namely risking his honor, even his own life, to pursue a union with her. Desire, the libidinal drive, is the relentless and indestructible force in this narrative. Adonijah's desire is so strong that it only aims for consummation. This is a reading made possible by the absence of Adonijah's intent and the sequence of events in the beginning of chapter 1.

Adonijah, as he represents himself in the narrative, has already lost the kingdom, and he is not about to lose the woman he desires. In this sense, Abishag, a possession of David (a part of his kingdom, so to speak), becomes a metonymic compensatory gratification. Solomon, as "innocent" as he claims himself to be in 3:7, is indeed a wise person even before he becomes king (2:6, 9). In response to his mother's request, he says, "And why Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? Ask for him the kingdom as well!" (2:22). Solomon realizes that Adonijah's request is not purely erotic and senses his lingering, however wishful, political ambition. Even though the sexual relationship between David and Abishag is never consummated, for all intents and purposes Abishag is recruited to be David's sexual partner, to ignite the passion of the senile and impotent David. Abishag is meant to be David's concubine, irrespective of whether the relationship is consummated.

What is the difference between erotic desire and ambitious desire? In the imperial setting,

they are often entangled, and one is a metonymic or displaced expression of the other. The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story reflects this entanglement of ambitious desire and erotic desire by politicizing the concubinary body. According to the Deuteronomist's already-established narrative logic, the erotic claim to the predecessor's concubines is a metonymic fulfillment, whether wishful or not, of the political ambition to take the place of the king, whether deceased or living (2 Sam 16:20–23; 3:6–11; cf. 13:1–37).

In the episode of Absalom's coup d'état (2 Samuel 15–18), after Absalom has taken control over the palace, he seeks and follows Ahithophel's advice to "go in" (בוא) to, namely to have sexual intercourse with, his father's ten concubines, whom David left behind as the last occupants of the palace, while he and the rest of the royal house and officials fled for their lives at the imminence of Absalom's coup (2 Sam 16:21). The concubines' presence bears a symbolic significance. Had these concubines left the palace, it would have been empty, and a total evacuation would be taken as David's relinquishment of the kingdom. The remnant concubines' occupancy symbolizes the presence of David's authority in his absence, and these women constitute David's unyielding claim of territorial right and his declaration of sovereignty at the dawn of his doom.

As a part of the harem, these concubines are typically cloistered. Absalom's public display of sexual exploitation of these women on the rooftop of the palace (v. 22) is an enacted political statement. Absalom's "going in" (בוא; 2 Sam 16:22) to the concubinary body, an erotic privilege reserved to David, was a semiotic act of taking over the king's authority and an official statement of his occupation of the palace and, hence, the kingdom. The violent act is more than an odious contempt of David as Ahithophel intended (v. 21), but, rather, it was Absalom's presumptuous, public claim of imperial authority and political domination through the seizing of David's erotic

privileges over his concubines as well as his last royal representatives in the palace.[426] Although

the intentional publicity of the sexual act, in the storyline, could be interpreted functionally as an

inducement of public shock and, hence, a psychogenesis of fear of Absalom's new regime, it

would be an over-interpretation to see this publicly enacted political declaration in more than

these semiotic terms, a displaced display of political power through the concubinary body, and to

read it as a means of legitimation to the throne.[427] The concubinary body is the metonym of

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[426] In the larger context of the books of Samuel, Absalom's public sexual act with David's concubines is a reference to and fulfillment of Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam 12:7–14, as a part of divine punishment for David's murder of Uriah, Bathsheba's Hittite husband, covering up his illicit affair with Bathsheba and her subsequent pregnancy. Ilse Müllner ("Books of Samuel: Women at the Center of Israel's History," in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* [ed. Luise Schottroff and Marie-There Wacker; trans. Lisa E. Dahill et al.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2012]: 150–51.) has observed the common topos of erotic desire in both episodes and the reversal of spectacle (2 Samuel 11–12 and 2 Samuel 16): "The roof of the palace from which David had seen and desired Bathsheba is the place where Absalom 'takes' his father's concubines. The direction of the look David had cast upon Bathsheba is reversed when now Absalom, "in the sight of all Israel," goes in to David's concubines (2 Sam 16:22). In 2 Samuel, the roof signifies an elevated and thus powerful position on which David surveys his kingdom. In contrast, it is turned into an exposed platform at which the whole public gazes. By his public sexual act with his father's concubines, Absalom demonstrates a claim to rule" (ibid.).

[427] For a sample of such a longstanding view, see Matitiahu Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical Legitimacy in Ugarit and Israel," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 3 (1958): 237–43; Tomoo Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 74–75; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 108; K.-S. Lee, "Books of Kings," 162. For instance, K.-S. Lee infers from 1 Sam 12:8 and 16:21–22 that "possessing the royal harem established the right to lay claim to the royal throne" (ibid., 162). To my mind, the logic of the claim is exactly the opposite. The claim of the kingdom legitimates the claim of the harem, and not vice versa. During a time of abnormal transitions, a new king's successful claim to the state by default qualifies him for the ownership right of his predecessor's possessions, including his women. Thus, the concubinary body becomes a semiotic site by which a new king could demonstrate his sovereignty over the kingdom. However, it does not entail that the erotic claim to the harem is a means of legitimation in the sense that the sexual tie with the predecessor's concubines could strengthen the legitimacy of the new king, as Lee and others suggest. However, precisely because erotic privilege over the predecessor's concubines is a metonym of political domination of the state, Adonijah's request to take Abishag as his wife reflects his unrelenting yet wishful thinking of political dominance, irrespective of the realizability of such an ambitious wish. The possession of Abishag could have been a compensatory gratification to Adonijah's otherwise inexpressible and unfulfilled wish of claiming the kingdom.

   Having said that, it must be pointed out that, according to the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, marriage to the predecessor's daughter(s) and even wife(s), in the case of the absence of legitimate heirs to the throne, could be used to establish dynastic continuity, which is a view that converges with Persian kings' practices, including Alexander the Great. See Maria Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia 559–331BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 35–82. The Deuteronomist meticulously accounted for the events that led to the death of the Saulides, including all of Saul's sons and five grandsons by his older daughter Merab (1 Sam 31:1–13; 2 Sam 4:5–8; 2 Sam 21:6–9), leaving only two Saulides alive, Saul's crippled grandson Mephibosheth and his young son Mica (2 Sam 9:12; 21:6). Mephibosheth's legitimacy to the throne is impaired by his physical deformity. Thus, even with his Saulide lineage, he poses no threat to David's power. David's insistence on Michal's (Saul's younger daughter) return, despite her being remarried, could be interpreted as an attempt to preserve continuity with the Saulides in view of his success in eliminating all legitimate heirs to the throne of Israel (2 Sam 3:14–16). Had Michal given birth, the throne would

political domination, not its legitimation.

A similar semiotization of the concubinary body in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story occurs in the brief episode of the dispute between Saul's son and successor Ishbaal and Saul's general Abner (2 Sam 3:6–11). Ishbaal confronted Abner for his illicit sexual relationship with the late king's concubine Rizpah: "Why have you gone in (באתה) to my father's concubine?" (v. 7). In this story, the semiotic value of the concubinary body is both amplified and trivialized. In the introduction to the dispute, the narrator already puts forth that "Abner was self-aggrandizing (מתחזק) in the house of Saul" or according to the LXX, "Abner was ruling (κρατῶν) the house of Saul" (v. 6), suggesting that his sexual relationship with the late king's concubine was part of his ambitious desire, namely a claim to be the de facto ruler of Saul's kingdom. With this introduction in mind, even though the text does not provide a motive for Ishbaal's interrogation of Abner, the narrative gap may be filled with the assumption that Ishbaal may have understood this sexual liaison as Abner's brazen display of his political ambition to take the king's place and thus it constitutes a threat to Ishbaal's own authority. By entering the concubinary body, he metonymically practices the exclusive sexual privileges of the king and semiotically takes control of his dominion.[428] While the political implication of the Abner-and-Rizpah union is

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have probably passed to her son, rather than Solomon, in order to maintain the dynastic continuity from the princess's progency. See Müllner, "Books of Samuel," 148. However, Absalom's and Abner's sexual exploitations of the concubinary body bear no attempt at legitimization. There are no needs to establish continuity since at the time of these incidents Absalom is already the surviving eldest Davidide and Abner has never intended to eliminate the Saulides and usurp the throne for himself. Abner seems to enjoy practical rule and does not seek to possess the royal title. These sexual acts are by no means a legitimation of the claim of the throne. They are, as I argued, a semiotic display of political privileges metonymically expressed through erotic privileges.

In the Persian period, Darius, in order to establish dynastic continuity and in turn to legitimize and secure his rule, had married Atossa and Artystone, Cyrus II's two daughters, and Phaidyme, who was married to Cyrus II's sons, Cambyses II and later Bardiya. See L. Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History*, 42. Also, Herodotus' and Ctesias' accounts of Cambyses II's or Cyrus II's alleged marriage to a daughter of Apries, a Pharaoh of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (589–570 B.C.E.), even though ahistorical and impossible, are associated with the notion of the legitimization of Persian rule of Egypt through establishing dynastic continuity. See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:106, n. 3. For more details, see Chapter 5 of this study.

[428] Amnon, David's firstborn (2 Sam 3:2), desires the king's daughter, his half-sister and Absalom's full-sister, Tamar, which could be interpreted as a metonymic desire for David's kingdom (2 Sam 13:1–22). Under the

amplified, there is an attempt on Abner's side to trivialize the matter. He reminds Ishbaal of the

importance he has within his power to bring forth the demise of the Saulides. In view of the

possible havoc that Abner could wreak, Ishbaal's accusation against his sexual relationship with

Saul's concubine is considered impudent and is thus trivialized by Abner (vv. 8–10). Abner's

assertive and disdainful attitude toward Ishbaal runs counter to the restrained and respectful

attitude one would expect from a subordinate. Similarly, Ishbaal's fear of Abner bespeaks a

reversal of the political hierarchy. From the dynamics of this brief encounter, it could be

reasonably assumed that Ishbaal is only a nominal king, while Abner was the de facto sovereign.

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patriarchal assumption of the biblical society, the paterfamilias has full authority over his unmarried daughters and the right over their marital affairs (2 Sam 13:13; see also 1 Sam 18:17–29). Thus, Amnon's sexual exploitation of Tamar and his subsequent dereliction of her are both an infringement of David's right as a paterfamilias and an overt contempt and challenge to the living king. Amnon's erotic desire of Tamar implicates his ambitious desire to take David's place, namely to enjoy metonymically the privileges exclusive to the king. Similarly, Absalom's subsequent fratricide of Amnon appears to be a vigilante justice fueled by the desire to avenge his victimized sister (2 Sam 13:23–37), and it is also a challenge to and infringement of David's position as the sole punitive agent of the matter and thus metonymically taken the king's place. As a part of the murder plot, Absalom obtains David's permission to invite Amnon and other sons of the king and hosts a feast "just like a king's feast" for all the king's sons (13:27). The narrator reveals his ambitious desire to take David's place by his piecemeal imitation of the king's acts. Not only does the episode of Absalom's fratricide bespeak his metonymic wish to assume David's position, the fratricide practically takes him closer to the succession through the elimination of his main competitor, David's eldest son Amnon.

There is a common motif of royal permission in both Amnon's sexual exploitation of Tamar and Absalom's vigilante fratricide. Both of their crimes are set up in scenes that require David's permission. Amnon pretends to be sick and implores David to send Tamar to his house to prepare food for him (2 Sam 13:6–18). By granting permission, David inadvertently abets Amnon's predatory sexual act by giving him a secluded moment with Tamar. In turn, Absalom uses the sheepshearing occasion and demands the king's permission to include Amnon, along with all the king's sons, to the guest list of the feast (13:23–37). Unlike his last grant of Amnon's request, David is more suspicious and sophisticated this time. He doubts Absalom's motive in inviting Amnon, the rapist of his full sister Tamar. In spite of his suspicion, Absalom presses the king to include Amnon (vv. 26–27). David's explicit consent is absent in the narrative, so either David has granted his permission or, by inference, he has acquiesced to Absalom's request. As a result, David commits the same mistake by granting a permission that would set up the crime scene for Absalom's fratricide. David's inadvertent involvement in the actualization of Amnon's rape of Tamar and Absalom's fratricide of Amnon, thus, become a ridicule of David's lack of discernment and ineptitude to safeguard the members of his royal house from their predatory acts against each other. Notably, this motif of royal permission recurs in 2 Sam 15:8–12, in which, after the royal pardon of the fratricide, Absalom asks David's permission to go to Hebron to offer votive sacrifices. By granting the permission, David inadvertently inaugurates Absalom's gradual aggrandizement and eventual coup d'état.

Even though Tamar is neither David's concubine nor wife, as a princess she is also under the authority of the royal paterfamilias. Amnon's sexual exploitation of Tamar is an infringement of the king's authority and trampling of the king's domain. Amnon's erotic desire of Tamar subtly conveys his ambitious desire, similar to Absalom's rape of David's ten concubines (2 Sam 16:20–22) and Abner's sexual relationship with the late king Saul's concubine Rizpah (3:6–12).

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As a sovereign, from Abner's perspective, he is entitled to enjoy all privileges assumed by a sovereign, including the erotic right over the concubines of the deceased king.

The concubinary body is both the object of erotic desire and the object of ambitious desire. Insofar as the entitlement of erotic desire is governed and determined by one's position in the political hierarchy, erotic desire would always overlap with ambitious desire. In view of the two aforementioned incidents of the semiotization of the concubinary body in 2 Samuel, Solomon's association of Adonijah's request to take Abishag as wife to Adonijah's claim to the kingdom (1 Kgs 2:22), namely his erotic desire of David's concubine to his ambitious desire of David's kingdom, follows the same semiotic logic of the concubinary body. Even though Adonijah may never be able to overturn Solomon's regime and thus he poses no threat to Solomon, it is totally imaginable that a person so close to the throne would have continued to fantasize the seizure of power through metonymic fulfillment, namely the possession of the predecessor's concubine. In sum, according to the Deuteronomist, the concubinary body is a functionalized and metonymic sign of territorial and political domination, claimed, disputed, fought, and trampled by and for men. The claim of the concubinary body is the metonymic fulfillment of political authority and territorial domination. Erotic privileges are used functionally and metonymically to signify political privileges and territorial right, which is a narrative logic seen also in the recruitment of Abishag (1 Kgs 1:1–4).[429]

What is the difference between ambitious wishes and erotic ones? According to Roy Schaffer's distinction, they produce two different types of pleasure. The former boosts self-esteem leading to egoistic pleasure, and the latter results in sexual satisfaction or libidinal

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[429] The metonymic fulfillment of political power is not only conveyed through erotic privileges, but also through other privileges exclusive to the ruler. For instance, David instructs his servants to put Solomon on his mule (1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 44) as a part of the rite of investiture. To ride David's mule is the symbolic equivalent of putting on the regalia.

fulfillment.[430] However, Freud points out that the two categories are neither discrete nor oppositional. Rather, "they are often united."[431] In the deuteronomistic instance of the erotic claim of the concubinary body and the ambitious claim of the state, the two are indeed fused.

Going back to 1 Kgs 2:13–25, Bathsheba's immediate response to Adonijah's request begins with "Very well, I will speak to the king on your behalf" (טוב אל־המלך אנכי אדבר עליך; 1 Kgs 2:18). Why does Bathsheba agree to intercede for Adonijah's interest knowing the brazen and impudent nature of the request? Bathsheba's motive for mediating on his behalf is absent from the text, leaving a narrative gap for the readers'/auditors' transferential interpretation. Would Bathsheba's intercession have to do with the illegitimacy of her own union with David? Adonijah's illicit erotic desire is accepted because Bathsheba may have associated Adonijah's desire for someone else's woman with David's desire for her. If this transference is in force, then she could have difficulty refusing him. To refuse him on the basis of the illegitimacy of the request would be an equivalent of placing a judgment on David and herself. This transference could have intensified with Bathsheba identified with Abishag. Kyung-sook Lee has suggested the possible reading of Bathsheba's projection of her own miserable feelings, stemming from her court experiences as a royal consort, into Abishag. They are both uprooted from their own families and brought to the court for the pleasure of the king. As K.-S. Lee imagines, "[t]he story mirrors the fate of a woman brought to the court to serve there. She [Bathsheba] was placed into the hands of lords (and ladies) she did not know, and no one asked about her feelings and wishes. She had to bear her lot in silence." [432] Thus, it may be interpreted that Bathsheba identifies and commiserates with the young woman Abishag based on the fate they share. Such is a possible transferential

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[430] Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 89.
[431] Freud, "Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming," *SE* 9:423.
[432] K.-S. Lee, "Books of Kings," 162.

reading.

Even though Bathsheba could have identified with Abishag or projected her own miseries on the young woman, their miseries are in no way identical or comparable. Bathsheba is brought in as a married woman and thus forcefully involves or acquiesces in an adulterous relationship with David. Uriah, her Hittite husband, is subsequently murdered consequential to her conception of David's child. Her first son whom she bears as the result of the adulterous union died prematurely. These circumstances would have likely pushed her to bear the social stigmas of being an adulteress, a "seductress," and a *femme fatale*, whom the divine has punished with the premature death of her first son. On the other hand, Abishag is brought to the court as a maiden, a *tabula rasa* so to speak, supposedly for the daily pleasure of the old and impotent David. After her short "career" as David's concubine, she is widowed young as a virgin and likely put in a cloistered quarter, where she is to die as a virgin. Since the time that she is brought to the court, her assigned duty is to be the erotic object of the other. Ironically, in contrast to all purposes and intents, she is destined to die without experiencing sexual pleasure. In the absence of Bathsheba's motive, one could interpret the grant of Adonijah's request as Bathsheba's empathetic power over Abishag's uniquely miserable circumstances. Bathsheba could have recognized the possibility of a life renewal for Abishag in the proposed union, in which she could rewrite the last chapter of her life.

Alternately, Bathsheba could have accepted Adonijah's request because she sees the last companion of the king as a love rival. This possible reading is against the reading based on conspiracy theory that tends to further the portrayal of Bathsheba as the *femme fatale*, seeing her as a woman who seeks to eliminate Adonijah by interceding on his behalf.[433] According to this

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[433] For a variety of conspiracy readings, see Jerome T. Walsh, *1 Kings* (BERIT OLAM Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 55; Paul R. House, *1, 2 Kings* (NAC 8; Nashville, Tenn.:

reading, Bathsheba is a politically sophisticated, conniving queen mother who could foresee Solomon's reactions and pretends to intercede on Adonijah's behalf only to bring about his own demise. Instead of interpreting Bathsheba's consent as her taking the opportunity to eliminate any residual threats that the once throne aspirant Adonijah could have posed to Solomon, it may be read as her recognizing the proposed union as a perfect opportunity to eliminate her once love rival Abishag. If Abishag is to marry Adonijah, she would cease to be the king's last woman, but take on the role of another man's wife. The union is an effective displacement of Abishag's erotic association with the late king.

Aside from these two possible readings, noteworthy are two possible motives for Bathsheba's intercession according to Dorothy F. Zeligs' psychoanalytic reading. Zeligs aptly points out that Bathsheba's wording, "Do not turn me down" (אל־תשב את־פני; 1 Kgs 2:20), clearly conveys Bathsheba's genuine wish for the Adonijah-Abishag union. To Zeligs, her strong wish may be interpreted as an unconscious identification with Abishag or a form of jealousy over her possible union with Solomon, consequential to his inheritance of David's harem. Because of Abishag's role as David's concubine, Bathsheba may have considered Solomon's possible union with Abishag as an incestuous relationship. Otherwise, Bathsheba may have worried over Abishag becoming a rival for her son's affections.[434] To my mind, the reading of these two possible motives goes beyond what the text warrants. First, nowhere in the text does the narrator imply that Solomon is going to inherit David's harem.[435] According to the internal narrative

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Broadman & Holman, 1995), 99–100; Donald J. Wiseman, *1 & 2 Kings: An Introduction and Commentary* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1991), 78; Long, *1 Kings*, 1984; Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (*The Anchor Bible 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 176.

[434] Zeligs, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*, 275.

[435] Many commentators assume that the successor's inheritance right over the predecessor's harem was a standard practice in the Israelite royal house. Thus, Solomon was expected to have the rightful claim of Abishag, even the Solomonic narrative does not warrant such reading. This assumption is made predominantly on the basis of 2 Sam 3:6–8 (Abner's sexual relation with Rizpah, Saul's concubine), 2 Sam 12:8 (YHWH's grant of Saul's women to David), and 2 Sam 16–22 (Absalom's going in to David's concubines). See Walsh, *1 Kings*, 50–54; Gene Rice,

logic of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story and the semiotization of the concubinary body, an erotic

claim over the predecessor's concubines is a sign of ambitious desire or a metonymic claim of

political dominance and territorial right made by a throne aspirant at a time of abnormal

succession. Solomon is a legitimate heir to the throne, and thus such a logic would not apply to

his circumstances. Second, if Bathsheba is indeed worried over Solomon's incest with the late

king's woman due to her own position in the harem or jealous over such a woman's erotic power

on her son, Abishag would not have been her only concern. Her concern would have involved

David's entire harem and any woman that would compete with her for her son's affections.

Zeligs' tendency to read the motifs of incest and jealousy into the text has to do with her

indiscriminate application of the oedipal complex as a dominant structure for any narratives

involving a parent-and-son relationship, which, to me, leads to an over-interpretation due to her

over-application of the oedipal theme and lack of attention to the signifying context of the

Deuteronomist.

Having presented a few possible readings of 1 Kgs 2:13–25 on Adonijah's marriage

proposal, which are in no way exhaustive, the intent is not to privilege a certain reading over

other readings, in spite of my critical tone, but simply to point out how the narrative gap, the

textual absence of Bathsheba's motive and emotional state in this case, could have invited the

readers'/auditors' transferential interpretation, which is inevitably affected by their own relevant

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Nations under God: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Kings (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1991), 23; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 176. First of all, in none of these incidents is there a normal succession. They are all anomalous successions—de facto rule, change of dynasty, or usurpation. Secondly, as I have argued above (pp. 206–211), in the cases of Abner and Absalom, the concubinary body is used more or less as a displaced political statement of dominance. Finally, 2 Sam 18:8 never explicitly mentions that David has inherited Saul's *entire harem*, only that Yʜᴡʜ has granted him Saul's *women*. Plurality does not mean entirety. Furthermore, David's supposed "inheritance" of Saul's women should be interpreted as a means of legitimation, namely to forge a continuity with the previous Saulide dynasty. As I have pointed out in n. 427, such means of legitimation was also found in the Persian empire during Darius I's and Alexander III's anomalous successions. Thus, the successor's presumed inheritance right over the predecessor's harem in biblical Israel is groundless.

subjective experience.

The Semiotization of Wisdom

Wisdom is a prominent and recurring theme in the Solomonic narrative. Nowhere in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is there such a substantial number of wisdom-motifs, which is a textual feature setting the Solomonic narrative apart from the rest of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The Solomonic narrative is replete with vocabulary from the sapiential semantic fields, particularly in Solomon's first dream, [436] with "wisdom" appearing in manifold facets— judgment, imperial management, craftsmanship, riddle-contest, and entrepreneurship.[437] Wisdom is fundamental to Solomon's successful imperialization and to his kingdom's unprecedented magnificence, extravagance, and prosperity. Unlike real-life imperialisms, Solomon subjugates the people within his dominion and beyond it by means of wisdom politics, rather than by means of coercion or the display of military might. Arguably, the prominent place "wisdom" enjoys in the Solomonic narrative may be an effect of the longstanding association of the sapiential literature with King Solomon, to whom its authorship or patronage has been attributed.

In the sapiential literature, particularly in Proverbs 1–9, "wisdom" (חכמות or חכמה; root חכם) is often eroticized and imbued with libidinal energy. "Wisdom" is described in blatant erotic terms as every young man's most desirable maiden, attractive yet seductive, to be relentlessly sought for, chased after, and clung to by her green suitors.[438] The eroticization of wisdom, according to James L. Crenshaw, was a pedagogical strategy employed by the ancient master

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[436] For instance, חסד "steadfast kindness/loyalty," אמת "truthfulness," צדקה "righteousness," ישר "uprightness" (3:6); בין "understanding," משפט "judgement" (3:7); חכם (לב) "a wise (mind)" (1 Kgs 3:12; cf. Prov 16:23; Qoh 8:5; 10:2), נבון (לב) "a discerning (mind)" (1 Kgs 3:12; cf. Prov. 15:14; 18:15), עשר "wealth," כבוד "honor," דרך "way," (3:13); and ארך ימים "longevity" (3:14).

[437] See Georg Fohrer, "σοφία, σοφός, σοφίζω," *TDNT*, 465-96.

[438] See Prov. 1:20–33; 3:13–18; 4:5–13; 8:10–31; 9:1–6.

scribes to stimulate the learning interest of their almost exclusively male students and to keep them from falling asleep due to the repetitive tedium of manuscript copying and rote memorization.[439] The psychic mechanism through which wisdom is displaced as the most desirable erotic object is what Freud calls *overdetermination*,[440] in which the psychical force of an object of a low psychical value (wisdom) is intensified through the displacement of an object of a high psychical value (an attractive woman). To the young (male) scribes, the fantasy of a Lady Wisdom would have been an effective intellectual motivator, as well as a channel for the discharge of repressed affects. If indeed Lady Wisdom was created pedagogically as a substitutive sexual fantasy and regularly dispensed as a cognitive aphrodisiac, then it is reasonable to assume that the inculcation of the eroticized "wisdom" and the libidinal excitations thus effected would produce a long-lasting signifiance on these young scribe trainees. It was likely to have become a part of the scribal "cultural segment of the unconscious," continuing to influence their subsequent pursuit of "wisdom" and their signifying activities, particularly those involving "wisdom," even without their awareness. This special semiotic place occupied by "wisdom" is particularly traceable in the underlying content of Solomon's first dream (1 Kgs 3:5–15).[441]

As in the sapiential traditions, "wisdom" is described as the most desirable object in Solomon's first dream (1 Kgs 3:5–15). On the manifest surface, the constructed dream seems to be devoid of erotic content. However, the dream is semiotized with libidinally charged motifs, which could only be exposed by probing the sociocultural embedded meanings of the signifiers. It is arguable that through the first readers'/auditors' ability to analogously associate the text with

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[439] James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 118–19.
[440] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, SE 4:307–08.
[441] For the first dream as a wish-fulfilling narrative, see pp. 152–154 above.

their subjective experience, they were likely to be affected by the drive-facilitated forces within the dream. This is especially true if they were (male) scribes who had been trained into projective identification with the young suitor of the eroticized wisdom in the sapiential traditions. To them, the semantic and thematic convergence between the constructed dream and the sapiential literature would inevitably lead to a transference of affects. The theme of Solomon's pursuit of "wisdom" as the most quintessential object of desire, which is precisely what the sapiential traditions advocate, is reminiscent of the young suitor's chasing after Lady Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9. The similitude would have been too strong to preclude such a transferential reading that caters to a parallel signification between the sapiential theme and the hidden erotic theme, producing a concurrent double entendre on different levels of consciousness. On the manifest surface, Solomon's object of desire appears to be an "understanding mind," but in the unconscious affective excitations are aroused by the hidden erotic theme through the semiotized, psychically overdetermined wisdom-motif. To put it plainly, "wisdom," being fetishized in the sapiential traditions through a process of displacement and overdetermination, continues in its semiotized signifiance to loom large in Solomon's first dream through a series of associations within the constructed dream's immediate narrative context, particularly in relation to the preceding narratives, and its larger signifying context.

YHWH's question to Solomon, מה אתן־לך "What shall I give you?" (3:5), is reminiscent of David's question to Bathsheba, מה־לך (1:16). The noticeable difference between the two scenes is who, the wisher or the wish granter, takes the active role in the wish-fulfillment narrative. Bathsheba takes the initiative to approach David for what appears to be an ambitious desire of political dominance, but it is motivated primarily by self-preservation. Contrarily, in Solomon's first dream, it is YHWH who takes the initiative to approach the newly enthroned king in a dream

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for the purpose of granting him a wish. Insofar as "wisdom" is described as a means of imperialization, Solomon's wish for wisdom is a displaced, disguised ambitious desire.[442] Both of these wish-granting episodes contain the theme of ambitious desire on the manifest surface, as well as a hidden erotic theme. In Bathsheba's first entry scene, I have already argued for Bathsheba's erotic intent and David's wish-granting as a compensatory gratification to her. In Solomon's first dream, the signifiers used to describe Solomon's pursuit of wisdom, along with the subsequent wisdom-judgment scene, may be interpreted as a rite of passage from puerile innocence to manhood maturity, both in terms of intellectual discernment, on the manifest surface, and sexual awakening, in the latent content. Both wish-granting scenes are fuelled with libidinal energy.

Solomon's passive role as a wisher and the theme of oneiric theophany suggest that the constructed dream contains more primary-process mechanisms than Bathsheba's wish-fulfilling narrative. Solomon is in the most ideal situation imaginable. An omnipotent deity appears in Solomon's dream uninvited and readily grants him a wish without being requested. While Solomon could have wished for anything out of the myriad of desirable things, Solomon chooses to ask for "an understanding mind." Was that surprising to the first readers/auditors? If they were familiar with the conventional motifs and rhetorical features of the sapiential traditions, the lad's answer would have been unsurprising and perhaps anticipated, even if they would not have wished for the same themselves. To them, Solomon is simply acting in accordance with the well-acquianted script of the sapiential traditions. He asks for what he is told to desire and thus

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[442] Presumably, Bathsheba and Solomon would not have wished for the same thing due to the differences in their circumstances, social positions, and the stages in life and the wish-granting capacity of their patrons. In addition, the contextualization of the two wish-fulfullment scenes within the larger Solomonic narrative ironically deconstructs the sapiential advocacy for wisdom's rightful place as the quintessential desire in life. It seems that self-preservation takes precedence over the desire for "wisdom" in Bathsheba's circumstances.

supposed to desire.

    I will now suggest the kind of transferential reading that would have plausibly taken place among the first readers/auditors by using Wolfgang Iser's phenomenological theory of reading.[443] According to Iser, reading is a "process of anticipation and retrospection" in sequential time set in motion by the sentence correlatives, and meaning emerges as the process goes on. At any given point of the reading, the reader continues to extrapolate the development of the story and revise his/her/hir anticipation based on a variety of perspectives, expectations, and recollections already aroused by the precedents in the literary world and his/her/hir own world. Narrative gaps create moments of indeterminacy that engage the reader's imagination. They are filled or supplemented based on the reader's anticipation and disposition (what I call subjective experience). However, the literary world may not conform to the reader's own world, and in this case it may force the reader to create a world that contradicts his/her/hir own perceptions and preconceptions in order to realize the text.[444] This is particularly true when the text contains fictive and fantastic elements. The process of reading a fantasy requires the reader to forfeit his/her/hir own perceptions and to be absorbed into the text's own narrative logic, literary patterns, and consistency, which the reader will constantly look for and build his/her/hir anticipation on. Thus, reading involves the ongoing process of familiarization, namely searching for the familiar within the literary world in correlation to the reader's subjective experience, and at the same time defamiliarization, namely giving up or rejecting some already-formed expectations. At any given point of the reading process, the reader looks forward, thinks backward, correlates, revises expectations, forms new expectations, questions, accepts, and/or

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[443] Wolfgang Iser. "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," *New Literary History* 3 (1972): 279–99.
[444] Wolfgang Iser, "Indeterminacy and the Reader's Response in Prose Fiction," in *Aspects of Narrative: Selected Papers from the English Institute* (ed. Joseph Hillis Miller; New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 8–9.

rejects already-formed expectations. This is why Iser calls the reading act a "process of

anticipation and retrospection."[445] Although Iser's theory primarily deals with the reading act, it

also rings true for any oral/visual performances set on a sequential temporality. I will now look

for the first readers'/auditors' plausible transferential readings, as well as their double

signification, by treating the Solomon's first dream as a part of their "process of anticipation and

retrospection."

In response to YHWH's offer, Solomon first gives a preamble that highlights the

commensurability of YHWH's חסד "steadfast kindness/loyalty" to his father David's obedience in

אמת "truthfulness," צדקה "righteousness," and ישרת לבב "uprightness of heart" (3:6). The

preamble contains a set of exemplary divine/human virtues particularly emphasized in the

sapiential literature.[446] This link triggers the readers'/auditors' association between the preamble

and the sapiential traditions. The exemplary (idealized) image of David also forms a part of the

set up for the deuteronomistic narrative logic of David as a benchmark against which the cultic

(dis)loyalty and of the Judahite kings and some Israelite kings are explicitly or implicitly

compared and assessed (see 3:3, 6–7, 14).[447] At the outset of the dream, David is explicitly

portrayed as Solomon's ego ideal; as the narrative moves forward, more allusions to David's

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[445] Iser, "The Reading Process," 293–95.

[446] For instance, see Pss 33:4; 85:11-12[Eng. 10–11]; 89:15[Eng. 14]; 111:7–8; 119:138; Prov 20:28.

[447] The Deuteronomist assessed the cultic success/failure of Judahite and Israelite kings by comparing them explicitly or implicitly to David, using a set of formulaic expressions. Among them, the most noticeable one is "what was right in my [YHWH's] eyes" (1 Kgs 11:33, 38; 14:8; 15:5, 11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 18:3; 22:2). Since these evaluative formulaic expressions are repeatedly associated with David in the books of Kings, Amos Frisch ("Comparison with David as a Means of Evaluating Characters in the Book of Kings," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 11/7 [2011]: 2–20 [cited 12 February 2017]. Online: http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_154.pdf.) aptly argues that their presence suggests an implicit comparison to David, even if David's name is not explicitly mentioned in the evaluation. Two Israelites kings directly appointed by YHWH, Jeroboam I and Jehu, are assessed by comparison to David. In Ahijah's oracle, YHWH requests Jeroboam to follow David as an exemplar of cultic loyalty (1 Kgs 11:38), but at the end he fails to live up to YHWH's expectation (1 Kgs 14:8). Jeroboam's cultic failure is assessed in explicit comparison to David's loyalty. On the other hand, Jehu is implicitly compared to David for his iconoclasm (2 Kgs 10:30–31), using David-associated formulaic expressions. For other Judahite kings whose assessment bears allusion to David, see 1 Kgs 22:43; 2 Kgs 12:3[Eng. 2]; 15:3, 34.

character, along with Solomon's desire to emulate him, will follow. These allusions are hardly noticeable unless the text is read against the earlier narrative details in the books of Samuel, with which the first readers'/auditors were presumably familiar and were able to correlate the details in restrospect.

After the preamble, Solomon goes on to elaborate his state of being: ואנכי נער קטן לֹא אדע צאת ובא] "I am a little child; I do not know [how] to go out or come in" (1 Kgs 3:7). Many commentators regard נער קטן "little child" as a figurative expression that serves to convey Solomon's sense of humilty, inaedequacy, and dependence on Y𝐇WH. In an attempt to harmonize the contradictive and incompatible narrative details presented in 1 Kgs 3:1, 7; 11:42, and 14:21, commentators argue that Solomon was already married and his son Rehoboam was already one year old at the time of his accession; thus, he could not possibly be a "little child."[448] This harmonization constitutes a "secondary revision" from a psychoanalytic perspective. Some commentators have argued for this view by drawing on a false analogy found in the Egyptian conventional represention of the Pharaoh as a suckling before a nursing deity, which reflects the ideology of Pharaonic divinity.[449] However, neither the ideology nor the similar figurative use of "little child" is found in biblical imperial ideology. Moreover, such interpretation builds on the presumed historicity, accuracy, and consistency of the events portrayed in the books of Samuel and Kings, which is an anachronistic imposition of a modernist concept of history on the world of the Deuteronomist. Epic history is never fully historical and never fully fictive, and it expresses the present concerns of the writer's world rather than the world it purportedly describes. In addition, as I have already pointed out, the manuscriptal mode of transmission was

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[448] See Cogan, *1 Kings*, 186; Walsh, *1 Kings*, 74; House, *1, 2 Kings*, 110; Rice, *1 Kings*, 33; John Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), 121–22; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 107–08.
[449] See Gray, *I & II Kings*, 121–22.

a springboard for multiple contemporanous, contesting, conflicting versions of the same tradition. The co-existence of textual inconsistencies and contradictions is a combined result of cultural fantasizing through the literary production of epic history and the manuscriptal mode of textual transmssion. They are integral to the text, not an anomaly to be explained away based on ungrounded assumptions of the historicity of the events that it describes.

Textual critical evidence suggests at least some earlier readers had interpreted the expression "a little child" to mean "a lad." According to the witness of the Lucianic recension and the Vatican codex of the LXX, Solomon was twelve years old when he began to reign (LXX 2:12). Rabbinic calculation (Rashi, Qimḥi, Seder Olam) arrived at the same accession age.[450] The LXX contains contradictory statements regarding the age of Rehoboam at his accession and the duration of his reign. According to LXX 12:24a, Rehoboam is only sixteen years old when he begins to reign, whereas according to LXX 14:21 (= MT) he is already forty-one years old. This means, according to some Greek witnesses and late Rabinnic literature, Solomon is a lad, unmarried and childless at accession. As for his marriage alliance with the Pharaoh, we only know that Solomon relocates his Egyptian bride from Egypt to the city of David (3:1), but whether relocation means consummation is left to the transferential imagination of the readers/auditors. On his deathbed, David admonishes Solomon saying, וחזקת והיית לאיש "Be strong and be(come) a man" (2:2). The exhortation suggests that Solomon is not quite a man at that time. In view of Solomon's imminent task of succeeding and managing his enormous empire, David's line may be interpreted as his concern over the young Solomon's readiness to reign, and he is admonishing the lad to act like a mature man. Taking all the textual hints into consderation and given that the first readers/auditors who were absorbed by the pleasurable

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[450] See Cogan, *1 Kings*, 186; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 108.

world of the cultural fantasy and had little interest, if any, in harmonizing or rationalizing the text as modern commentators are prone to do, it is perceivable that they would likely have taken the expression "little child" relatively literally as Solomon's claim of immaturity and inexperience, not merely a sign of humility and dependence. This interpretation is further reinforced by the idiomatic expression לֹא אדע צאת ובא "I do not know [how] to go out and to come in" that follows immediately.

Many commentators regard the word-pair צאת ובא "to go out and come in" (3:7) to mean more or less "to assume general duties and responsibilities of a public office," especially in military command, and interpret לֹא אדע צאת ובא as Solomon's expression of inadequency and inexperience in leadership.[451] Anton van der Lingen has argued against this general view and arrives at the conclusion that the idiomatic expression is used predominantly in military contexts to convey successful military leadership.[452] Overall, I find van der Lingen's thesis cogently argued.[453] However, I disagree with him on one major point. He sees no difference in meaning whether or not the idiomatic word-pair is used in conjunction with לפני "before [the people/army],"[454] whereas, to me, the combination צאת ובא לפני "to go out and come in before" is used unambigiously to designate military leadership. Without לפני, צאת ובא seems to have a

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[451] See Cogan, *1 Kings*, 186; House, *1, 2 Kings*, 110; Rice, *1 Kings*, 33; Joseph Robinson, *The First Book of Kings* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1972), 50; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 108. Cf. Walsh, *1 Kings*, 74–75.

[452] Anton van der Lingen, "bw'-yṣ' ("To Go out and to Come in") as a Military Term," *VT* 42/1 (1992): 59–66. Van der Lingen conducted a detailed analysis of all occurrences of the word-pair in the biblical texts, with the possible exception of Zech 8:10 whose military context would agree with his thesis. According to van der Lingen, the word-pair is mostly used in a context of successful military leadership (see Deut 31:2; Josh 6:1; 14:11; 1 Sam 18:13, 16; 29:6; 2 Sam 3:25; 5:2; 1 Kgs 3:7 // 2 Chr 1:10; 2 Kgs 19:27 = Isa 37:28; 1 Chr 11:2). In one occurrence, van der Lingen considers the military sense weakened and the expression is expanded to the context of cultic leadership (Num 27:17). In four other occurrences (Deut 28:6, 19; 2 Kgs 11:8 // 2 Chr 23:7; Jer 37:4; Ps 121:8), the military context of the expression is not clear and may be regarded as an expanded use of the idiomatic expression to political and cultic/liturgical contexts.

[453] It is particularly commendable that he points out that the importance of going (to war) followed by coming (returning) in a successful campaign (Ibid., 61). This explains why the word-pair is constructed in this order.

[454] Ibid., 60.

broader meaning of participation in a military campaign (see Josh 14:11; Deut 31:2; 1 Sam 29:6).[455] Noteworthy is that the word-pair ולצאת ולבוא "for going out and coming in" occurs in a synonymous parallel as an appositive to למלחמה "for battle" in Josh 14:11, which corroborates the view that the idiomatic expression is synonymous to participating in a military campaign. On the manifest surface of 1 Kgs 3:7, Solomon is claiming that he is too young to have learned the art of warfare or to have participated in any real military campaign. This claim constitutes implicit comparison to David's eminent role as a successful military commander. The idiomatic word-pair צאת ובא is used in a different verbal form (qal imperfect) in Saul's appointment of David as a chiliarch, a major military role (1 Sam 18:13), and in description of how David has gained the love of the entire country with his "going out and coming in before the people [לפני העם]," meaning his superb military leadership (18:16). Thus, Solomon is subtly contrasting his father's capability and success in military leadership with his own inability and inexperience. In the next verse (1 Kgs 3:8), he extends the contrast of his feelings of insignificance to the enormous size of YHWH's chosen people that he inherited. After he expresses his wish, Solomon concludes his speech with a re-emphasis on the enormous size of YHWH's people (v. 9).

Given Solomon's feelings of inadequacy in military matters, the readers/auditors may have expected Solomon to wish for military prowess, but Solomon follows the sapiential logic and wished for "an understanding mind to judge [לב שמע לשפט] your [YHWH's] people, able to discern between good and evil [להבין בין־טוב לרע]" (3:9). His wish may have forced the first readers/auditors to suspend their assumption that wealth, honor, longevity, and power are the

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[455] In addition, the contexts van der Lingen considers as political or liturgical may have been military. First, if the blessing in Deut 28:6 is read in the light of the subsequent verse (v. 7), it is clearly a blessing of military success. By the same token, its cursing counterpart (v. 19) should be read as a curse of military defeat. Second, even though the miltiary context of Ps 121:8 is unclear, the psalm may have been used in the army-dispatching ceremony (cf. ibid., 65). Thus, its military liturgical context cannot be ruled out.

most prominent imperial pursuits and to be absorbed into the sapiential logic of the narrative, even "wisdom" is just a displaced form of these imperial pursuits. The divine speech in 3:11 clearly conveyed that Solomon's wish is against the dominant imperial ideologies of wealth accumulation, long-lasting rule, and military prowess. One of the wishes for which the deity expects Solomon to ask is נפש איביך "the life of your [Solomon's] enemies," which is another subtle allusion to David's bedside instructions to Solomon, in which he requests his successor to eliminate those officials who have displayed questionable allegiance (2:5–9). Although Solomon acknowledges his inadequacy and inexperience in military leadership, subtly comparing himself to his combatant father, he does not intend to follow in David's footsteps and establish a militaristic rule. In contrast, he wishes to set up a "wisdom cult," with himself as the cult icon, in which YHWH's enormous people and other foreign potentates may be subdued through their voluntary submission to the fetishized "wisdom." In other words, what the narrative subtly conveys is that Solomon wishes to emulate his father David by transforming the basis of his militaristic rule to a pacifist mode of subjugation by a "wisdom cult."

There is one more allusion to David's characterization, which is embedded in Solomon's wish for the ability "to discern between good and evil **[**להבין בין־טוב לרע**]**" (3:9). In the Hebrew Bible, the expression ידע טוב ורע "to know good and evil" has a few layers of meaning. First, "good and evil" constitutes a merismus meaning "everything one can think of."[456] In this sense, the ability to know good and evil is equivalent to omniscience and thus omnipotence, since omniscience is the instrument of omnipotence, namely power manipulation. It is recognized as a divine attribute and thus belongs to the divine domain (Gen 2:9, 17; 2 Sam 14:17). Therefore, Eve's quest for the "knowledge of good and evil" in Genesis 3 is considered a transgression into

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[456] *HALOT*, 371.

the divine realm and interpreted as a rite of passage toward the democratization of a qualified version of the divine attribute (Gen 3:5, 22). Second, the expression is used for a sign of moral maturity. The inability to tell good from evil is described as a trait of a child, namely a sign of immaturity (Deut 1:39). The time in which a child begins to acquire moral discernment, "to reject evil and choose good," is associated with the time of weaning (Isa 7:15). Finally, the loss of the ability is associated with old-age decrepitude. Barzillai the Gileadite, a benefactor of King David mentioned also in 1 Kgs 2:7, once declines David's invitation to reside with him in court. He claims he is too old for the pleasure of the court life. "I am 80 years old now. Can I know good from evil [האדע בין־טוב לרע]? Can your servant taste what I eat or what I drink? Can I yet listen to the voice of songsters and songstresses?" The NRSV renders האדע בין־טוב לרע as "Can I discern what is pleasant and what is not?" Consider the narrative context in which Barzillai utters these rhetorical questions, it is obvious that he does not mean the loss of moral discernment, but an ability to discern pleasure from displeasure. Thus, the ability is associated not only with moral discernment, but also aesthetic and sensual judgment. It is also used to represent a successful transition from childhood innocence to (wo)manhood maturity, with all encompassing ability to discern, not just morally, but also aesthetically and sensually. In view of the developmental and age-differentiated polyvalence of "to discern good and evil," it is certainly feasible to interpret the expression as "an euphemism for sexual experience or ability," as Steven Weitzman suggests.[457]

On the manifest surface, Solomon's wish reflects his feeling of inferiority, but also his grandiose desire of omniscience and omnipotence.[458] He wished to be like the divine, to be a

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[457] Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom*, 25.
[458] For a similar interpretation of Solomon's desire for wisdom as a manifestation of narcissistic wish, see Zeligs, *Psychoanalysis and the Bible*, 259–310.

perceptive king. The divine aspect of the ability to know good and evil is also highlighted in the story of the Tekoaite woman's meeting with David (2 Sam 14:1–20). The Tekoaite woman disguises herself as a mourner and comes to see David on the order of Joab, pretending that she is a widow whose two sons fought with each other in the field, and one was murdered by the other. She pretends that she comes to seek David's judgment and intervention so that she would not have to hand her surviving son to be executed by the avenger. From the beginning of the story, the readers/auditors are told that it is a ploy devised by Joab to bring David's son Absalom, the fratricide, back to the royal court from his self-banishment. In her staged plea, the Tekoaite woman compliments David twice. She likens King David to a divine messenger, with the ability "to *understand good and evil*" (לשמע הטוב והרע; v. 17b). After David uncovered Joab's ploy, the Tekoaite woman compliments the king again, saying "My lord is wise, as wise as a divine messenger, to know all that is on the earth [לדעת את־כל־אשר בארץ]" (v. 20b). The Tekoaite woman's compliments may be interpreted as sycophancy, but they serve to buttress the characterization of David as a perceptive, discerning king, having the ability to uncover the hidden. Solomon's wish to have an "*understanding* mind [לב שמע] ... to discern between *good and evil* [להבין בין־טיב לרע]" (1 Kgs 3:9) is formulated in a way reminiscent of the Tekoaite woman's compliments of King David's god-like attribute. The subsequent episode of Solomon's judgment on the motherhood right of an infant (3:16–28) is also reminiscent of David's judgment on the maternal privilege of the widowed Tekoaite woman. Both stories are concerned with motherhood, and both kings' judgments concerned the survival of a son. The similitude between the two judgment stories would cater to the first readers'/auditors' association, and the Solomonic narrative would then be read in retrospect of the familiar motifs and reminiscent vocabularies occurring in the Tekoaite woman's story.

In sum, Solomon's first dream contains three allusions to David's kingly virtues—his role as a successful miltiary leader, his wisdom to discern good and evil, and his vengeful attitude toward his enemies. Solomon seeks to emulate his father by transposing his militaristic rule to a pacifist mode of subjugation by wisdom, without resort to coercion or the display of coercive force. In the chapters to come, his "wisdom imperialism" is to be proved a big success. His "wisdom cult" would soon attract the voluntary submission of foreign potenates. Kings from all over the earth are to pay the embodied wisdom icon obeisance and tributary visits. On the manifest surface of the Solomonic narrative, wisdom is fetishized and embodied in the iconic king. The wisdom cult is the Solomonic cult. The imperialistic omniopotence of Solomon's wisdom in this sense is a manifestation of the Deuteronomist's and their readers'/auditors' collective narcissistic desire to be a pacifist-imperializer, as opposed to their Persian militarist-imperializer. The ambitious desire is unrealistic and thus unattainable, but it serves to boost their collective ego to be the dominant Other, without its militaristic aspects that victimized them and led to their resentment in real-life.

What I have analyzed is just one layer of meaning of Solomon's first dream. There lies another layer of signifiance. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Solomon's claim of לא אדע צאת ובא "I do not know [how] to go out or come in" may also be interpreted as a claim of sexual innocence. Two semiotically charged verbs, ידע and בוא, are included in this expression. The repeated action of going out and coming in alludes to the thrusting rhythm of sexual intercourse. Thus, it may suggest coitus on the unconscious level. If Solomon is indeed twelve years old and unmarried at accession, as some LXX witnesses and rabbinic literature suggest, his claim of sexual innocence would be a reasonable one. His wish to discern good and evil, a sign of maturity, may be interpreted as as wish to have an all-encompassing ability to make sound

moral, aesthetic, and sensual judgments, as I have argued, and as Weitzman proposes, a reference to sexual experience.[459] According to the internal logic set up at the beginning of the Solomonic narrative, the king's political incompetence is associated with his sexual impotence.[460] Thus, a politically competent king must also be a virile king. Solomon's wish for "an understanding mind" is simultaneously an unconscious, inexpressible wish for sexual competence. His concern over his immaturity and inexperience may then be interpreted as his pubescent anxiety over his first sexual experience.

Weitzman in his psychoanalytic reading of Solomon's first dream suggests that the text is an allusion to the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:1–19).[461] Both narratives may be seen as "an allegory for the maturation process" of adolescents undergoing sexual awakening.[462] The two narratives share multiple linguistic traits that could be traced to the same psychic source. Both Eve and Solomon are inexperienced in their world. Both are driven by the desire for "wisdom," for the knowledge/discernment of good and evil (Gen 3:6; 1 Kgs 3:9). Eve's quest for wisdom results in her sexual awakening. In a similar vein, Solomon's wish for wisdom represents his repressed sexual drive seeking for a means for discharge. In both stories, the quest for wisdom is a semiotic equivalent of the sexual drive seeking an outlet; the attainment of wisdom signifies a boundary transgression (a symbolic rite of passage) toward sexual maturity. Both moral maturity and sexual awakening are invariantly linked to the desire to make sound judgment in these stories. From a psychoanalytic perspective, the moral inhibitions and sexual repression presuppose the psychic agent of the superego, in the form of conscience, either as internalized social values or introjected authority. If a person is to become an individual

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[459] Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom*, 25.
[460] See pp. 196–197.
[461] Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom*, 25–29.
[462] Ibid., 25.

in his/her/hir own right, capable of making sound (moral and sexual) decisions, the individuation process necessites that boundary transgression, namely the overcoming of the authority of the superego. This boundary-crossing aspect of maturity is signified by the attainment of the divine attribute in the biblical texts.

Solomon's first dream may be interpreted as a double rite of passage of moral maturity and sexual maturity. The hidden erotic theme of Solomon's first dream is the theme of overcoming pubescent sexual repression, moving toward a manhood characterized by morally responsible sexual maturity. The unconscious theme runs in parallel with the theme of the quest for wisdom on the manifest surface, along with its disguised grandiose wish to imperialize through the non-coercive wisdom cult. The double entendre runs in parallel but on the different levels of unconsciousness.

What are the effects of the semiotization of wisdom that I just described? By putting erotic desire and ambitious desire on the parallel plane of signification, the affects associated with one theme can be easily transferred to the other theme through the psychic mechanism of transference. As far as the Solomonic narrative is concerned, this primary process may affect the readers'/auditors' drive orientation in two ways. First, the libidinal affects associated with the eroticized wisdom may be transferred onto other wisdom-affiliated objects of desire (wealth, honor, and longevity) and wisdom-based competitions (over craftsmanship and riddle-solving) in the text.[463] Since wisdom is fetishized as the quintessential object of desire in life, any acquisitions—honor, wealth, and longevity (Prov. 3:13–16; 8:12–21; 1 Kgs 3:11–13)—that are considered the direct or indirect rewards for the attainment of wisdom would also be affected by its psychical force through the effect of transference. The fetishism of wisdom would lead to the

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[463] See Chapters 5 and 6 for the symbolic subjugation of Tyre and Sheba through the wisdom contests of craftsmanship and riddle-solving.

fetishism of honor, wealth, and longevity. In the Solonomic narrative, wisdom is also inextricably tied to the grandiose desire for ethnic superiority, the sense of entitlement, and imperialism; thus, the overdetermination of wisdom will inevitably boost the psychical force associated with and affects distributed to these notions.

Second, the gradual intensification and unsurpassibility of Solomon's wisdom in the text would also lead to the intensification of affective excitations and thus result in an increase of its pleasure effect on those who participated in the cultural fantasizing. Wisdom-motifs are scattered throughout the Solomonic narrative, with Solomon functioning as wisdom's apotheosis. Thus, the veneration of wisdom is essentially the veneration of Solomon, the iconic figure of the metonymic Israel. The displaced and overdetermined "wisdom" continues to accumulate its already overdetermined psychical force through Solomon's symbolic victory in different wisdom contests, the quantification of Solomon's wisdom, and its incomparability and unsurpassability. "Wisdom" progresses from being the quintessential object of desire of Solomon to the object of desire of kings in all the earth. It is transposed from the implicit Lady Wisdom desired and chased by every young man to the explicit King Wisdom embodied in the persona of Solomon. While Lady Wisdom runs around in the busy streets and beckons the young men to follow her (Prov 1:20–33), King Wisdom simply sits in his comfortable palace and awaits the voluntary submission of the royal representatives of his powerful neighbors.[464] Thus, the pursuer of the wisdom (a person) becomes the embodiment of divine wisdom to be pursued (3:28), and the pursuit of wisdom becomes a cult of personality. This process is different from the eroticization

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[464] The gender differentials between the characterization of Lady Wisdom and that of King Wisdom reinforce gender binarism and gender stereotypes. Lady Wisdom is depicted in a chauvinistic image of seductress in the active position to attract, while King Wisdom is described in a narcissistic image of a stationary king with magnetic charm in the passive position to attract. The textual aspect suggests an androcentric erotic appeal that deserves a feminist critique; unfortunately, the scope of this study will not allow me to go further than making a preliminary note.

of wisdom in the sapiential traditions, in which Lady Wisdom functions as a part in the erotic analogy that imbued the abstract concept with libidinal energy. In the case of King Wisdom, he is Wisdom incarnated, to whom libidinal energies are directed and through whom compensatory gratification is sought. If Lady Wisdom is created as a pedagogical strategy to attract the attention of the young (male) scribes, then King Wisdom is created as a cultural fantasy to yield pleasurable effects that satisfy the imperialized's wish to be the imperializer.

Toward the End: The Intensified Eroticization of Ambitious Desire and Cultic Desire

The Eroticization of Ambitious Desire: Foreign Women as Solomon's Objects of Desire

In 1 Kings 10, the Queen of Sheba functions, in part, as an eroticized metaphor of international economic success. She readily and willingly submits to Solomon's imperializing wisdom.[465] Then, in the next chapter, the extent of eroticization increases astronomically. Solomon has seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines from all the earth. His women are territorialized. Their ethnicities included Egyptian, Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite (11:1). Following the already established logic in 1 Kgs 1:1–4, territorial right included the erotic privilege over the female subjects of the territory, and these diplomatic marriages are a metonym of Solomon's imperial domination over these ethnicities. The female subjects' incorporation into Solomon's harem signifies the submission of these ethnic groups. The ambitious desire for imperial power is eroticized here and metonymically represented through the ethnic diversity of Solomon's harem.

Female bodies, here, symbolize the conquered peoples. The enormity and the ethnic

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[465] The episode of the Queen of Sheba's visit will be analyzed in detail from a psychoanalytic perspective later in Chapter 7.

diversity of Solomon's harem symbolize the magnitude of his imperial power. The imperializer is portrayed as a hyper-masculine figure,[466] consistent with the Greek historians' portrayal of the Persian kings. Only the Great King could afford to have a large-scale harem with princesses and women recruited from neighboring countries, including Egypt, an empire of antiquity and vast hegemony. The sheer size and the ethnic diversity of Solomon's women signify the vastness of the imperial dominion and the diversity of the subjugated ethnic groups, alluding to the Persian imperialism. Solomon's imperial strength is amplified by inclusion of women from a couple of imperial powers, namely the Pharaoh's daughter and the Hittites, and the vibrant, affluent coastal city Sidon. Among Solomon's foreign women, the Pharaoh's daughter stands out as the only individual, albeit unnamed, in the Solomonic narrative with five appearances (3:1[Eng. 4:34; LXX 2:35]; 7:8; 9:16[LXX 5:14], 24; 11:1), whereas his other foreign women are mentioned once and only in terms of ethnic categories (11:1). The incorporation of the Pharaoh's daughter as a royal wife is a part of the greater fantasy of imperial domination. The inclusion of foreign women into the harem symbolizes the subjugation of the conquered peoples. Thus, Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter actually symbolizes the wishful thinking of the subjection of Egypt, the waning yet once-powerful imperial domain in the Persian period, to Israel.[467]

The narrator is right to point out that Solomon loves these foreign women (11:1), only that this love is never expressed in romantic terms, but only as an allegory of imperial domination. The metonymic formula is that the subjugation of foreign women equals the domination of these foreign countries. The allegorical expression of political ambition in erotic terms has been a

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[466] For the relationship between hyper-masculinity and colonialism in Indian context, see Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*.

[467] I will show in Chapter 5 that only emperors of comparable or greater power than the Pharaoh, namely the Hittite and the Persian kings, had purportedly requested the marriage of one of Pharaoh's daughters. The demand in itself is a challenge to Egypt's long-standing tradition of not marrying the royal princesses off to other countries, and hence it signifies a claim of imperial supremacy or equivalence.

common trope in ancient Greek literature. Sexual union, whether forced or acquiesced, is often

employed in the Greek literary world to eroticize victory and conquest.[468] For instance, in his

Phythian 9, Pindar (522–443 B.C.E.) invokes Apollo's seduction and marriage of Cyrene, the

daughter of Hypseus, king of the Lapiths, and Alexidamos's marriage to the daughter of Libyan

Anateus to symbolize the Greeks' subjugation of these lands. In the Athenians' literary and

graphic portrayal of their victory over the Persians, the metaphor of male sexual domination over

women or "womanish" men is also employed. In a caricature painted on a vase that celebrated

Cimon's victory over the Persians at the river Eurymedon in the fifth century, a naked Greek

with erect penis is pictured to be approaching a Persian who is bent over to offer his buttocks for

penetration. The image is illustrated with the caption: "I am Eurymedon, I stand bent over."[469]

The erotic theme is found not only as a literary trope, but also in the real world of ancient

politics. In sum, reading from the signifying context of the writer's time, it is clear that

Solomon's multiple sexual unions with these foreign women signify imperialization.

The association between sexual union and imperialism in literature has persisted from

antiquity to the present. The pair continues to be a major double trope in modern colonial

literature.[470] As Doris Sommer points out:

> *Allegory* is a vexed term, but unavoidable to describe how one discourse consistently represents the other and
> invites a double reading of narrative events. So if I shuttle back and forth from reading romantic intrigues to
> considering political designs it is because everyone else was doing the same. … Love plots and political
> plotting keep overlapping with one another.[471]

The Solomonic narrative was an ancient precursor of this kind of erotic allegory of imperial

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[468] See Edith Hall, "Asia Unmanned: Images of Victory in Classical Athens," in *War and Society in the Greek World* (ed. John Rich and Graham Shipley; London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 108–33.

[469] Ibid., 111–12. In this case, the male conqueror's sexual union with the male conquered in a submissive position functions as a symbolic castration or effemination of the male conquered.

[470] For some modern examples, see Roy Porter, "Rape—Does It have a Historical Meaning?" in *Rape: An Historical and Cultural Enquiry* (ed. Sylvana Tomaselli and Roy Porter; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 232.

[471] Doris Sommer, "Love and Country in Latin America: An Allegorical Speculation" *Cultural Critique* 16 (Autumn 1990): 120.

domination. Ambitious (imperializing) desire and erotic desire are mingled allegorically,

grounding political passion in erotic terms, creating a double meaning of desire on a parallel

plane of signification.[472] The displacement of psychical energies of an erotic nature to the

political domain is a transference of affects by false connection. Nevertheless, the displacement

effectively charges, in this case, imperializing desire. This is another instance within our text of

how ambitious desire is semiotized with the thrust of erotic (libidinal) energy, giving the already

emotionally charged arena of politics an extra momentum of drive in the cultural fantasy of the

Solomonic Kingdom.

The Eroticization of Cultic Desire: Yahweh as Solomon's/Israel's Object of Desire

The next type of eroticization is achieved through the transference of affects of an erotic

nature into the divine-human relationship, making theology into cultic desire. The metaphorical

bridging between erotic desire and cultic desire is more conspicuous than the transferential link

between erotic desire and ambitious desire. I have already mentioned, in my discussion of the

חפץ-motif of wish/desire, that the Queen of Sheba eulogy shows a transference of desire in her

mention of YHWH's satisfaction in Solomon, his human object of desire (1 Kgs 10:9), with an

expression commonly used for erotic relationship. The desire of divine love, namely cultic

desire, bespeaks the desire of a human subject to be desirable. If the object of divine love is

expressed as an ethnic collective, then this cultic desire belongs to the cultural segment of the

unconscious as a cultural fantasy. The cult is semiotized with erotic affects as a compensatory

way to fulfill the human wish to be loved or the ethnic wish to be the quintessentially desirable

and utmost privileged by the divine, who is their object of desire projected as a subject that

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[472] Ibid., 123.

desires them.

In the Solomonic narrative, the divine-human covenantal love is expressed in terms of the covenantal love between YHWH and Solomon, namely the metonym of Israel. To say that YHWH is Solomon's sublime object of desire (1 Kgs 3:3) is to say that he is also Israel's sublime object of desire. The covenantal love between YHWH and Israel is at the core of the Deuteronomic command, which defines such love as the obedience to the law.[473] Solomon is *the* privileged king in the covenantal love between YHWH and Israel. In 2 Sam 12:24–25, after he is born of the union between David and Bathsheba, the narrator tells us that "YHWH loves him" (v. 24) and Nathan names him "Jedidiah," which means "YHWH's beloved" (v. 25). Solomon is chosen to be the epitome of the divine love to Israel and the exemplar of the human love to YHWH. For instance, in the Queen of Sheba eulogy, the desire to be the favorite, privileged ethnic collective is epitomized in the figure of Solomon. This desire is then expressed through the Queen of Sheba's diegetic viewpoint. The queen's acknowledgment of Solomon (the metonymic Israel) as the quintessential desire of the divine is a form of projective, collective narcissism, where ego-inflating wish is expressed through the mouth of a third party with an exceptional socioeconomic status and international fame.[474] In the Solomonic narrative, as in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story in general, the covenantal relationship between YHWH-Israel is semiotized, drawing the affects of erotic nature to this cultic realm.

The Solomonic narrative takes the eroticization of YHWH-Israel/Solomon relationship further to an exclusive relationship. YHWH does not castigate Solomon against his hyper-masculinity expressed through his love for one thousand women, but only against his marriage of

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[473] See Deut 6:5; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:4 (Eng. 3); 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20; Josh 22:5; 23:11; 1 Kgs 10:9; indirect references also in Deut 5:10; 7:8, 9.
[474] See above for the notion of "collective narcissism."

foreign women (11:1–2). 1 Kgs 11:1–2 is an allusion to the Deuteronomic law code in Deut. 7:1–2 and the Deuteronomic prohibition against sexual relationship between Israelites and seven "Canaanite" (Syro-Palestinian) peoples in Deut 7:1–6.[475] The love for the foreign women metaphorically signifies the love for the foreign deities and in turn infidelity to Yahweh, who should have been Israel's exclusive object of cultic desire.[476] Noteworthy, the change in the usage of the verb אהב "to love" (1 Kgs 3:3; 11:1) alludes to the change of Solomon's heart. Followed by the consolidation of the kingdom (2:13–46), the narrator gives a commentary that "Solomon loved YHWH and followed the statutes of David his father, except that he sacrificed and made offerings at the high places [to YHWH]" (3:3). The narrator also gives a commentary toward the end of the Solomonic narrative that, first, "Solomon loved many foreign women" (11:1), that he failed to follow the exemplary model of David his father (11:4–6), and "he made offerings and sacrificed to their [his wives'] deities" (11:8). Thus, the two notes (3:1–3; 11:1–8) form a narrative frame (D and D') that is part of the contrasting chiastic structure of 1:1–12:24 surrounding the central narrative on the golden days of the Solomonic Kingdom.[477] The two framing editorial notes contain the identical yet contrasting motifs: the object of Solomon's love (YHWH vs. many foreign women), Solomon's comparability to David his exemplar (success vs. failure), and the beneficiary of Solomon's high-place offerings (YHWH vs. the deities of his foreign wives).[478] In this framing operation, Solomon's love of many foreign women is contrasted with his exclusive love to YHWH. This change in Solomon's object of desire is portrayed as the decisive factor in his success, or failure, to emulate David's cultic obedience to

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[475] See Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," 615. Note that the prohibition of mixed marriage is expressed euphemistically with the construction בוא ב (1 Kgs 11:2).
[476] See Exod 34:16; Deut 7:3; 1 Kgs 16:31.
[477] See pp. 95–98 and Figure 1 for structural analysis as a part of the argument for 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24 as a rhetorical unit.
[478] Another allowance given in 1 Kgs 3:1–4 is that sacrificing at high place is permitted insofar as YHWH is the sacrificial recipient, presumably due to the absence of the temple.

YHWH, ultimately leading to his multiple "idolatry." The drastic change in the usage of אהב

serves to translate the incompatibility of the sublime love for YHWH and the erotic love for

foreign women.

Conclusions

From the very beginning, the Solomonic narrative has been imbued with semiotic and erotic

energies. The narrative begins with the territorial search for suitable candidates to be David's

bedmate. The erotic claim over the female subjects of the territories is a metonym of David's

imperial privileges. Abishag, David's last concubine, is recruited as the erotic object for David's

compensatory gratification precisely because she is also his imperial subject. Thus, the ambitious

desire is, from the onset, semiotized and expressed in terms of erotic desire through the

concubinary body. The semiotized concubinary body continues to develop in the narrative and

appears throughout the narrative with various degrees of psychic intensity, charging the

Solomonic Kingdom with libidinal excitations in a chain of semiotized and eroticized marks and

signs. Abishag, a voiceless, absentee character, plays a "signifiant" role that connects the various

scenes through which the Solomonic narrative is gradually semiotized and eroticized. The virgin

concubine becomes the initial scene from which a series of court intrigues develop. She is first

David's primary bedmate and thus the love rival of Bathsheba and then the displaced ambitious

object of Adonijah. The attempts to solicit (by the court officials), eliminate (by Bathsheba), and

acquire (by Adonijah) Abishag set the Solomonic narrative off with intense yet subtle libidinal

excitations. The libidinal excitations created by the concubinary body in and out of the narrative

continued to intensify in the Solomonic Kingdom with the scattered appearances of Solomon's

Egyptian wife and the mention of his multiethnic mega-harem. Erotic success becomes the

symbolic equivalent of imperial power. Through these women, ambitious desire, displaced as erotic desire, is gradually semiotized and charged with libidinal energies.

Subsequent to "Abishag," "wisdom" is the next prominent motif that functions to connect and to semiotize disparate episodes in the rest of the Solomonic narrative, in which "wisdom" plays a "signifiant" role. The semiotization of wisdom begins with Solomon's first dream (3:5–15). Through its semantic and thematic similitude with the sapiential traditions, the libidinal affects associated with Lady Wisdom are transferred to King Wisdom, the pursuer of wisdom who is to be turned into the embodiment of wisdom, to whom libidinal energies associated with wisdom are directed. I have argued that Solomon's first dream contains multiple layers of significance and signifiance that happen concurrently on different levels of consciousness and that the first readers/auditors, through their ability to analogize, were likely to read Solomon's wish for an "understanding mind" as his wish to emulate his father by transposing David's militaristic rule to a pacifist mode of subjugation, establishing a fantastic imperial rule by the "wisdom cult," with himself as the cult icon.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, Solomon's wish reflects both a grandiose desire of omniscience and omnipotence and an erotic desire for sexual competence. The episode may be interpreted as a double rite of passage of moral maturity and sexual awakening. The semiotization of wisdom and the hidden erotic theme of sexual maturation further intensify the psychical forces of the already highly libidinally charged Solomonic narrative. This produces a chain overdetermination of psychical energy in relation to honor, wealth, and longevity, namely motifs that are causally affiliated with wisdom and associated with imperialism, and heightens the overall pleasurable effects of the cultural fantasy that satisfies the imperialized Yehudites' wish to be the Persian imperializer.

Diplomatic marriage functions as a double displacement in the Solomonic narrative, both as a trope of imperialization and a trope of cultic infidelity. As a cultural fantasy, the Solomonic Kingdom accommodates the contradictory use of these tropes. The erotic metaphor is used for the legitimation of imperialization and at the same time the de-legitimation of cultic infidelity. Both are to be achieved through false connection. In the latter case, Solomon's cross-ethnic polygamy (an erotic theme) is falsely associated with polytheism (a cultic theme), which is portrayed as the direct and inevitable outcome of the cross-ethnic polygamy. Polytheism is eroticized in order to scapegoat the foreign women for what should be their own cultic choice.

It must be pointed out that Solomon's love for YHWH is undiminished by his tie to his first foreign wife, the Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kgs 3:1–4). In fact, the Egyptians are not even listed in the Deuteronomic law among the peoples that Israelites are forbidden to marry (1 Kgs 11:1; Deut 7:1–6), which concerns only the "Canaanite" (Syro-Palestinian) populations. Thus, the repeatedly mentioned Egyptian-Israelite marriage alliance occupies a unique literary topos that makes it stand out from the rest of Solomon's diplomatic marriages. In other words, unlike Solomon's other diplomatic marriages, the Egyptian-Israelite union can only be read as a trope of imperialization, but not a trope of cultic infidelity. Note that Solomon's, and the metonymic Israel's, "idolatrous" practices are limited to the "Canaanite" deities (11:5–8, 33). Non-"Canaanite" deities are not counted. I will return to the "Pharaoh's daughter" as a signifier and discuss the significance within the signifying context of the Deuteronomist in Chapter 5.

The castigation of Solomon's desire for foreign women, the emphasis on the magnitude of his sexual exploits, and the description of these women as *femmes fatales* may be interpreted, from a psychoanalytic perspective, as a reaction formation, namely the pursuit of the exact opposite of what one desires. The hate of the forbidden other is a disguise of the love of the

forbidden other. Foreign women are scapegoated, precisely because they are forbidden and desired. The deliberate act of blaming foreign women for one's own cultic failures reflects primary process, in which the feeling of shame stemming from the ideologically reprehensible polytheistic practices is projected onto a third, innocent party in an attempt to protect the subject from the attack of his/her/hir conscience.

A semanalysis of the Solomonic narrative has uncovered the complexity and multiplicity of semiotization in the Solomonic narrative, in which various drive-facilitated marks lead to drive-oriented signifiance, investing the Solomonic Kingdom with an extra boost of psychical energy. Semiotic signifiance is found in the displacement of ambitious desire and erotic desire through the concubinary body, the grandiose desire and hidden erotic desire in Solomon's disguised wish for "wisdom," with the transference and the thematic transposition that redirect libidinal energies from Lady Wisdom to King Wisdom, the parallel signification of imperialization and sexual union in Solomon's diplomatic affairs, and the subtle desire to be supreme through the eroticization of a supreme deity. The substantial amount of unconscious drive-oriented operations, the desire mechanisms, within the text provides further collaboration of my view that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy.

CHAPTER 5

THE PHARAOH AS A COMPOSITE CHARACTER

Introduction

The Pharaoh, Hiram king of Tyre, and the Queen of Sheba are three foreign dignitaries who have played important supporting roles to Solomon's imperial career. Each of them has become subordinated to Solomon, portrayed as the Great King, through a diplomatic tie sealed with either a marriage alliance, a treaty, or a tributary homage at Solomon's court. What is fabulous about each of these figures is that they each take on an impressive combination of disparate, fragmented roles that appear to be somewhat incompatible. Thus, these three dignitaries could be called *composite characters* that bespeak the primary processes of the writer(s). Freud calls the mechanism through which disparate facets of an object are united *condensation*.[479] Through the mechanism of condensation, different aspects of an object are amalgamated to form a partial, fragmentary representation of the object that carries the complete affective force of the object on the subject. According to Freud, the condensation of the fragments—often incommensurate, incompatible, and contradictory—is achieved by means of identification and composition.[480] Identification here means a process by which features of a particular fantasy-object are traceable to its real-life counterpart through its similitude with or approximation to the latter. Composition is the creative way that these incompatible parts are combined to arrive at a composite figure whose chimeric appearance represents and at the same time disguises its real-life counterpart. By real-life counterpart, I do not mean an actual, historical object per se, but only one that belongs to

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[479] See Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams, SE* 4:277–304; Thwaites, *Reading Freud*, 23.
[480] Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:319–20.

the subjective experience of the writer(s) within his/her/hir/their signifying context. The affects expressed toward these composite figures reflect the hidden desires of the subject of the fantasy. In the next three chapters, I intend to show that these figures are fragmentary and distorted representations of the major states subjugated by the Persian empire. As an aggregate, they each constitute the metonymic imperialized of the Persians. These major polities appear to be subjugated by Solomon in our text, rather than by the Persian imperializer, suggesting the operation of introjective identification.

The first composite figure, the unnamed Pharaoh, debuts in 1 Kgs 3:1 and reappears sporadically throughout the Solomonic narrative, first as Solomon's Egyptian father-in-law (3:1; 7:8; 9:16 [LXX 5:14], 24 [LXX 2:35]; 11:1) and then as the asylum provider to David's (and thus also Solomon's) opponents, the Edomite adversary Hadad and the Ephraimite rebel Jeroboam (11:14–22, 40). In addition, Solomon's horse trade with Egypt placed the Pharaoh in the position of his international trade partner (10:28–29). While Solomonic-Egyptian economic partnership appears to be mutually beneficial and stable, their political relationship is characterized by either ambiguity or instability. On the one hand, the narrative gives an impression of an established political alliance between the Pharaoh and Solomon, sealed by a marriage alliance between two royal houses. In 9:15–16 [LXX 9:15; 10:22; 5:14], the Deuteronomist even provided the readers/auditors with the background story of how Gezer (a major city throughout the Iron Age that was long under Egyptian control) has purportedly come into Israel's possession and becomes one of Solomon's great building sites, along with Jerusalem, Megiddo and Hazor. Solomon reciprocates the Pharaoh's generosity and welcomes the Egyptian bride by building a palace for her (7:8; 9:24 [LXX 2:35]). On the other hand, by harboring Solomon's foreign adversary and domestic insurgent, the Pharaoh seems to have taken

the side of Solomon's enemies and overtly challenges Solomon's hegemony. The composite

nature of the characterization of the Pharaoh leads to inherent character contradiction. How could

the Pharaoh be a political ally and economic partner of Solomon and simultaneously an asylum

provider to his enemies? This seemingly contradictory portrait of Solomonic-Egyptian relations

must be understood with regard to the Deuteronomist's signifying context.

The Pharaoh as Solomon's Father-in-Law

The practice of diplomatic marriage between royal houses in the ancient Southwest Asia is

first attested in the Late Bronze Age.[481] Through the exchange of royal princesses, royal houses

established blood relations with each other, reinforced political alliance, and pacified potential

hostility. In the case of a kingdom of a superior status marrying away a royal daughter to one of

its vassals, such marriage also accompanied a set of expectations that served to maintain the

allegiance of the vassal king.[482] For instance, the male offspring of such a union could be

expected to be the successor of the vassal king.[483] Deviating from the general principle of

reciprocity in foreign marriage policy in the ancient Southwest Asia, Egyptian kings had long

insisted on one-way traffic in their own practice and had refused to marry the royal daughters to

foreign potentates. The Egyptians' recalcitrant attitude on the matter is best illustrated in the

matrimonial request of king Kadashman-Enlil I of Babylon to Amonhotep III, the ninth Pharaoh

of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Having had his sister already married to the Pharaoh and having been

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[481] The royal house of Ebla, a Syrian city-state of the third millennium B.C.E., married away the royal princesses to establish familial and political ties with other dynasties. See Lucio Milano, "Ebla: A Third-Millennium City-State in Ancient Syria," in vol. 2 of *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Scribner, 1995), 1224. For instances of the practice in later periods, see Trevor Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East: The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 100–20.
[482] For instance, see a Hittite-Syrian marriage alliance in Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (SBLWAW 7; 2d ed; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1999), 26–27.
[483] For an example of such a stipulation, see ibid., 119.

negotiating to dispatch his own daughter to be another wife of the Pharaoh, Kadashman-Enlil

asked Amonhotep for a fake princess, presumably in an attempt to mediate between the principle

of reciprocity and Egypt's insistence on a one-sided foreign marriage policy. The latter refused

with a sense of pride: "Never since the beginning of time has the daughter of the king of Egypt

been given in marriage to anyone!"[484] Why did Amenhotep refuse to give even a concession of

this longstanding principle? Was it because no foreign kings were considered worthy enough to

enter a reciprocative marriage alliance with the Pharaoh? Was there a shortage of royal

daughters?[485] Was it because the Egyptian kings were concerned over the lack of embalming

facilities in the foreign lands that may threaten the royal daughters' afterlife? While these

practical issues might be of some importance, the answer, as Trevor Bryce suggests, actually lies

in the symbolic significance of such practice from the Egyptian viewpoint.[486]

Trevor Bryce convincingly argued that the Egyptians' persistence in their refusal lies in the

symbolic significance of the transaction.[487] From the ancient Egyptians' perspective, foreign

brides, along with their dowry, were considered payment of tribute. The fact that dowry was

considered tribute seemed to be tacitly understood by the countries engaged in diplomatic

marriage with Egypt.[488] This Egyptian matrimonial ideology is attested in Ramesses II's

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[484] William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 4:11–13.

[485] Presumably in response to Ramesses II's one-sided demand of royal brides from Hatti, Queen Puduhepa, the wife of Hattusili III, replied with fury and sarcasm, hinting at the demand of a Hittite bride as an extortion of a sizable dowry that befits the status of a Hittite princess. I propose that Puduhepa's response be read as a double entendre, caricaturing the Pharaoh's refusal to dispatch an Egyptian princess to Hatti by implying the Pharaoh's infertility, namely his inability to sire royal princesses. The subtlety of her statement lies in the indeterminacy and the ambiguity of the word "nothing," which invites a myriad of readings. She wrote on a Hittite draft of their marriage correspondence, "Does my brother [Ramesses II] not possess anything at all? Only if the Son of the Sun-god, the Son of the Storm-god, and the Sea have nothing, do you have nothing! But, my brother, you would enrich yourself somewhat at my expense!" ("Letter from Queen Puduhepa of Hatti to Ramses II of Egypt," in Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 131–37.)

[486] Trevor Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 101–02.

[487] Ibid., 113–19.

[488] See the quote from the "Letter from Queen Puduhepa of Hatti to Ramses II of Egypt" in n. 485 above and the quote from the Egyptian "Marriage Stela" on p. 267 below. Queen Puduhepa wrote to Ramesses II regarding the one-way practice of diplomatic marriage, "But, my brother, you would enrich yourself somewhat at my expense!"

"Marriage Stela."[489] Even though Ramesses II may have been stricken by the beauty of his Hittite bride, fell in love with her, and consequently gave her the name Maathornefrure "One Who Sees Horus and the Radiance of Re," installed her as the Great Wife, and built her a fine palace that surpassed any bride-gift ever given by any Great King, he nevertheless regarded her and her sizable showcase dowry as tribute presented to him by Hattusili III of Hatti. By the same token, the Egyptian kings would have regarded marrying off their princesses tantamount to tributary homage and ultimately tacit acknowledgment of their inferiority.[490] Thus, the Egyptian kings' acceptance of foreign brides along with their refusal to marry off the royal daughters to foreign potentates constitutes a declaration of Egyptian superiority, real or imagined, over all other political entities, great or small. Conversely, if a foreign potentate continued to send royal brides to the Egyptian court, following the logic of the Egyptians it amounted to an implicit recognition of the Pharaoh's superiority. This was exactly the situation with the diplomatic marriages between Ramesses II and Hattusili III. Unsurprisingly, the supposedly reciprocal marriages between them turned out to be one-way traffic, for Ramses II also adhered to the longstanding foreign marriage policy. We see, again, the parallel signification of ambitious desire and erotic desire. The direction of the traffic of royal women is charged with a layer of political signification, setting up imperial hierarchy and making the royal women a metonym of ambitious desire for imperial domination.

Many scholars have argued for the historical plausibility of the marital union between Solomon and the daughter of the Pharaoh, even though the only textual witness for the union to

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[489] "Marriage Stela," in *ARE* 3.415–424:182–186; see also Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II,* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982): 86–88; idem, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 2:86–96.
[490] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 118; see also Alan R. Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," *JNES* 38 (1979): 191.

date is the Solomonic narrative. These scholars appeal to what they thought as analogous diplomatic marriages that happened during the periods when Egypt was politically and militarily vulnerable and preoccupied with internal tumult, and they paint a picture of a morbid Egypt seeking political alliance with the mighty kingdom of Solomon by breaking their longstanding foreign marriage policy.[491] However, among these analogous cases of Egyptian kings marrying off their princesses, neither the princesses' Egyptian identity, nor their royalty, nor the kings' foreign status can be established beyond reasonable doubt.[492]

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[491] The scholars who argued for the plausible historicity of the Egyptian-Israelite marriage alliance identified the Pharaoh involved to be either Siamun (c. 978–959 B.C.E.) or his son Psusennes II (c. 959–945 B.C.E.), the last two Pharaohs of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The association between the two kings is made based on the anchoring verse that mentions Shoshenq in 1 Kgs 14:25. See Abraham Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," *JNES* 22 (1963); 1–17; Siegfried H. Horn, "Who Was Solomon's Egyptian Father-in-Law?" *Biblical Research* 12 (1967): 3–17; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 280–86, ; H. D. Lance, "Solomon, Siamun, and the Double-Ax," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F. M. Cross et al.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976): 209–23; Alberto R. Green, "Solomon and Siamun: A Synchronism between Early Dynastic Israel and the Twenty-First Dynasty of Egypt," *JBL* 97 (1978): 353–67; Alan R. Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," *JNES* 38 (1979): 177–93; Abraham Malamat, "A Political Look at the Kingdom of David and Solomon and Its Relations with Egypt," 189–204.

[492] First, for the case of the marriages of Princess Tany and Princess Herit to king Apopis of the Hyksos Dynasty at the peak of the Hyksos domination of Egypt, it has been argued that Tany and Herit were Thebans, based on the Egyptian origin of their names. See W. K. Simpson, "The Hyksos Princess Tany," *Chronique d'Egypte* 34.68 (1959): 223–39; Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," 180–82. However, many scholars have pointed out that names can be adopted and that Herit was likely to be the daughter of Apopis, rather than his wife. If so, she was a Hurrian and not a Theban. See John Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 182; Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt*, 114–115. Second, Schulman ("Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," 185) puts forth the case of Ugarit's Niqmaddu II purported marriage to an Egyptian princess based on her Egyptian attire shown on the vase-relief, but Paul S. Ash (*David, Solomon and Egypt*, 115) argues that his Egyptian wife may not be of royal descent. In any case, the inference from clothing to blood relations is a leap of faith. Third, in the case of the marriage of Maatkare B, daughter of Psusennes II, last king of the Twenty-First Dynasty, to the Libyan Osorkon, son of Shoshenq I, first king of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, it should be regarded as a domestic affair. Shoshenq I was already the king of Egypt, and Osorkon was to be the future king Osorkon I. As Ash (*David, Solomon and Egypt*, 117) points out, Libyans were probably not regarded as foreigners. See also Donald B. Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium B.C. II," 8; cf. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 282–86; idem, "How We Know When Solomon Ruled: Synchronisms with Egyptian and Assyrian Rulers Hold the Key to Dates of Israelite Kings," *BAR* 27 (2001): 32–37. To my mind, both the first case of the Hyksos-Theban marriage and the third case of the Libyan-Egyptian marriage cannot be regarded as "diplomatic marriages." Both cases happened within the borders of Egypt and at the time when legitimacy of a new dynasty was at stake. Thus, they could be considered domestic affairs and a way by which the questionable new regime could bridge continuity with the previous dynasty. This is a legitimating strategy frequently employed by throne aspirants of different eras to forge dynastic continuity at time of abnormal succession. The same strategy has been employed also by the Persian kings, such as Cambyses II, Darius I, and Alexander III of Macedon. See Chapter 8 for details. At the end, to classify the first case and the third case as "diplomatic marriages" would be misleading, since the term implies an involvement of a diplomatic cause between two political polities. In these cases, it is more fitting to call them "interdynastic marriages" between successive

In the extraordinary case of Ankensenamun, widow and half-sister of Tutankhamun seeking a Hittite royal husband,[493] the unique circumstances of the incident make it difficult to use it as corroborative evidence to support a breach of longstanding diplomatic policy. First, as Paul S. Ash points out, the request was made by the heirless queen outside of the traditional frame of patriarchal power. Second, even Suppiluliumas of Hatti was suspicious about the authenticity of the request, suggesting that it was an unlikely event (if not a hoax). Third, Ay had already ascended to power in lieu of Ankensenamun, and the longstanding tradition may not apply to the daughters of predecessors, as Herodotus (*Hist.* III.1) seems to suggest. Fourth, the fact that the Hittite prince Zannanza, sent to marry the Egyptian queen, was murdered en route suggests the illegitimacy of the request.[494] In addition to the doubts that Ash has raised, I would point to two anomalies in the Ankensenamun case, namely gender reversal and geographical reversal. The Egyptian queen requested a Hittite prince in diplomatic marriage to be sent to her. Instead of a princess in transaction, typical in diplomatic marriages, it is a prince in transaction. The "chattel prince" may have been viewed as tribute, in accordance with the ancient Egyptians' understanding of the symbolic significance of diplomatic marriages. Second, the marriage demanded an uxorilocal arrangement. It is not certain if Ankensenamun aspired to succeed her deceased husband and become a female Pharaoh, a rare incident not without precedent. If so, the Hittite prince was to be her subordinate spouse. Following this line of logic, Ankensenamun's matrimonial request may have safeguarded the ideological and hierarchical implications of Egypt's longstanding one-way diplomatic marriage only in gender reversal, rather than its violation. In sum, the attempt to corroborate Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter with

dynasties.
[493] Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," 187-88.
[494] Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt*, 115–16.

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a few "exceptional" cases in the longstanding tradition of Egypt's one-way diplomatic marriage policy purportedly happening during the periods in which Egypt was politically and militarily weak has proven to be unconvincing. Based on archaeological evidence, even if Egypt was weak and even assailable at the end of the Twenty-First Dynasty, it would still be more powerful than a petty state in the tenth-century hill-country of the Levant. Neither Siamun nor Psusennes II had reasons to break the one-way diplomatic marriage policy, which would be tantamount to acknowledging their inferior status. It is more likely that Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter is part of the invented tradition of the larger cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom.[495]

As the Persian version of the etiological story of Persian rule of Egypt in Herodotus's *Histories* (III.1) suggests, Amasis of Egypt, facing the formidable imperial power of the Persians, conceded to the matrimonial request of Cambyses II of Persia to have an Egyptian bride sent to him, except that Amasis did not send one of his own daughters. The readers/auditors are told that as a means to mediate between saving his daughter from concubinage and avoiding direct conflict with the great imperializing force, Amasis married off Nitetis, the daughter of his predecessor Apries, whose throne Amasis had usurped. Nitetis was disguised as Amasis's own daughter and sent to Cambyses. It came as no surprise to the readers/auditors that Amasis's

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[495] Malamat ("Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," 9–11) qualifies the marriage between Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter as an "absolutely unique event" and "an act of exceptional political significance," which had never happened "from the Amarna age down to the time of Herodotus." He also argued that such an event is mentioned five times within the "archival materials" of 1 Kgs 1–11, which makes "its veracity beyond doubt." He sees the event as proof of Egypt's inferior status in relation to Israel at that time. To me, first, whether or not the references to "Pharaoh's daughter" are archival is debatable, and, second, the link between the number of repetitions and the veracity of an event is a forged association. Repetition is a literary device that usually highlights the importance of a motif or serves as a refrain divider in the narrative structure. More does not necessarily mean truer. The uniqueness of the Solomonic Kingdom portrayed by Malamat is beyond the text warrants. Malamat supplements the text with pieces of archaeological and historical evidence, along with his own poetic embellishments, to bolster the grandeur of the Davidic–Solomonic Kingdom. This type of interpretation could be regarded as an expansion of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom.

deception was not successful. Cambyses found out his trickery from Nitetis, and in vengeance he launched a campaign against Egypt. Even though the story is recognized as a late tradition created to legitimate Cambyses's invasion of Egypt, it presupposes the importance and longevity of maintaining the one-way diplomatic marriage policy, which presumably caused Amasis to be so distraught when he received Cambyses's request and made him unwilling to send his own daughter even under the intimidation of the Great King.[496] To the Egyptians, Amasis's act of marrying off one of his daughters to Cambyses would be perceived as a sign of subservience to the Persians and a sign of weakness to his own people. Thus, Amasis conceded by sending off a daughter of the former Pharaoh, which could be interpreted as a tacit acknowledgement of his inferior status to the Great King, and simultaneously a pretension of his superior status to his own people. What Amasis committed unknowingly, though it came as no surprise to those Greek readers/auditors who were familiar with the thematic progression of Attic tragedies, is that his trickery was to inaugurate the Persian-Egyptian war, and he had become an agent of his and Egypt's own downfall.

What is noteworthy for my purposes is that, on the manifest surface of the tale, Cambyses did marry a daughter of an Egyptian king, albeit a former one, and he did it before he annexed Egypt to the Persian empire, making the union a diplomatic marriage proper. Had the marriage with a predecessor's daughter happened after Cambyses conquered Egypt and was proclaimed Pharaoh (as eventually happened), it would have been an Egyptian internal affair, a part of his means to forge continuity between the successive dynasties.[497] The story served to aggrandize

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[496] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:106, n. 3. This story also appears in Ctesias's version, see Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XIII.560d; for a translation, see Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* (trans. S. Douglas Olson; 8 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007–2012); ibid., 109; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 278.

[497] After the Macedonians defeated the Persians at the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.E., as part of the terms stipulated in a peace treaty Darius III offered Alexander the hand of his daughter in marriage, along with concession of the Western provinces. Since Alexander was still an outside conqueror, Darius's offer would be considered a diplomatic marriage for the purpose of peace maintenance. Alexander eventually declined the offer and refrained from marrying the

the Persian empire by portraying Amasis's dread of the Great King and ultimate concession to

his request of an Egyptian royal bride and simultaneously to provide Cambyses a pretext to

invade Egypt in vengeance against the usurper Amasis's treachery, in the name of diplomatic

justice and divine retribution.

In the Egyptian version of the story that explains Persian occupation of Egypt (Herodotus,

Hist. III.2), it was Cyrus who made the matrimonial request and married the same daughter of

Apries. Cambyses was the seed of this union. This story aims to establish Cambyses's Egyptian

royal lineage, forging the dynastic continuity and legitimating his rule in Egypt. However,

Herodotus points out immediately in the same paragraph that such a scenario would be

impossible since it would violate the Persian principle that prohibited the ascension of a "bastard

son" to the throne when a legitimate son was available, and that the Egyptians should have

known that Cambyses's mother was Cassandane. Alan B. Lloyd has argued that this Egyptian

tale is consistent with the Egyptian theology of kingship and serves to imbue divinity on Cyrus.

Since each Pharaoh was the son of the sun God, Re or Amon-Re, conceived by the queen

through the insemination of the incarnated Re, her husband, and if the tale establishes

Cambyses's Pharaonic status through the supposed union of Cyrus and Apries's daughter, it

implicitly acknowledges that Cyrus was the incarnated Re.[498] The practice of retrospectively

turning foreign conquerors into native Egyptians and legitimate successors is also attested with

respect to Alexander's conquest of Egypt.[499] Lloyd suggests the ideological twist was likely to be

the invaders' exploitation of the ancient Egyptian belief of theogamy to their advantages. The so-

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Persian princesses until 324 B.C.E., when he married Stateira, daughter of the late Darius. Maria Brosius aptly points out that such marriage was not expressed as an alliance, but a symbolic means to dynastic continuity. See Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia 559–331BC*, 77; and n. 492 in this chapter for the difference between diplomatic marriage and interdynastic marriage.

[498] Alan B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjaḥorresnet a Collaborator's Testament," 175.
[499] Ibid.; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:108, n. 3.

called "Egyptian version" may have been an orchestrated piece of propaganda disseminated among the Egyptians by their Persian collaborators, serving to establish the legitimacy of Persian hegemony over Egypt. In addition, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the bridge of lineage in the Egyptian version could also satisfy some Egyptians' psychological need for a cover-up or denial of the history of Persian invasion by making Cambyses a son of an Egyptian princess, thus sustaining ethnic pride, through this transference, even during the periods of foreign domination. In other words, it operates as a mechanism of collective ego defense.

These two versions of the origin of Persian rule in Egypt bear great significance for a postcolonial-psychoanalytic interpretation of the marital union between Solomon and the Pharaoh's daughter. They provide us with a clue to the plausible meanings of such a union in temporal proximity to the Deuteronomist. By positing the Egyptian foreign marriage policy in the original signifying context, I aim to probe the following questions: What does the marriage alliance in our text signify? How may the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors have perceived this signifier within such signifying context? In addition, what was the semiotic meaning of diplomatic marriage conveyed through the Greek writers of Persian history? Not until these questions are probed will we determine the union's plausible meanings to the writer(s) and the first readers/auditors.[500]

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[500] Jerome T. Walsh ("The Characterization of Solomon in First Kings 1–5," 486) renders the expression ויתחתן (1 Kgs 3:1) as "become son-in-law [to Pharaoh]" and argues through intrabiblical hermeneutics that the hithpael denominative of חתן carries negative connotations. Besides Saul's proposal of marrying his daughter to David in 1 Sam 18:21–27, it is used in relation to the divine prohibition against forming marriage alliance with indigenous peoples of Canaan (Deut 7:3; Josh 23:12; Ezra 9:14) and in the story of Shechem and Dinah (Gen 34:9). To Walsh, the expression implies Solomon's subordination to the Pharaoh through the diplomatic marriage. Walsh's argument presupposes the univocality of the expression and fails to consider the possibility of its polysemy stemming from different sociocultural contexts. In Gen 34:8–9 and 1 Sam 18:21–27, the hithpael verb is used in a context of a uxorilocal proposal, namely men are requested to join the wife's family. The so-called "negative connotation" is not inherent in the verb, but rather it is a derivative of the transferential reading of the interpreter. The fact that the stories of the Shechem-Dinah wedding and the David-Michal union end unfavorably should not lead to an assumption of the verb's negative connotations. In the occurrences of the verb in the prohibition against intermarriage with the indigenous peoples, its primary meaning is "to enter a marriage alliance." In this case, the so-called negative connotations are superimposed, rather than warranted by the text. In the case of the marriage alliance

In the Herodotean tales, Cambyses or Cyrus successfully pressured Amasis to break the longstanding Egyptian one-way diplomatic marriage, albeit with concessions. Within the Persian signifying context, there was another "lucky guy" portrayed for the diplomatic privilege of marrying the Pharaoh's daughter. Not only did king Solomon of Israel marry the Pharaoh's daughter, but he surpassed his Persian counterparts by sealing it without any sign of scruples from the Egyptian side. I have expounded on the symbolic significance of the one-way diplomatic marriage from the Egyptian perspective, and it is important to probe its symbolic significance in the Persian period. Admittedly, the search for this signifying process can only be carried out through a survey of the Greek literature on Persia. Presumably, the works of the Greek historians, through their circulation within the empire, were part of the ideological shaping force influencing the subjective experience of the Deuteronomist. Even if the writer(s) of the Solomonic narrative had in his/their possession any "historical accounts" of the then obsolete Solomonic Kingdom, to them these were mostly learned oral and, to a lesser extent, written traditions, for which they lacked proper empirical methods to test their veracity and to differentiate between historical facts and fictive traditions. In fact, their historiographical interests seem to lie not on the empirical tasks, but more on gleaning the ideological potentials of these traditions and achieving unconsciously, as I am arguing, a compensatory gratification in their imperialized disappointment through the interweaving of existing traditions and creative composition.

What was the semiotic meaning of diplomatic marriage to the Persian imperializer? In Greek

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between Solomon and the Pharaoh, it is clearly not an uxorilocal arrangement (3:1; 9:24), and it is not expressed in a negative light within the larger Solomonic narrative. The textual clues run against Walsh's claim that the hithpael verb carries negative connotations even in Solomon's case. In order to probe the significance of Solomon's marriage alliance with the Pharaoh, the event must be interpreted within the signifying context of the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors.

literature, the motif of the Persian king requesting a marriage to a queen or a princess of the

surrounding territories is understood more or less as either a means of imperializing, a conquest

without war, or a prelude to invasion in case the other party rejected the proposal. For instance,

Herodotus (*Hist.* I.205) gives an account of a matrimonial request made by Cyrus to wed

Tomyris, the wife of the late king of the Massagetae, who succeeded her husband as their ruler.

Tomyris rejected Cyrus's proposal knowing that he desired not her but the kingdom of the

Massagetae. Her refusal led to Cyrus's invasion and ultimately his death.[501] Cambyses's

matrimonial request to wed Pharaoh Amasis's daughter was described as a fuse for Cambyses's

invasion of Egypt. The acceptance of the Persian marriage proposal would be regarded a sign of

political submission.[502] In a similar vein but with reversed power dynamics, after the

Macedonians defeated the Persians at the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.E., Darius III sent an envoy to

Alexander during his siege of Tyre and proposed a "treaty of friendship and alliance." He offered

Alexander, as a part of pacification, the hand of his daughter in marriage and the secession of the

western territory beyond the Euphrates (Trans-Euphrates), but Alexander did not accept and

persisted in his campaign to conquer the entire Persian empire.[503] Many scholars have interpreted

Darius's offer as a recognition of Alexander's victory according to a tradition of Southwest

Asian political marriage alliances; thus, it is a sign of submission.[504] The motif of territorial

relinquishment as a part of an appeasement treaty was hitherto unprecedented, and the notion of

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[501] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:99.
[502] Ibid., 1:164, n. 3; 194, n. 1.
[503] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander.*, II.25:1–3; for a translation, see Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* (trans. P. A. Punt; 2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976–1983); cf. variants in Quintus Curtis, *History of Alexander* IV.11.5–6; for a translation, see Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, vol. 1 (trans. J. C. Rolfe; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946); Justin, *Epitome* XI.12.10; for a translation, see Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitome of the Phillippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (trans. J. C. Yardley; 2 vols.; Oxford and New York: Clarendon, 1997); Plutarch, *Alexander* XXXI.7; for a translation, see Plutarch, *Lives* (11 vols.; trans. Bernadotte Perrin; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914–1926),7:225–438;
[504] Elizabeth Donnelly Carney, "Alexander and the Persian Women," *The American Journal of Philology* 117 (1996): 568–69; Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia 559–331BC*, 70 and 77.

joint regency is unheard of thus far in Achaemenid history.[505] Here, the motif of land concession

serves as legitimization of Alexander's conquest.

Quintus Curtius (*History of Alexander* IV.11.5), a Roman historian of the first century C.E.,

associated Darius's secession of the western territory with his offer of his daughter in marriage

and interpreted it as the Persian princess's dowry. Land concession as dowry is a common motif

in Greek and Roman historiography. Besides Quintus Curtius's account of Darius III's offer of

his daughter along with a sizeable "dowry" of the western provinces to Alexander, the

Herodotean tales (*Hist.* III.1–2) on the marriage between Cambyses/Cyrus and Pharaoh Apries's

daughter leading to Cambyses' conquest of Egypt could also be regarded as a modified motif of

"land concession as dowry." One of the popular tales in the Persian period is a story about how

Cyrus became the heir of Media through his marriage to the daughter of Cyaxares of Media.

Media is depicted as a generous dowry presented to him by his heirless father-in-law.[506] Pierre

Briant is very skeptical about the actual practice of land concession as dowry in the Persian

period. To him, concession as dowry is likely to be a story invented by the conqueror to

legitimate his territorial claim. He describes it as "one of the favorite motifs in monarchic

literature that has a goal of justifying a conquest *post eventum* by claiming family rights."[507]

What could be inferred from the aforementioned Greek accounts is that underlying the motif of

land concession as dowry in the Greek literature is the displacement of the erotic theme and the

ambitious theme. The desire for the queen or a princess of an adjacent country is a metonymic

desire for the country itself. Diplomatic marriage in this sense is semiotized to be a signifier of

imperialization. As I have delineated, the ancient Egyptians practiced one-way diplomatic

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[505] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 838.
[506] Xenophon, *Cyr.*, VIII.5.19; According to Briant (*From Cyrus to Alexander*, 838), the motif of land concession as dowry probably goes back to Ctesias, as mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus (*FGH* 90 Fragment 66.8).
[507] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 838.

marriage as a symbolic gesture of their superior status and treated the princess in transit and her dowry as tribute. However, under the portrayal of the Greek historians of the Persian period, the symbolic significance of diplomatic marriages involving the Persian King and the royal women of foreign states seems to have been amplified to signify a means of imperialization, especially when "dowry" implicitly included land concession.

In light of this semiotic operation, with the assumption that the Greek historians, the Deuteronomist, and their readers/auditors operated with similar social and political assumptions in their signifying activities, Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter and the Pharaoh's gift of Gezer as her dowry can be interpreted afresh. On the manifest surface of the Solomonic narrative, the breach of the longstanding Egyptian one-way foreign marriage policy seems to suggest the writer's wish to surpass Egypt as an imperial power. This interpretation is consistent according to the semiotic force imbued on the motif in both in the Egyptian kings' correspondences with their foreign in-laws and the Greek historians' works on Persia.

Ancient Egypt was a great empire that had been rivaled and successfully overturned by only a few foreign regimes, among which Persian empire was one. Thus, the text may reveal the writer's wish for ethnic grandiosity through Solomon's (the metonymic Israel's) successful subjugation of the Pharaoh (the metonymic Egypt), conveyed through the motifs of diplomatic marriage and the land concession as dowry. If the motif of land concession as dowry, as Briant has pointed out, was a trope employed by the conquerors to legitimize the possession of foreign territories, then the Pharaoh's concession of Gezer as a dowry in 1 Kgs 9:16–17 could be interpreted, at least along the storyline, as a legitimization of Solomon's land claim over Gezer, a Philistine city situated in the foothills of the Judean range that had long been under Egyptian

hegemony in the Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age.[508] The Pharaoh's conquest and

burning of Gezer could then be interpreted as a cover-up for Solomon's military campaign,

painting a picture consistent with the rest of the universal peace and prosperity of the Solomonic

Kingdom by attributing the "dirty job" to the Pharaoh.[509] The reading would have made good

sense if the text was written in temporal proximity to the events it described. Briant was right

about the legitimizing function of the motif of land concession as dowry, but the kind of

legitimization characteristically operates on an etiological level by appealing to events of the

recent past to explain a situation in the present, namely how a territory passed to the hands of its

present conqueror, all being a part of contemporary history. Thus, it is unlikely that the

Deuteronomist of the late Persian period would have appealed to events of a remote past, real or

fictive, to legitimize Israel's possession of Gezer, a scenario that runs contrary to their present. It

is unconvincing that the motifs of Israelite-Egyptian diplomatic marriage and the land concession

as dowry are invoked for the purpose of legitimization.[510] In the following section, I argue that

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[508] See William G. Devers, "Gezer," in *NEAEHL*, 496–506.

[509] Alan Schulman's ("Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom," 188) view, though different in many ways, comes very close to this line of thought. In his own words: "It has been convincingly suggested that the giving of Gezer to Solomon as the dowry for Pharaoh's daughter was, in fact, a face-saving device and that Solomon actually received the city because of his superior military strength. If, indeed, this was the case, then under Siamun Egypt was the weaker state, both politically and militarily. Certainly, all that we know of Solomon's kingdom suggests that it was the most powerful state in the ancient Near East at the beginning of the first millennium B.C." (ibid.). Putting aside the fact that Schulman's reading follows and expands on the cultural fantasy of ethnic grandiosity in the Solomonic Kingdom, his view bears at least a couple of flaws. First, there is no point for the writer(s) to be concerned about the Pharaoh's reputation and employ "a face-saving device" to cover his military inferiority. As I have argued, in accordance with the cultural assumptions of the Deuteronomist's time, Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter would have been understood as the Pharaoh's failure to safeguard Egypt's royal marriage protocol and his recognition of his subordinate status to Solomon. The textual clues point to the writer(s)'(s) attempt to smear Pharaoh's reputation, not to save it. Second, Schulman's view is based on the assumed historicity of 1 Kgs 9:16–17, without the corroborative, epigraphical, or archaeological, evidence, which totally neglected the cultural history of the genre of historiography. As I have argued, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story could not have been written before the end of the fourth century B.C.E.

[510] In my opinion, the textual features of 1 Kgs 9:16–17 can be probed along the possibility of a *composite text* that combines variegated, popular traditions from different historical periods. In other words, this short digression in the Solomonic narrative could have been a hodge-podge of traditions stemming from the subjective experience of the writer(s), such as the common motif of land concession as dowry derived from Greek literature of the Persian period, the motif of Egyptian conquest of Gezer derived from the commemorative inscription of Thutmose III (c.1490–1426 B.C.E.) on the wall of the Temple of Amon at Karnak, and the conflagration that the city suffered

these motifs reveal a collective grandiose wish of surpassing and subjugating the great imperial

power of Egypt, as the textual clues seem to convey. When the signifying context of the

Deuteronomist is taken into consideration, the text suggests a collective grandiose wish of

surpassing the imperializer of the Deuteronomist's time, namely the Persian empire.

The story of Solomon's diplomatic marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter would have been

unique, if the legitimizing tales in Herodotus's *Histories* (III.1–2), in which Cambyses II or

Cyrus II is said to have achieved this great feat, were lost to us. The Herodotean tales of

Cambyses II's or Cyrus II's marriage to Pharaoh Apries's daughter, Nitetis, may be regarded as

the Greek-historiographical equivalent of Solomon's marriage to the unnamed Pharaoh's

unnamed daughter. In 525 B.C.E., the Persian empire became one of the few imperial forces that

successfully toppled the Egyptian empire and annexed Egypt into its territories. Cambyses II's

rule is legitimized with the collaboration of the Egyptian elite. One of the strategies of

legitimization is to elevate Cambyses II to Pharaonic status through these tales. The Herodotean

tales are likely to be fictive etiological stories circulated by the Persian corroborators of Egypt to

acquit Cambyses's invasion of Egypt and to elevate the foreign conqueror's status to a divine

Pharaoh by the fabrication of his marital bond with princess Nitetis. Although the historical

implausibility and the anonymity of Solomon's counterpart also suggest a folkloristic origin and

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during the Neo-Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III's campaign in Asia (733–732 B.C.E.). See Dever, "Gezer," in *NEAEHL*, 496–506. The hodge-podge of learned traditions displays an etiological interest characteristic of the Greek historiography. These embellished details suggest that the sign of Egyptian political influence and the residual mark of Assyrian conflagration were still evident at the Deuteronomist's time and thus form a part of their subjective experience. As far as the archaeological evidence is concerned, Egyptian seals datable to the Twenty-Sixth through Twenty-Ninth Dynasties have been unearthed in a few coastal cities in the eastern Mediterranean and Gezer, supporting Egyptian influence in the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C.E. This suggests that during the period when the relations between Persia and Egypt were often in tension and Egypt broke away briefly from Persian hegemony, Egypt still kept close trade relations with the coastal cities and Gezer. See John W. Betlyon, "A People Transformed Palestine in the Persian Period," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68 (2005): 50. As for the genocide of the indigenous Canaanites, it could be read as a "secondary revision" in an attempt to harmonize the narrative with the accounts in Josh 16:10 and Judg 1:29. Due to the purpose and the scope of this study, I cannot go any further than suggesting a new perspective for looking at 1 Kgs 9:16–17.

thus the fictive nature of the tale, as I have put forth, the argument for the Israelite-Egyptian marriage alliance as a story of legitimization, unlike its Greek-historiographical counterpart, is unconvincing.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, given that the Deuteronomist were well acquainted with the Herodotean tales, the writer(s)'(s) five-time emphasis on the marriage between Solomon and the daughter of the Pharaoh implicitly links Solomon with Cambyses and thus clandestinely transferred the affects associated with the imperial status that Cambyses enjoyed to Solomon and suggested Israel's superb imperial strength through psychic association. In the Solomonic narrative, Solomon is portrayed as Cambyses's or Cyrus's equal, a Great King for whom the Pharaoh is willing to break the iron rule of Egypt's one-way diplomatic marriage policy and symbolically acknowledge his own inferiority. Moreover, our text even implicitly suggests that Solomon's grandeur surpasses that of Cambyses or Cyrus. The latter entered a diplomatic marriage with Egypt only with Amasis's concession, whereas Solomon entered without any mention of the Pharaoh's scruples. While the Herodotean tales of Persian-Egyptian marriage alliance are likely to have been created for the purpose of legitimatizing the Persian hegemony of Egypt, the biblical account of an Israelite-Egyptian marriage is created as an expression of collective narcissism, a cultural fantasy to surpass the Persian imperializer in terms of their leverage in international relations. The association of the motifs of diplomatic marriage with Egypt and land concession as dowry in both sets of concurrent narratives could result in a transference of affects of grandiosity from one to the former. By linking Solomon with the Pharaoh in a diplomatic marriage, the Deuteronomist elevated Solomon to the apex of great imperial powers, putting him on the same plane of significance with the Great Kings of Persia; thus, they succeeded in transferring the affect associated with imperial grandiosity onto the petty

kingdom of Judah. This mechanism of transference is also in operation to a lesser extent in the

motif of wisdom (5:10 [Eng. 4:30]), in which Solomon's wisdom is said to have surpassed in

particular the wisdom of all people of the east, namely Mesopotamia, and that of Egypt.

The Pharaoh as the Asylum Provider to Solomon's Enemies

There is a lack of extrabiblical evidence to corroborate the personalities and events

described in 1 Kgs 11:14–25. Archaeological evidence does not support the historical plausibility

of an Edomite kingship in the tenth century B.C.E.[511] While the lack of corroborative evidence

cannot totally obviate all "historical kernels" of the events, the literary clues in 1 Kgs 11:14–25

do point to the compositional nature of the narratives of Hadad and Rezon.[512] For the purpose of

inquiry in this section, I will focus on the Hadad episode for now and come back to the Rezon

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[511] John R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTSup 77; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 92; Garrett Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 82–86. In recent research, Thomas E. Levy and others have attempted to push the formation of the Edomite state about three centuries earlier than scholars previously thought. According to Levy and others, recent radiocarbon dating yields dates of archaeological remains in Khirbet en-Nahas in southern Jordan (biblical Edom) that support a view of complex Edomite chiefdoms as early as the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.E. See Thomas E. Levy, et al., "Lowland Edom and the High and Low Chronologies: Edomite State Formation, the Bible and Recent Archaeological Research in Southern Jordan," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* (ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham; London and Oakville, CT: Equinox, 2005), 129–64; Thomas E. Levy, et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105 (2008): 16460–65; Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas Higham, "Ancient Texts and Archaeology Revisited—Radiocarbon and Biblical Dating in the Southern Levant," *Antiquity* 84 (2010): 834–47 (cited 28 June 2016, online: http://antiquity.ac.uk/anti/084/ant0840834.htm). However, the methodological flaws of their dates have been forcefully attacked by other archaeologists of the Levant. In particular, Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz propose the view of two phases of activities in Khirbet en-Nahas: an industrial phase of copper production in the twelfth to late ninth centuries B.C.E. and a fortress phase in the late eighth and possibly early seventh centuries B.C.E. after metallurgical activities ended. See Eveline van der Steen and Piotr Bienkowski, "Radiocarbon Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas: A Methodological Critique," *Antiquity* 80 no.307 (2006): n. p. (cited 28 June 2016), online: http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/vandersteen307/; Israel Finkelstein, and Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas: A Rejoinder," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141 (2009): 207–18. For Levy et al.'s response to the critique of van der Steen and Bienkowski, see Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham, "Response to van der Steen and Bienkowki," *Antiquity* 30 no.307 (2006): n. p. [cited 28 June 2016], online: http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/levy307. In spite of the lack of extrabiblical evidence for Solomon's Edomite and Aramean adversaries (1 Kgs 11:14–25), it is not uncommon for commentators to presuppose their historicity and use the narrative for historical reconstruction. For instance, see Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings*, 330–35; Simon J. DeVries, *1 Kings* (WBC 12; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985), 145–51. DeVries even confidently declares that 1 Kgs 11:14–40 is "an ordered selection of historical facts" (DeVries, *1 Kings*, 145).
[512] See Garrett Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*, 82–87.

episode in Chapter 8. First, the name "Hadad" is an anomaly. Unlike most hypocoristic names in ancient Southwest Asia that usually have the theophoric element removed, "Hadad" retains only the theophoric element. Another anomaly is that the thunder god is usually associated with Aram, rather than Edom.[513] Second, the episode contains the formulaic progression of themes characteristic of diasporic literature, namely the themes of flight from homeland, prosperity in a foreign land, and return to the homeland. Third, Hadad's marriage to the sister of the Pharaoh's wife is inconsistent with the Egyptian royal marriage policy. As Garret Galvin aptly notes, Hadad, an Edomite prince, lacks the prestige to marry the sister-in-law of the great Pharaoh.[514] Fourth, the anonymity of the Pharaoh and the symbolic names of the other characters bespeak the folkloristic nature of the story. The Egyptian queen's name "Tahpenes" (תחפנס/תחפניס; vv. 19–20), as pointed out by B. Grdseloff in 1947, is a transliteration of the Egyptian word for "the wife of the king" (tꜣ ḥm.t nsw) and not a proper name.[515] Also, the name of Hadad's son "Genubath" (גנבת; v. 20) means "guest" or "stranger" in Safaitic, an ancient North Arabian dialect;[516] thus, the name carries a figurative function to convey Hadad's nostalgic sentiments.

Finally, and most importantly, a story redolent of Hadad's sojourn in Egypt is found in the "midrashic composition" of the Jeroboam episode in the LXX (12:24a–z), which in many ways appears to whitewash Jeroboam.[517] Both the Hadad episode (1 Kgs 11:14–22) and its LXX

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[513] See also Cogan, *1 Kings*, 330.

[514] Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*, 85–86.

[515] B. Grdseloff, *Sur deux passages de la nouvelle stèle d'Aménophis II trouvée à Memphis* (Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1947), 88–90; cited from Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*, 87; see also Cogan, *1 Kings*, 332.

[516] *HALOT*, 199.

[517] The additional material of the Jeroboam story in the LXX (3 Reigns 12:24a–z) has long been regarded as a "midrashic composition" based on a Hebrew recension. For a presentation of the philological and textual-critical arguments for the LXX's dependence on a Hebrew text, see R. P. Gordon, "The Second Septuagint Account of Jeroboam: History of Midrash?" *VT* 25 (1975): 365–93. A comparison of the MT text and the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX will make its chimeric character obvious. 3 Reigns 12:24a–z contains a condensed patchwork of 1 Kgs 11:19–22, 26–28, 30–31, 40, 43; 12:1–20; 14:1–17, 21–24. The expansion is framed by means of *Wiederaufnahme* (resumptive repetition). The divine command to stop the war between Israel and Judah that precedes 12:24a–z is identical to the divine command at the end of the expansion, except in one prepositional phase.

counterpart, the Jeroboam expansion (12:24d–f), follow a remarkable similar storyline, share many literary motifs,[518] and bear structural and grammatical resemblance. In terms of grammatical resemblance, for instance, Hadad implored the Pharaoh twice to return home, first in the imperative form "let me go" (שלחני; 11:21) and then in an expression with an absolute infinitive "Let me go indeed" (שלח תשלחני; 11:22). Correspondingly, the first farewell bidding in the Jeroboam expansion is in imperative form "let me go" (ἐξαπόστειλόν με;12:24d), but in the second bidding the same form appears with an adverbial emphasis "Indeed, let me go" (ὄντως ἐξαπόστειλόν με; 12:24f).[519] The emphatic expression carries the same nuance of the absolute infinitive in Hebrew. R. P. Gordon describes the Jeroboam expansion as the "wholesale adaptation of the story of Hadad's flight to Egypt."[520]

The folkloristic elements contained in the Hadad episode and the Jeroboam expansion are remarkably similar to those found in the story of Moses's sojourn in Egypt and Midian (Exod 2:1–25; 4:18). These stories share many literary motifs, such as the protagonist's rise as a nemesis to a Great King, political persecution leading to voluntary exile, sojourn in a foreign land, host country's hospitality, familial adoption, marriage into the host family, birth and symbolic naming of a son, farewell bidding, and homecoming upon the death of the persecutor. In particular, the naming-of-a-son motif is strikingly similar between the Hadad episode and the story of Moses's sojourn in Midian. Moses named his son "Gershom" (גרשם), meaning "sojourner/stranger there" in Hebrew (Exod 2:22; cf. 1 Kgs 11:20). Both "Genubath" and

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"With your brothers" (μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν) is replaced with "against your brothers" (πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς). Hence, 12:24a–z is clearly an insertion.

[518] Both stories (1 Kgs 11:14–22 and 3 Reigns 12:24b–f) follow the plot progression that includes the following common motifs: the protagonist's rise as Solomon's enemy, murderous persecution by an Israelite king, flight to Egypt, exile in Egypt, being received with the Pharaoh's hospitality, marriage to a sister of the Pharaoh's wife, birth of a son, desire for homecoming upon hearing the death of his persecutor, and two farewell biddings to the Pharaoh.

[519] Ibid., 370.

[520] Ibid., 387.

"Gershom" reflect the nostalgic sentiments stemming from Hadad's and Moses's sojourning experience. In sum, the thematic features and symbolic naming of characters in the Hadad episode suggest that the story is likely to be a folktale, whereas the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX is likely to be a "midrashic composition" using the Hebrew text of the Hadad episode as framework. Below I will provide a corroborative argument for the structural contrast between these two stories and thus render further support for their dependence.

In spite of their similarities, the Hadad episode and the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX bear some notable differences. In contrast to the anonymity or typological naming in the Hadad episode, all the characters, except the Pharaoh's wife, in the Jeroboam expansion are given proper names. The Pharaoh harboring Jeroboam is explicitly named Shishak, possibly stemming from the reference in 1 Kgs 11:40, and Jeroboam's wife, whom Shishak gives him in marriage, is named Ano. The Jeroboam expansion also shows an emphatic interest in the status that Ano enjoys in the royal house, by emphasizing her role as the *eldest* sister of Pharaoh Shishak's wife Tahpenes and describing her as "great among the daughters of the king" (12:24e), alluding to her status as an adopted daughter of the Pharaoh. In contrast, the Hadad episode places the narrative focus on privileges that Hadad's son enjoyed in the Pharaoh's house (11:20). "Genubath" is weaned by the queen herself and brought up with the Pharaoh's sons. The text elevates his status to that of the Pharaoh's adopted son. Thus, both stories subtly contain the motif of adoption into the Egyptian royal house, only that the adoptee is displaced from Hadad's son to Jeroboam's wife. This displacement furthers the thesis that the Jeroboam expansion is composed by using the Hadad episode as the framework. What is interesting about this displacement from the psychoanalytic perspective are the psychic processes involved in this displacement.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the story of Jeroboam's exile in the LXX could be

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interpreted as a "secondary revision," a displaced, embellished adaptation of the Hadad episode. The displacement is not merely narratological; it produces a transference of affects associated with Hadad's story onto that of Jeroboam. According to Freud, the transference could only be effected when the two entities bear some sort of resemblance. In this case, according to the MT, both Hadad and Jeroboam are depicted as Solomon's enemies; they both flee, in the imminence of an Israelite king's persecution, to Egypt and seek asylum there; and they both reveal their intent to return upon hearing of the death of their persecutor (11:14–22 vs. 11:26–40; 12:2). These similarities between the two already-sequential stories foster the transference of motifs from one personality to the other. In displacing the motifs, the LXX tradent did not remove the motifs from the Hadad episode but accommodated both the master and the duplicate stories in the LXX. This suggests a certain extent of primary process in operation, allowing a concocted, competitive, and even less realistic rendition to coexist in textual proximity with the original one. It has been pointed out that the Jeroboam counterpart of the Hadad episode is even less credible. If it is already incredible that Hadad, a prince of the petty kingdom of Edom, could have entered into a marriage alliance with the Pharaoh, it is even more unimaginable that Jeroboam, a commoner and a foreigner, could have been given such privileges.[521] Thus, the inclusion of the Jeroboam expansion in the Solomonic narrative constitutes a "secondary revision" with an even higher degree of primary process, creating a literary world further away from the historical reality of its signifying context.

If the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX is taken into account, on the manifest surface this short excursion will further complicate the composite role of the Pharaoh in the Solomonic narrative. First, it amplifies the Pharaoh's role as the asylum provider to Solomon's enemies. The

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[521] See Gordon, "The Second Septuagint Account of Jeroboam: History of Midrash?," 385; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 253.

Pharaoh has now become a double asylum provider to both Hadad, an Edomite prince and Solomon's regional adversary, and Jeroboam, Solomon's Ephraimite official and domestic rival. Second, it complicates the Pharaoh's role as Solomon's father-in-law by turning him into a triple diplomatic matchmaker, tying the knots between two more couples (Hadad and the sister of his wife, and Jeroboam and the eldest sister of his wife) and forming marriage alliances with all sides of the conflict in the politics of the Solomonic Kingdom. Before I go on to delve deeper in an attempt to locate, from a postcolonial-psychoanalytic perspective, this tumultuous relation between the Solomonic Kingdom and Egypt within the signifying context of the Deuteronomist, I shall make a remark on a subtle hierarchical structure of three marriage alliances with Egypt on the manifest surface of the Solomonic narrative.

Out of the three marriage alliances with Egypt, only Solomon is given the privilege of marrying the daughter of the Pharaoh, which, as I have already argued, on the manifest surface signifies Solomon's or the metonymic Israel's superiority over Egypt and in the latent content signifies a cultural fantasy of surpassing the Persian empire through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification. For the first part of the argument, I appeal to the symbolic meaning of marrying off the royal princesses from an Egyptian perspective, namely a sign of submission. The question now is: Could Hadad's and Jeroboam's marriage alliance with Egypt be read by the first readers/auditors as a sign of Egypt's submission? To answer this question we must revisit first ancient Egypt's diplomatic marriage policy and then appeal to the functional pairing of hostage-taking and marriage in the ancient Southwest Asian culture.

Hadad's marriage to a sister of the Pharaoh's wife is often used as corroborative evidence for the plausibility of Solomon's marriage to a daughter of the Pharaoh. It is cited as another historical incident of Egypt breaking its own one-way diplomatic marriage policy at periods of

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its political vulnerability.[522] Putting aside that the folkloristic features of the Hadad episode do not support its presumed historicity, the point is that neither Hadad's nor Jeroboam's marriage to a sister of the Pharaoh's wife could be unambiguously assumed to have involved an Egyptian princess. Even though both unions forge an in-law relation to the Egyptian royal house, they did not establish a blood tie. As I have pointed out, the ancient kings of Egypt had a high regard for the longstanding diplomatic marriage policy of not marrying their princesses to foreign potentates; however, they themselves were keen to accept foreign princesses as wives. While principal wives of the Pharaoh were typically of Egyptian royal blood, it is not unheard of that a foreign wife was promoted to the role of the Great Wife of the Pharaoh.

The well-publicized case of the thirteenth century B.C.E. is Ramesses II's elevation of Maathornefrure, eldest daughter of Hattusili III of Hatti, to the status of the queen. The Egyptian-Hittite union is commemorated in the "Marriage Stela,"[523] which consists of a relief of a scene in which Hattusili and his daughter are paying homage to Rameses II and a hieroglyphic text below the relief that highlights Ramesses's divine virtues, kingly qualities, and universal domination, along with the prosperity and universal peace that Egypt enjoyed under his reign. The climax of the text begins when Hattusili of Hatti, representing Ramesses's greatest competitor of imperial hegemony, sought appeasement with the divine Pharaoh by the presentation of lavish gifts and his own eldest daughter, with the intent of ending the austere situation of political hostilities and natural disasters that Hatti had long suffered as an outcome of their animosity against the divine Pharaoh. On the grand debut of the Hittite bride, the Marriage Stela reads:

Then he [Hattusili] caused his eldest daughter to be brought, with magnificent tribute (going) before her, of gold, silver and copper in abundance, slaves, spans or horses without limit, cattle, goats and sheep by ten-thousands—limitless were the products which they brought (to) the King of S[outh] & N[orth] Egypt, Usimare

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[522] For instance, see Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 280–82.
[523] "Marriage Stela" (*ARE* 3.415–24: 182–86); see also Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant, The Life and Times of Ramesses II,* 86–88; idem, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated*, 2:86–96.

Setepenre.[524]

It follows that Ramesses sent forth a retinue to escort the Hittite delegates. Upon their arrival, he received them with a feast as a sign of fraternity between the two countries. Ramesses is said to be fond of his new Hittite bride and love her "more than anything." The text reaches its most exhilarating point when Ramesses gave his Hittite bride her Egyptian name Maathornefrure and installed her as the Great Royal Wife, before it concludes with a remark reemphasizing the submission of the land of Hatti to the Great King of Egypt. The Marriage Stela marks the apex of Ramesses's imperial hegemony over Southwest Asia through a representation of his greatest opponent Hattusili's symbolic surrender of his own daughter. In this imperializing discourse, imperial ambition is heightened and achieved through the means of erotic subjugation, a feature that we also observe in the Solomonic narrative. The text also shares many literary motifs and rhetorical devices with the Solomonic narrative that are characteristic of the cultural narcissism that I have enumerated above.[525]

The Marriage Stela is a highly propagandistic piece of décor. It survives in multiple versions at Karnak (Thebes), Elephantine, Abu Simbel, Ashka, and Amara West, including an abridged

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[524] Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated*, 2:94.

[525] The scope of this study does not allow me to conduct a detailed analysis of the Marriage Stela as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism. However, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. Even a quick glimpse of a snippet of the text on the Marriage Stela will reveal its narcissistic tone and the ubiquity of aggrandizing rhetorical devices and motifs reminiscent of those I enumerated in the Solomonic narrative. The stela is fraught with hyperbole, exaggeration, totalizing qualifiers, intensifying adjectives/adverbs, formulae of incomparability, and expressions of innumerability. It contains all the features of a cultural narcissistic discourse that I have put forth, including notably the sense of grandiosity and entitlement, the portrayal of unprecedented prosperity and universal peace, and even projective (diegetic) adulations. It also goes beyond these traits by its emphatic portrayal of Ramesses's divinity in accordance with the Egyptian concept of divine kingship. However, the poetic portrayal of Ramesside Egypt's universal peace and the voluntary submission of every foreign land immediately falters and the nature of the narcissistic fantasy reveals when the more realistic picture in Ramesses' diplomatic correspondences are brought in for comparison. Nonetheless, it could be argued that with the recognizable imperial strength and commensurate hegemonic achievements of Ramesses and the Ramesside Egypt, the extent of wishful thinking contained in the Marriage Stela is not as great as that conveyed by the Solomonic narrative. Both texts display similar rhetorical devices and narcissistic features. However, even with cultural fantasies of a similar degree of grandiosity, the extent of primary process varies according to the social location of the fantasizing subject.

version found at the Temple of the Goddess Mut in Karnak.[526] The Egyptian-Hittite marriage alliance became a prominent symbol of Ramesses's imperial success. The statue of Maathornefrure adjacent to the colossus of Ramesses II at Tanis further corroborates the symbolic significance of this marriage alliance.[527] Based on the epigraphical evidence of its intentional propagation and the widespread visibility of the Marriage Stela in major Egyptian cities, including Elephantine, the location of a Jewish garrison in Persian Egypt, it is reasonable to assume that the legend of the Egyptian-Hittite marriage was popular if not among the populace, at least among the learned of the time. In fact, the Bentresh Stela at Karnak presumably erected by the priests of the Theban god Khonsu, dates to either the Persian or Ptolemaic period, corroborates the extended popularity of the legend.[528]

The inscription on the Bentresh Stela is about a tale of wonder performed by Khonsu-the-Provider, one of the manifestations of Khonsu, based on the story of Ramesses II and Maathornefrure as a narrative framework. The tale begins with an annual procession held in Naharin where the chiefs of every foreign land came to pay homage and present gifts to Ramesses II because of the fame of the king. On this occasion, the king of Bakhtan presented his eldest daughter to Ramesses II. The king took pleasure in her and installed her as the Royal Wife Nefrure. Years later, a messenger of the king of Bakhtan came for the queen and made a request to Ramesses II to have a learned man sent to look at the malady of the queen's younger sister. The learned man sent for the mission failed to heal the disease. Ramesses II interceded to Khonsu on behalf of the sick lady, so Khonsu-the-Provider traveled to the land of Hatti to cure

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[526] Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, *The Life and Times of Ramesses II,* 86.
[527] See *ARE*, 3.417:183–84.
[528] "Bentresh Stela," *ARE* 3.429–47:188–95; see also Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980), 3:90–94; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated*, 113–16.

the illness himself. Thus, the tale conveys the message of Egyptian political, cultural and religious superiority over all surrounding countries through the annual procession of all princes, the beseeching of an Egyptian healer by a foreign dignitary, and Khonsu's wondrous healing of a foreign princess.

Notably, the tale and the Solomonic kingdom share many aggrandizing rhetorical devices and the same motifs of universal domination, voluntary obeisance, and ethnic superiority. Both texts contain numerous direct speeches that convey the motifs through the most engaging diegetic views. The tale's monumental disguise points to its propagandistic purpose. It may have been intended to propagate Khonsu's superb divine power or to recall the past glory of the Ramesside period at the time of foreign domination.[529] What is undeniable is that the writer of the tale utilized the distant past, namely a legendary marriage of the thirteenth century B.C.E., as a fictional basis to serve a present agenda of his time, whether for the promotion of the Khonsu cult or for the nurturing of a nationalistic solidarity and a sense of Egyptian pride in the Persian or Ptolemaic period. The distant past utilized in the tale is in an anachronistic, corrupted manner that bespeaks its composite nature. Naharin, the venue of the annual procession, was in the land of Mitanni on the Upper Euphrates once conquered by Thutmosis I and III of the fifteen century B.C.E., which Ramesses II had never reached. Bakhtan was surmised to be a corrupted Egyptian reference to Bactria, the region in Central Asia dominated by the Persians. The Great Royal Wife's name in the tale appears to be Nefrure instead of Maathornefrure.[530] In sum, the tale is a composite text that combined historical and legendary traditions of different eras in an imaginative way to serve the present agenda of the writer. The tale's narratological elements and the gap between the temporal setting of the story and the time of literary production are

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[529] See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3:90.
[530] Ibid., 3:93.

reminiscent of those in the Solomonic narrative.

The point that I hope to illustrate through the popularity and wide dissemination of the story of the Egyptian-Hittite marriage, via both the official versions engraved on the Marriage Stela in the thirteenth century B.C.E. and the adapted tale propagated hundreds of years later in the Persian or Ptolemaic period, is that even though Egyptian queens were rarely of foreign ethnicity, such an idea was far from unimaginable to the first readers/auditors. Neither the Hadad episode nor the Jeroboam expansion indicates the ethnicity of the Pharaoh's wife, and thus her sister's ethnicity remains indeterminate and is subject to the transferential reading of the readers/auditors. The popularity of the Egyptian-Hittite marriage legend may have subdued the rarity of such an idea and made a far-reaching impression on the ancient readers/auditors of the Solomonic narrative. To them, Hadad's or Jeroboam's marriage to the sister of the Pharaoh's wife may not have resulted in blood relations, given the possibility of her foreign origin. Had the readers/auditors come across the Hadad episode or the Jeroboam expansion with the subjective experience of the popular tale on the Bentresh Stela already in place, a psychic transference could have been triggered. In other words, there would possibly be an immediate association between the sisters in the Solomonic narrative and the Hittite sisters; consequently, the sisters' non-Egyptian ethnicity would have been forged. Hadad or Jeroboam may have married a foreign princess in the Egyptian court. In spite of the fact that their marriages did establish an in-law relationship with the Egyptian king, making them relatives of the royal family, it did not entail a breach of the longstanding Egyptian diplomatic marriage policy. Also, within such a signifying context, the Pharaoh's allowance to these unions are in no way interpreted as his symbolic submission to a foreign potentate through the tributary presentation of an Egyptian princess. Neither Hadad's nor Jeroboam's marriage alliance with the Pharaoh carries a semiotic meaning

of Egypt's subjugation, as we see in Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter.

As I have argued, ambitious desire in the Solomonic narrative is often semiotized. In particular, imperial desire is often expressed metonymically through the erotic desire of the female subjects within the imperial dominion, as a symbolic claim of power. I will show that the three marriages involving the Pharaoh as either the father-in-law, the matchmaker, or wish granter also carry a subtle semiotic meaning. Here, the potentates' positions of power in the world of male-dominated politics are semiotized to correspond hierarchically to their positions of erotic privileges with the women in the Pharaoh's royal court. Solomon has the exceptional and highest privilege to marry the daughter of the Pharaoh and receives a land concession as a dowry. In doing so, he symbolically subjugates Egypt and surpasses Cambyses II or Cyrus II. Hadad, the Edomite prince, and Jeroboam, a growing domestic rival in the region of Ephraim, each marry a sister of the Pharaoh's wife, whose ethnicity remains indeterminate. However, as I have argued, within the signifying context of the readers/auditors in the Persian period and the subsequent Hellenistic period, the sisters were likely to be identified as non-Egyptians through the mechanism of displacement. These marriages do not carry the symbolic meaning of subjugation and establish no blood relations with the Egyptian royal house; nonetheless, they incorporate these bridegrooms into the extended royal house as the Pharaoh's in-laws. The LXX emphasizes that Jeroboam's wife Ano is the *eldest* sister of the Pharaoh's wife and alludes to her great position as the daughter adopted by the Pharaoh (12:24e). In contrast, the position of Hadad's wife among the sisters of the Pharaoh's wife and her role within the Pharaoh's female establishment are not defined (11:19).[531] The text does not underscore her status in relation to the

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[531] The LXX's reference to Hadad's wife is ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Θεκεμινας τὴν μείζω (11:19), which literally means "the sister of his [Pharaoh's] wife, the sister of Thekemina [Tahpenes], the Great" (11:19). "The Great" is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew גבירה "the Queen." Brenton has mistakenly rendered ἀδελφὴν Θεκεμινας τὴν μείζω as "the elder sister of Thekemina."

royal family, other than mentioning her generic title as "a sister of his [the Pharaoh's] wife." In contrast, the text emphasizes the high status her son obtained as an adopted son of the Pharaoh.

These three female relatives of the Pharaoh mentioned in the text follow a hierarchical order in respect to their status in the female establishment of the Egyptian court. The Egyptian princess, a direct royal descent, stands on the top of the hierarchy. Then comes Jeroboam's wife, the eldest sister of the Pharaoh's wife and an adopted daughter of the Pharaoh who occupied an eminent place among his daughters. The least is the Edomite prince's wife, a generic sister of the Pharaoh's wife. The positions of these brides in the social ladder define the extent of erotic privileges assigned to their male partners, and thus they also define metonymically these men's positions in the world of politics according to the wish of the Deuteronomist. Metonymically, Solomon, Jeroboam, and Hadad symbolize respectively Judah, Israel (Northern Kingdom), and every foreign country. Judah stands in the summit of politics, whose power exceeds that of the Pharaoh. As much as Jeroboam is whitewashed by the LXX tradent(s), the metonymic Israel still ranks higher in prestige than Hadad, the metonym of every foreign country. This is another example of how ambitious desire is semiotized in the Solomonic narrative: the erotic privilege assigned to each man corresponds to the position of power that the Deuteronomist wished their real-life counterpart would occupy. It is hardly imaginable that the order of erotic privilege is happenstance, even if it is produced unconsciously. Any permutation other than the present configuration would suggest a different power constellation that would deprive the divinely ordained leaders of Judah and Israel their due symbolic significance and possibly cause the crumbling of Solomon's universal domination, the motif so persistent in the narrative. In sum, through the relative position that Solomon, Hadad, and Jeroboam each have in association with the Pharaoh's women, directly or indirectly the power hierarchy is semiotized through the

socially imposed order of erotic privileges. The semiotized power structure is made possible

through the role of a Janus-faced Pharaoh, who entered into marriage alliances with all sides,

both Solomon and Solomon's enemies who seek protection under his wings.

In order to understand the Pharaoh's role further as the asylum provider to Solomon's

enemies within the signifying context of the Deuteronomist, it is necessary to locate the literary

topos of "Egypt" in the biblical literature as a dual signifier for a place of refuge and also the

historical practice of high-born hostage-taking and asylum-seeking in the ancient Southwest

Asian culture. I will argue that the portraiture of the Pharaoh as an asylum provider to Israel's

enemies functions on the manifest surface to produce a looming image of Hadad or Jeroboam as

a superpower-backed rival, the divine punitive agent against Solomon, or the metonymic Israel,

for his idolatrous acts. Moreover, by contextualizing the Pharaoh's role as an asylum provider to

Solomon's enemies in the Persian period, I will also argue for a mechanism of introjective

identification in these episodes. The precarious relations between Solomon and the Pharaoh is

reminiscent of the precarious diplomatic relations between Persia and Egypt in the fifth and

fourth centuries as described by the Greek historians. The Solomonic Kingdom appears as a

literary counterpart of the Persian empire.

In the Hebrew Bible, Egypt occupies a literary topos of a place of oppression, but also,

somewhat paradoxically, a place of refuge, to which many Israelites run in times of famine,

persecution, and social unrest.[532] Thus, the tension between escaping from Egypt (exodus) and

fleeing to Egypt (exile) are consistently in tension in biblical texts.[533] Garrett Galvin, in his *Egypt*

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[532] See John D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1997); Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*.

[533] For more on the discussion of the polyvalence and ambiguity of the images of Egypt in the biblical texts, see Rainer Kessler, *Die Ägyptenbilder der hebräischen Bibel: Ein Beitrag zur neueren Monotheismusdebatte* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002).

as a Place of Refuge, traces such a notion of Egypt in history back to the Late Bronze Age when the trickle of high-born refugees fled there for survival, which had gradually developed into a migratory stream in the Greco-Roman period. According to Galvin, this notion has turned into a literary tradition in the biblical texts through which characters who seek refuge—such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses—gained a prominent status beyond that of a refugee, what Burke Long calls the "flight-and-prosperity-in-Egypt" motif.[534] This motif occurs also in the stories of Hadad and Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11:14–12:24, which, as Galvin argues, are a part of the literary tradition of Egypt as a place of refuge, even in the guise of history.[535] Galvin's study focuses on the literary topos of Egypt as an archetypal place of refuge that yields a convenient opportunity for the upward mobility of the biblical characters. However, Egypt is not the only place where refuge and social ascendance take place in biblical texts.[536] I agree with Galvin's thesis that "Egypt" occupies an archetypal place of refuge leading to prosperity in biblical texts. (Arguably, the entire story of Exodus, beginning with Joseph's settlement in Egypt, contains a modified and expanded theme of flight-and-prosperity-in-Egypt.) However, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. First, the biblical stories that Galvin uses, including the Hadad episode and the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX, to illustrate his thesis contain a thematic progression that goes beyond the themes of flight and prosperity and resolves in the motif of homecoming. It would be an oversight to omit this resolution in the textual analysis. Second, this trio progression of themes is not limited to travel narratives with Egypt as the place of refuge. Therefore, "Egypt" should not be treated as a conveniently adopted literary topos for social transformation

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[534] Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*, 181; Long, *1 Kings*, 126–27.
[535] Ibid., 92–115.
[536] For instance, stories such as Abraham's journey to Gerar (Gen 20), Isaac's journey to Gerar (Gen 26:1–33) Moses's flight to Midian (Exod 2:15–25; 4:18), David's flight to Gath (1 Sam 21:11–16 [Eng. 10–15]; 27:1–28:2; 29:1–11), all contain the motifs of flight and prosperity, but the place of refuge in these narratives is not Egypt.

because of its history of providing refuge; rather its significance should be probed in each specific narrative. In order to assess how the travel stories of Hadad and Jeroboam would have appealed to the first readers/auditors, it is essential to locate the notion of asylum-seeking by high-status refugees within the signifying context of the biblical writers. To this aim, I will assess the genre expectation produced by the literary conventions employed in stories of asylum-seeking by high-status refugees and locate the phenomenon within the broader practice of hostage-taking in the arena of ancient Southwest Asian politics, which I will argue are two aspects of the same phenomenon. Not until then will the place of "Egypt" as a signifier within these specific stories and their appeal to the first readers/auditors be elucidated.

The antiquity of the practice of asylum-seeking by high-status political fugitives is attested in ancient Southwest Asian literature. The popular and widely propagated Egyptian tale *The Story of Sinuhe*, whose earliest manuscript dates to the Twelfth Dynasty (early second millennium B.C.E.), bears witness to the phenomenon.[537] The tale is written in the guise of a funerary autobiography. The hero Sinuhe, an Egyptian official in the service of princess Nefru, recounts his flight to a Syrian chiefdom following a palace coup. Ammunenshi, the ruler of Upper Retenu, shelters him, marries his eldest daughter to him, and installs him as a tribal chief and the head of his children. Sinuhe settles down and forms a family in Syria. When he reaches a nostalgic old age, he receives an amnesty from the Pharaoh Senusret I and travels back to Egypt in a triumphant homecoming. The funerary autobiographical genre of the Sinuhe tale contains a set of literary elements that the first readers/auditors of the exile stories of Hadad and Jeroboam would not have expected from their stories, such as the first-person viewpoint, a summary of his

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[537] "The Story of Sinuhe" (Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973], 1:222–35). According to Paul Tabori, the Story of Sinuhe is the "first recorded exile in history." See Paul Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: Harrap, 1972), 43–45.

life journey, a list of notable achievements, the protagonist's self-encomium, and the triumphant closure of his life. Sinuhe's exile is motivated by self-preservation, propelled presumably by his taking part in or privy to the palace coup and thus the anxiety over being persecuted. However, he poses no threat to the regime, whereas in our biblical stories self-preservation is not the only motive for Hadad's or Jeroboam's leaving their homelands. As Solomon's rivals, these men pose a big threat to the stability of his regime. I will show below that the phase of their exile under the protection of the Egyptian king actually bears a hidden motif of a recuperation or incubation period, in which the exiles awaiting for a chance of status restoration.

Another text that testifies to the ancient phenomenon of asylum-seeking is the autobiography of Idrimi preserved on a statue of Idrimi in Alalaḫ, dating to the mid-second millennium B.C.E.[538] The story recounts how Idrimi stood out among his brothers and became the king of Alalaḫ after a political uprising that forced them to flee to their maternal country Emar and subsequently led to Idrimi's own exile in the land of Canaan. He lived among a band of refugee warriors for seven years and gained ascendance in regional politics, and eventually returned to Alalaḫ and restored the dynasty. The monumental appearance of the text bespeaks its official nature. The text is written in a first-person account from Idrimi's perspective. It serves a propagandistic function to legitimize his anomalous ascendance to the throne. Thus, the events described in the narrative have some historical basis even if they contribute to the exaggerated portraiture of an ambitious, capable, and yet benevolent king whose kingship should be unquestionable and unchallengeable. In contrast, the exile stories of Hadad and Jeroboam lack the historical basis—neither of them is written from the exile's perspective, for the purpose of legitimization. Thus, the rhetorical function of these stories within the Solomonic narrative must be sought elsewhere.

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[538] "The Autobiography of Idrimi," translated by Tremper Longman III (*COS* 1.148: 479–80).

Besides Hadad's flight to Egypt (1 Kgs 11:14–22) and Jeroboam's flight to Egypt (11:40; LXX 1 Kgs 12:24a–z), the Hebrew Bible also contains a few stories of asylum-seeking, for instance Moses's flight to Midian (Exod 2:15–25; 4:18), David's flight to Gath (1 Sam 21:11–16 [Eng. 10–15]; 27:1–28:2; 29:1–11), and Absalom's flight to Geshur (2 Sam 13:23–39). The heroes of these biblical stories are all high-status political refugees who flee their home country due to persecution and seek the protection of either a regional power or a superpower, and have stayed with their host for an extensive period of time. All but Absalom are described to be treated as an honored guest by their host, given land, provisions, positions of honor, and even a wife while in exile. In the case of Absalom, the narrator reveals no details of his three-year exile, but the first readers/auditors may have assumed, in accordance with the social conventions of the time, that as a possible candidate to the throne he is treated with respect.[539] All of these figures eventually return to their home country after the death of their persecutor, with the exception of Absalom. In the case of Absalom's flight, it stems from an intradynastic conflict, his fratricide of Amnon, eldest son of David, presumably to avenge of Amnon's defloration of Tamar, his sister (or daughter; 2 Sam 13:1–22, 32; cf. 14:27). Initially Absalom flees to avoid punishment, but he is eventually acquitted by David and restored to his position in the royal court only to become a throne aspirant against David. All the heroes in these asylum-seeking stories pose a severe threat to the stability to the regime of Israel, whether they are domestic rebels or regional enemies, royal breed or commoners.

The above stories, irrespective of the extent of their historicity, stem from a socio-historical context in which the reality of asylum-seeking of high-status refugees has developed into a literary sub-genre of travel adventure that generally contains a tripartite thematic progression of

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[539] See below pp. 282–284.

flight from the homeland, prominence and prosperity in the foreign land, and return or restoration to the homeland. Needless to say, in reality, not every high-status asylum seeker was privileged by their host and able to restore their prominence in their homeland.[540] However, in storytelling there seems to be a preference over a motif of homecoming as a resolution, especially in stories where the refugee is also the throne aspirant, and the restoration of his status at home is also the character's implicit aim, which becomes an anticipatory development by the readers/auditors.

Literary conventions as defining features of a genre serve to frame a narrative into a familiar form and influence readers'/auditors' anticipation of the story's development. Readers/auditors who were accustomed to the conventional thematic progression of flight, prominence, and return are trained to be unsatisfied with an asylum-seeking story ending in a foreign land and would long for its resolution in homecoming. This kind of genre expectation would have also governed the first readers/auditors of the exile stories of Hadad and Jeroboam. In a sense, the Hadad episode is not quite complete since Hadad's return is foreshadowed but never narrated in the rest of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. This incompletion is in a sense filled by the adapted story of Jeroboam vicariously. Without the midrashic tradition of 3 Reigns 12:24a–z, the Jeroboam episode in the MT would only contain the themes of flight and return, leaving out the theme of prosperity. The Jeroboam expansion in the LXX completed the genre expectation created by

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[540] For a well-known instance from the thirteenth century B.C.E., after Hattusili III of Hatti usurped the throne of his nephew, Urhi-Tessup, the latter apparently first escaped to Syria and then to Egypt to seek protection under Ramesses II, but he never managed to restore his throne. See "The Apology of Ḫattušili," translated by P. J. van den Hout (*COS* 1.77:199–204); W. Helck, "Urhi-Tešup in Ägypten," *JCS* 17 (1963): 87–97; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tešup's Career," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. K. Bittel et al.; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1974), 139–47; Itamar Singer, "The Urhi-Teššup Affair in the Hittite Correspondence," in *The Life and Times of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honor of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden* (ed. Johan de Roos and Theo P. J. van der Hout; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), 27–38.

literary conventions of asylum-seeking stories. Given the extended significance of Jeroboam's role in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, it is plausible that the theme of prosperity may be displaced to the Jeroboam episode for the purpose of satisfying the genre expectation.

The account of Jehosheba's concealment of Joash, son of king Ahaziah of Judah, in the House of YHWH, in order to preserve a royal remnant from Athaliah's dynastic massacre and the subsequent restoration of the Davidic dynasty through the enthronement of Joash (2 Kgs 11:1–21), can be considered a modified version of the tripartite theme of asylum-seeking, only that the place of refuge is the temple. To the first readers/auditors who would have known well that the Davidic dynasty continued down to the Babylonian conquest, the eventual overturn of the Athaliah regime was to be expected; thus, the motif of the sole male survivor of the royal descent, the only legitimate heir alive, on which the dynastic continuity completely depends, serves to dramatize and heighten the power reversal. As the only male Davidide survived the royal massacre, Joash became a potential threat to the Athaliah regime and the crucial factor to the continuity of the Davidic dynasty. His return to the throne and restoration of the dynasty was to be expected by the first readers/auditors. By the same token, for Hadad and Jeroboam, pronounced as YHWH's punitive agents for Solomon's cultic infidelity (1 Kgs 11:14, 29–39), their return from exile to their homelands is crucial to their assigned roles as Solomon's opponents. The question is what is the rhetorical function of their exile? To answer this question, the phenomenon of asylum-seeking of high-status fugitives must be contextualized within the practice of hostage-taking in ancient Southwest Asia. What differentiates a refugee from a hostage is the former's presumed voluntary movement to the host country, whereas hostages are usually taken by force to the host country as prisoners of war or demanded by the host country as a security of loyalty. However, from the perspective of the host country, both practices serve

similar purposes and produce similar effects.

The practice of institutional hostage-taking is attested as early as the fifteenth century B.C.E. Thutmose III (reign 1479–1425 B.C.E.) of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt had initiated a hostage policy among the thirty-six principalities in Syria and Palestine.[541] The princes of the vassal countries were brought to Egypt as hostages and educated under Egyptian tutelage. After years of hostage experience, these children were to return to their vassal states and succeed the throne. The policy served not only to guarantee the vassals' loyalty during the period of hostage-taking, but also to inculcate a new generation of young potentates whose Egyptian upbringing would make their rule more sensitive and sympathetic to the Egyptian cause. The hostage institution had proved to be a success even during the most tumultuous years of Akhenaton's reign.[542] Similar practices of high-born hostage-taking are attested in the subsequent eras down to the Late Antiquity.[543] The effectiveness of the hostage policy was warranted, first, by the fear of anticipatory reaction associated with the safety of the hostages. Second, in the case where the pawn was also a legitimate heir to the throne, a vassal may fear that the hostage-taker would have it within his power to depose him and put a puppet king on the throne should he find the vassal's loyalty questionable. Third, while in detention, hostages were more susceptible to

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[541] M. Abdul-Ḳader Mohammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine during the New Kingdom," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* 56 (1959): 130; Donald B. Redford, *Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III: The Foundations of the Egyptian Empire in Asia* (Leiden, NLD: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), 218.

[542] Mohammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine during the New Kingdom," 131.

[543] For instances from the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods, see Stefan Zawadzki, "Hostages in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński* (ed. K. Van Lerberghe and A. Schoors; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek Leuven, 1995), 449–58; Karen Radner, "After Eltekeh: Royal Hostages from Egypt at the Assyrian Court," in *Stories of Long Ago: Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf* (ed. Heather Baker, Kai Kaniuth, and Adelheid Otto; AOAT 397; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2012) 471–79. For an example of a Seleucid hostage at Parthian court, see M. Rahim Shayegan, "On Demetrius II Nicator's Arsacid Captivity and Second Rule," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 17 (2003): 83–103. For instances from the Roman period, see A. D. Lee, "The Role of Hostages in Roman Diplomacy with Sasanian Persia." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 40 (1991): 366–74; Joel Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). A biblical example of hostage-taking is Jehoiachin's captivity to Babylonia (2 Kgs 24:12; 25:27–29).

indoctrination and keen to develop attitudes and ideological inclination favorable to the host country. This is now known as the "hostage identification syndrome" or more commonly as the "Stockholm Syndrome." Joel Allen has applied the syndrome to the analysis of Roman hostage-taking and convincingly argued that identity transformation of Roman hostages had taken place in the course of their detention. Allen also points out, with the research findings of social psychologists, that hostages were most vulnerable to indoctrination and adaptation of the social and cultural values of the host country if their hostage experience started during their formative years and the communication barriers were minimal.[544] While Allen's study deals primarily with Roman hostage-taking, I believe that his thesis is appropriable to hostage-taking in other historical periods. It seems that hostage-takers of the ancient times were aware of the psychological effects of detention on the hostages and their families at home, even if the term "Stockholm Syndrome" was not known to them.

High-born hostages were usually treated with hospitality; hostages were even considered pawns to guarantee the loyalty of subordinate states or the adherence to the terms of treaties. In Roman practice, even when the treaty was breached, the hostages rarely suffered retaliation. A. D. Lee thus suggests that the practice carries a more symbolic meaning of submission to the host country.[545] In view of this symbolic significance, Hadad's or Jeroboam's voluntary exile in Egypt would have been understood as a political submission to Egypt. Their subordinate attitude to the Egyptian host was made explicit through their double farewell biddings, which indicate mobility was restrained and their wish to return home was subject to the approval of the host.

In spite of their subordinate position, according to the social conventions of the time hostages were usually treated as royal guests with respect and hospitality in accordance with

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[544] J. Allen, *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire*, 1–37.
[545] A. D. Lee, "The Role of Hostages in Roman Diplomacy with Sasanian Persia," 366.

their high status. They were assigned land, given houses, and received regular provisions. There were even attested incidents of a host marrying a female member of his establishment to a hostage. For instance, a Neo-Assyrian document from Nineveh (K.294), dating to 692 B.C.E., indicates that Shoshenq, a member of the Egyptian ruling class taken captive by Sennacherib in the battle of Eltekeh in Palestine, was related to Sennacherib by marriage. Karen Radner argues that Shoshenq was given an Assyrian princess in marriage because he was a pro-Assyrian candidate for the regional thrones in Egypt. Radner identifies this Shoshenq to be the Shoshenq whom Esarhaddon appointed to rule over Busiris in the central Delta in 671 B.C.E. Shoshenq was but one among the Egyptian hostages in Ninevah whom Esarhaddon appointed. The son of Nekho of Sais was another Egyptian hostage sent back by Esarhaddon to rule in Athribis. Radner also speculates that Psammetikh, another hostage in Nineveh, was given an Assyrian princess in marriage.[546]

In her article "On Demetrius II Nicator's Arsacid Captivity and Second Rule," M. Rahim Shayegan gives an account of a historical incident of a marriage involving a hostage in the late Seleucid period (mid-second century B.C.E.).[547] Demetrius II Nicator, a Seleucid taken captive in eastern Iran by Arsacid king Miθrdāt I, became a hostage at the Parthian court. Miθrdāt's son and successor Frahāt II restored Demetrius II to his Seleucid throne when Demetrius II's young brother, Antiochus Sidetes, embarked upon a new eastern campaign against the Arsacides. According to the testimonies of Greco-Roman historians, Demetrius II was given either the Parthian king's daughter (Justin, *Epitome* XXXVIII.9.3) or his sister (Appian, *Hist. rom.* XI.11.67) in marriage while he was in hostage. Shayegan argues that the Parthian hostage policy

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[546] Radner, "After Eltekeh," 476–77.
[547] M. Rahim Shayegan, "On Demetrius II Nicator's Arsacid Captivity and Second Rule," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 17 (2003): 83–103.

consists of keeping legitimate pretenders to the thrones in order to manipulate potentates who were driven by the fear of being deposed by the pretenders; should hostility arise, these hostages were to be reinstated as pro-Parthian kings in lieu of anti-Parthian potentates.[548] Being a likely candidate to the Seleucid throne, Demetrius II was given the hand of a Parthian princess. This marriage alliance may have happened as an advance attempt to forge familial ties between two royal houses in view of his prospective career as a Seleucid ruler.

The practice of marriage alliance between a high-born political refugee and his royal host is also attested in ancient Southwest Asia. One case is attested in the "Treaties between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mittanni," preserved in both Hittite and Akkadian versions, written during Hatti's expansion into northern Syria in the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E.[549] Suppiluliuma I of Hatti wiped out the state Mittanni through his cultivating king Artatama II of Hurri and his son Shuttarna III as rivals to king Tushratta of Mittanni. After Tushratta was murdered in a palace coup, his son Shattiwaza fled to Hatti to seek asylum under Suppiluliuma and was given one of his daughters in marriage. Suppiluliuma eventually reinstalled Shattiwaza, when Shuttarna III rebelled against the Hittite king. This incident demonstrates not only the practice of marriage alliance between a high-born political refugee and his royal host, but also the precariousness of allegiance. Suppiluliuma manipulated both sides of the conflict to his own advantage. He practically caused the exile of the Mitannian prince, then harbored him and married one of his daughters to him. When the rival king Shuttarna defected, he then placed Shattiwaza back on the throne. The maneuvering of rivalry served the purpose of ensuring a pro-Hittite king on the Mitannian throne.

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[548] Ibid., 83, 97.

[549] "Treaties between Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and Shattiwaza of Mittanni," §6 (Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* [ed. Harry A. Hoffner; 2d ed,; SBLWAW 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999], 41–54).

These three historical cases from three different historical periods testify to the antiquity of the practices of high-born hostage-taking and hostage-receiving. Looking from a host country's practical standpoint, the functional difference between taking high-born hostages and hosting high-born asylum seekers was negligible, except that in the latter case the hostage voluntarily submitted himself to the host country, rather than being captured. Also, the so-called hospitality given to a hostage commensurable to his status was a tactic employed by the host country to secure the allegiance of the hostage and his remote family. In cases where a royal host chose to forge a marriage alliance between his hostage and himself, it was likely motivated by the hostage's potential candidacy to the throne of his native country or at the very least his potential value as political asset to his host's imperializing cause. From an asylum seeker's perspective, the self-imposed exile in a country of a powerful host held the promise of hospitable protection from his persecutor and the hope of the restoration of his royal status in the future. In the world of politics, this could be a rare instance of a win-win scenario.

In view of the practical purposes of hostage-taking and asylum-seeking in ancient Southwest Asia, it does not do justice to read the Hadad episode and the Jeroboam expansion in the LXX merely as asylum-seeking stories that follow a certain conventional thematic progression of flight, prominence, and homecoming. Considering the signifying context of the Deuteronomist, the prominence that Hadad and Jeroboam enjoy at the Egyptian court could be interpreted as a displacement of regional conflict within the Levant to a more international conflict between Egypt and the Solomonic Kingdom by the first readers/auditors. Egypt, the archetypal imperial power that Solomon surpasses through the symbolic subjugation of the Pharaoh's daughter, naturally and ambivalently also holds the significance of being Israel's archetypal rival for imperial hegemony, whose superb imperial strength qualifies it to be the place of refuge for

Solomon's defeated rivals. Solomon's worthy rival in 1 Kgs 11:14–22 and 3 Reigns 12:24a–z is neither Hadad nor Jeroboam, who flee in fear of the Davidides, but Egypt, the host of their exile, as the first readers/auditors were likely to have interpreted it.

Hadad's legitimate candidacy to the Edomite throne and Jeroboam's demonstrated hegemonic ability (12:24b–c) and potential to overthrow Solomon make them valuable imperializing assets to the Pharaoh. Hadad and Jeroboam are potentially the next generation of pro-Egyptian potentates in the Levant. They pose a threat to the stability of the Solomonic Kingdom. They are Egypt's means to advance its imperial hegemony. Should a hostile situation arise between Egypt and the Solomonic Kingdom, they could be released and reinstated as kings. Their release at the end could well implicate a hostile relationship between Egypt and the Solomonic Kingdom. Their marriage to a sister of the Pharaoh's wife would be an indicator of their imperializing value to the Egyptian king, who even seeks to forge marriage alliance with them while they are in exile. To the first readers/auditors, the son of such a union would be expected to be the successor. Hadad's last appearance in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is in 1 Kgs 11:25. After the notice of his determination to return to his homeland, the Deuteronomist completely cuts him off from the rest of the narrative. The same obviation happens to Solomon's other regional adversary, Rezon of Damascus, whose appearance is short-lived in 1 Kgs 11:23–25, and whose opposition against Israel is noted without elaboration. During the reign of Jehoshaphat of Judah, it is said that "there was no king in Edom, a governor (נצב) was king" (1 Kgs 22:48; cf. 3 Reigns 16:28).[550] נצב, the same word used for Solomon's district superintendents, seems to imply that Edom was still under the hegemony of Judah, on the manifest surface. Thus, Hadad's role as a divine agent of punishment against Solomon is never

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[550] The LXX (3 Reigns 16:28) has "Aram" instead of "Edom," probably due to a misreading of אדם, a defective spelling of אדום "Edom" which could be read as "Aram."

quite realized, and neither he nor his son Genubath has restored the Edomite kingdom. In the LXX expansion (3 Reigns 12:24g–n; cf. 1 Kgs 14:1–18), Jeroboam's Egyptian-born son Abijah dies of illness prematurely. While the MT portrays the death of the lad as divine punishment against Jeroboam's idolatry, the LXX's expansion places it before the installation of the golden calves (1 Kgs 12:25–33) and does not explicitly relate it to divine punishment. However, the death of Jeroboam's Egyptian-born son does prevent an ascendance of an Egyptian-born Israelite king in the future.

The prominence that Hadad and Jeroboam gained in Egypt serves as an immediate intensifying device to the potential havoc that Hadad and Jeroboam could wreak with the support of a super ally, but in the extended narrative the Egyptian-backed threat is never realized and it is even suppressed. The exile motif creates the sense of a looming threat limited within the immediate context of the Solomonic narrative; however, such threat exists only in dormancy, keeping the universal peace of the Solomonic era intact. Even after Solomon passed away, the threat is solely expressed through Jeroboam's ascendance. The Pharaoh's role as Hadad's and Jeroboam's asylum provider, ally, and in-law produced a looming effect on their potential threat to the stability of Solomon's regime, but in the long run this role is nullified and the rhetorical effect no longer lingers. The multiple topoi that "Egypt" occupies as a signifier in the biblical literature contributed to the complexity of the Pharaoh's role in the Solomonic narrative. In the stories of Hadad and Jeroboam, Egypt's dual role as an archetypal imperial power and Israel's archenemy that harbored Solomon's adversaries functions as an intensifier of the threat to the stability of the Solomonic Kingdom. Hadad and Jeroboam are truly a threat to Solomon because they ally with an imperial super-power.

The Pharaoh as Solomon's Trade Partner

The third composite element in the characterization of the Pharaoh is his implicit role as an intercontinental horse-trading partner of Solomon. According to 1 Kgs 10:28–29, Solomon is portrayed as the middleman in horses and chariots between the great powers in north Africa and northwest Asia. He imports horses "from Egypt and Que" (ממצרים ומקוה), and chariots "from Egypt" (ממצרים). Que, identified as a place in Cilicia of the southeast Anatolia (modern Turkey),[551] viz. outside of Solomon's jurisdiction, is the designated as the receiving point for his horse trade. Horses and chariots purchased in Que would then be exported to "all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Aram" (לכל־מלכי החתים ולמחכי ארם), namely potentates in Anatolia and northern Syria. According to the MT, a chariot and a horse from Egypt each cost 600 and 150 shekels of silver respectively, whereas in the LXX they cost 100 and 50 shekels of silver respectively. 1 Kgs 10:28–29 produces a series of issues on historical plausibility and textual discrepancy.

In an attempt to rationalize the historical implausibility of a horse-breeding and horse-raising industry in ancient Egypt depicted in 1 Kgs 10:28–29 and the discrepancy between the MT and the LXX, some scholars and commentators have resorted to what may be considered as "secondary revisions" in order to eliminate the fantastic elements that could not have withstood "reality testing" and ardently safeguard the historicity of Solomon's horse trade. An emendation has been suggested by H. Winckler in the late nineteenth century and is subscribed by many commentators to correct the presumably corrupted reading "from Egypt" (ממצרים) to "from Muṣri" (ממצרי), a city purportedly located in the Taurus region of Anatolia presumably important

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[551] William F. Albright, "Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldaean Kings," *BASOR* 120 (1950): 22–25; see also Cogan, *1 Kings*, 321; Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12/1 (1958): 40.

for the export and transit of horses.[552] However, there are a few reasons in support of a reading of "Egypt." First, the reading of "Muṣri" is unattested in the MT manuscripts. Second, all 650 occurrences of מצרים in the Hebrew Bible invariably signify "Egypt." Third, H. Tadmor has pointed out that it was unlikely that an "Anatolian Muṣri" ever existed and the idea of an "eastern Muṣri" is impossible, for every post-tenth-century mention of *Muṣri/Muṣru* in Assyrian records should be read as a reference to Egypt.[553] Fourthly, as Ash points out, given the geographical proximity between the importing Anatolian cities, Que and the supposedly adjoining city Muṣri, and the exporting regions in Anatolia and north Syria, it is incredible that Solomon's traders from the remote Levant would have been the middlemen in their horse transaction.[554] In the end, the emendation to Muṣri fails to establish the anticipated historical plausibility.

Other "secondary revisions" include, first, Mowinckel's emendation of the initial particle מ in ממצרים to ל that places Egypt on the receiving end of the horse and, second, W. F. Albright's elimination of "Egypt" from 10:28 making Que the sole import country—both pictures are historically more plausible.[555] Moreover, regarding the exorbitant purchase prices for a chariot

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[552] H. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs,1892),168–74; idem, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1903), 16. For some of the supporters of a reading of "Muṣri," see Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 227; Jan Jozef Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament: A Concise Commentary in XXXII Chapters* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 343; Martin Noth, *Könige* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1968, 235–36; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 250; Robinson, *The First Book of Kings*, 134; John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscription* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971–1973), 2:35; A. D. Crown, "Once Again 1 Kings 10: 26–29," *Abr-Nahrain* 15 (1975): 36; Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 24, n. 25; DeVries, *1 Kings*, 140; Giovanni Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel* (London: SCM, 1988), 31; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 322. Cf. Yutaka Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1979), 215–18. For a discussion of other geographical identifications of "Muṣri," see Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 542.
[553] H. Tadmor, "Que and Muṣri," *IEJ* 11 (1961): 145–46.
[554] Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt* 119–20, n. 24.
[555] Sigmund Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in O.T.," *VT* 12 (1962): 282; W. F. Albright, Review of J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings, JBL* 71 (1952), 249. For a critique of Albright's elimination, see Donald D. Schley, Jr., "1 Kings 10:26–29: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 106 (1987): 597–98.

(600 shekels) and a horse (150 shekels) from Egypt in the MT (1 Kgs 10:29) and the deflated prices, 100 shekels and 50 shekels respectively, in the LXX, scholars have provided a few explanations for the textual discrepancy. Ikeda provides a possible explanation of the MT's high prices by comparing horse prices from different periods and finally appealing to the exceptional quality of the horses and ceremonial and processional use of the fine chariots as explanation.[556] C. Van Gelderen postulates two types of shekels, "large" and "small," to explain the textual discrepancy between the MT and the LXX.[557] J. A. Montgomery sees the exorbitant prices as an adjustment by a late tradent to reflect the prices of his time.[558] While the practice of price and currency adjustments by later tradents is attested, such as in Josephus's rewriting of the Solomonic narrative,[559] the high prices are more consistent with the text's narcissistic, aggrandizing tone and its overabundant use of hyperbolic and exaggerated expressions, in particular the plebification of silver and cedars that immediately precedes 1 Kgs 10:28–29.[560] It would require a lot of "secondary revisions" to deflate all unreasonable quantities or to remove all hyperbolic expressions in the Solomonic narrative. In sum, scholars and commentators in the past have made numerous "secondary revisions" in the attempt to recreate a scenario of Solomon's horse trade relations more befitting with the reconstructed historical picture of the tenth century B.C.E. The fundamental and recalcitrant assumption behind these "secondary revisions" is the historicity of 1 Kgs 10:28–29 in particular and that of the Solomonic narrative in general.

As I have argued earlier, there is no warrant to assume a priori the historicity of the

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[556] Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 224–30.
[557] Cited from Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 544.
[558] Montgomery, *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 227.
[559] *Ant.* 8.189.
[560] For the view of the high prices of 10:28–29 as a kind of hyperbolic aggrandizing discourse, see Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 225–26. For a comparison of horse prices within the ancient Southwest Asia, see ibid., 226, 229–30.

Solomonic narrative, especially when the nature of ancient historiography is considered. Textual analysis reveals that the events described in the Solomonic Kingdom cannot be read merely as historical referents. I have delineated the textual features and narcissistic traits that support the thesis of the Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism. Some of these features are also found in 1 Kgs 10:26–29. For instance, amplifying devices include exaggeration (the extreme values) and the use of the totalizing qualifier (the inclusion of "*all* the kings of Hittites and the kings of Aram" as buyers). Narcissistic features include the grandiose sense of self-importance (through the portrayal of Solomon as an intercontinental entrepreneur and profiteer in horse trade), the sense of uniqueness (through Solomon's trade partnership with the superpower Egypt and the Hittite and Aramean petty kings' reliance on him as a middleman of their source of horses), and the sense of entitlement (through his crossing boundaries to establish commercial dominance in foreign territories). Solomon's commercial partnership with the great powers of his time and horse-trade dominance in southwestern Anatolia and northern Syria signify a furthering of his imperial career into foreign territories beyond the northern frontier. They constitute a metonymic expression of an ambitious desire of imperial expansion. The historical implausibility of 1 Kgs 10:28–29 is not an anomaly to be revised or obviated, but rather an integral feature of cultural fantasy demanding to be analyzed as such. However fantastic and incredible the role Egypt plays as an export country of horses and chariots or Solomon's role as an international entrepreneur, these features are signs of the primary-process mechanisms underlying the production of the cultural fantasy.

There is neither archaeological nor epigraphical evidence to support state-run horse-breeding and horse-raising for the purpose of export in ancient Egypt, at least not before the Nubian rule of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Egyptians succeeded in acclimatizing and domesticating exotic

horses after their introduction by the Hyksos in the sixteenth century B.C.E. However, due to the

lack of pastureland and timber in Egypt scholars have long had a difficult time believing that the

Egyptians could have played a major role in horse and chariot trade.[561] Even at the apex of

imperial dominion during the time of the New Kingdom, Egypt was never a horse-breeding

country. Instead of exporting horses to Asia, epigraphical evidence suggests that Egypt had for

the most part been at the receiving end of horse transactions in the forms of tributes, dowry, and

booty.[562] Furthermore, in order to procure the warhorses needed for chariot warfare, the

prominent form of warfare in the Levant developed during the Bronze Age,[563] it was necessary

for the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom to seek avenues to acquire non-indigenous warhorses, and

they conveniently found a good supply in the battle spoils of the Levantine and Northwest Asian

countries that were already renowned for horse-breeding and -raising.

    For instance, according to the annals of Thutmose III describing one of the earliest chariot

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[561] For the origins of horses in Egypt, see Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 183–85.

[562] In his 1979 article, Yutaka Ikeda ("Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 20–34) argues that as early as the Eighth Dynasty, after the Hyksos introduced horses into Egypt in the sixteenth century B.C.E., horses soon became acclimatized in the Delta, and Egyptians became renowned for breeding fine horses, while they never gave up on booty and tributes as their sources of horses. Ikeda argues against the scholarly consensus of his time, which holds Cilicia as Israel's only source of horses in the tenth century and argues for the historical plausibility of an Egyptian-Israelite horse trade partnership in the tenth century B.C.E. Ikeda points to Ramesses II's royal stables, the demand for horses Egypt received from Cyprus and Hatti, the Neo-Assyrian records of horse tributes presented by Egypt and booty taken from Egypt, and the biblical accounts that hint at Egypt's equestrian strength (Deut 17:16; Isa 31:1). However, as Ikeda has indicated, horses and chariots were mainly listed among tributes, gifts, and booty either received by Egypt or given by Egypt when the country was under the hegemony of the Neo-Assyrian empire. In the records of receipt of tributes and gifts, horses and chariots were given to Egypt only in small quantities. For instance, Tushratta of Mitanni gave four horses and one chariot to Amenhotep II as dowry; and Ashuruballit of the Middle Assyrian empire gave one chariot and two white horses to Amenhotep IV. See Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 22:1–4; 7:58. Since these transactions of horses were limited to tributes, gifts, and booty, they were not sufficient to corroborate an Egyptian horse trade enterprise in the tenth century. While Deut 17:16 and Isa 31:1 do hint at Egypt's equestrian strength, this strength was mentioned in relation to their military potency and godlessness, not their share in horse trade. Ikeda's thesis is at best derivative and still lacks persuasive evidence. According to the testimony of the stele of Piankhi (726–702 B.C.E.), a Nubian Pharaoh of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Egyptian rulers deliberately sought to increase their effort in horse-raising and develop their chariot force in view of the growing threat of the Neo-Assyrian empire. See Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 23. Even with this proof of intentional effort in horse-raising, the purpose was solely for national defense, rather than for profits.

[563] Deborah O'Daniel Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel: Horses and Chariotry in Monarchic Israel (Ninth-Eighth Centuries B.C.E.)* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 62.

battles recorded in history, the Pharaoh defeated the coalition of Canaanite kings at Megiddo in 1479 and acquired 924 chariots, 2,041 mares, 191 foals, and 6 stallions as a part of the booty.[564] It has been suggested that the number of mares and stallions captured was sufficient for the Pharaoh to launch a mass horse-breeding center at Megiddo.[565] The horse-breeding center would have provided Egypt a good source of trained horses to buttress its equestrian strength. Subsequent archaeological remains discovered at Megiddo, in particular its stable structure and six-chambered gate, support the view that the fortified city persisted as a major horse-training site, and possibly horse-trading center, through the eighth century B.C.E., when it was under the rule of the Israelite king Jeroboam II and the larger Levant was under Neo-Assyrian hegemony.[566] However, even if Thutmose had indeed launched a horse-breeding program and set up a horse-training center at Megiddo, the site was a satellite center rather than a domestic one within the borders of Egypt. The fact that Thutmose sought to set up a remote horse-breeding and -raising facility corroborates Egypt's terrestrial deficiency for mass horse-raising.

If Egypt had ever established a mass domestic horse-breeding and -raising program, it most plausibly occurred during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty when Egypt was under Nubian rule (760–656 B.C.E.) and Neo-Assyrian intimidation. The shift of power dynamics in international politics turned Egypt from a dominator of the Levant into a tributary to the New-Assyrian empire, from an importing country to an exporting country of horses. Nubian (Cushite) horses were listed among tribute (or gifts) and booty to Assyrian kings, in particular; eighteen documents from the royal archives of Esarhaddon contain references to Nubian horses taken from Egypt.[567]

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[564] "The Annals of Thutmose III," translated by K. Hoffmeier, *COS* 2:2:7–13.
[565] Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World* (Westport, Conn. And London: Praeger, 2003), 80–83; see also Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 113–14.
[566] Cantrell convincingly argues that the six-chambered gate was likely used for hitching the chariot horse; see Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 10, 76–86.
[567] Moshe Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 24–25.

According to the Neo-Assyrian records, Osorkon IV presented twelve "splendid steeds" to Sargon II in 716 B.C.E. as tribute, whose superb quality found no equal in Assyria. Egypt was listed along with Gaza, Judah, Moab, and Ammon as tributaries that presented forty-five horses to Assyria.[568] Noteworthy, an Assyrian tablet in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum suggests that Esarhaddon captured 50,000 horses "trained to yoke" from a city identified as Memphis.[569] According to a damaged inscription, Esarhaddon imposed a tribute on Egypt that demanded more than one thousand horses. Epigraphical evidence from the Stela of Piankhi (726–702 B.C.E.), a Nubian Pharaoh, suggests that Egypt particularly raised horses to meet the challenge of the tribute requirement.[570] Thus, tribute imposition from Assyria may have led to an establishment of a mass horse-breeding and -raising program in eighth-century Nubian Egypt. Epigraphical evidence supports unambiguously the Nubian kings' love for horses, Nubian Egypt's horse-breeding program, and the "export" of Nubian horses in the forms of tribute and booty during the eighth century B.C.E., the period when Egypt was under Neo-Assyrian hegemony.[571] Thus, Egyptians' transition from a horse-importing country to a horse-exporting country suggests the waning of its imperial power. The question remains whether Egyptians had a fair share of the Levantine horse-trade market, exporting their surplus Nubian horses and chariots for profit.

Stephanie Dalley argues for the likelihood of extensive Egyptian horse-breeding and horse-trading operations in the eighth century B.C.E.[572] Her main arguments are summarized as

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[568] "A Letter Reporting Matters in Kalaḫ (Kalḫu)," translated by K. Lawson Younger, Jr., *COS* 3.96:245.
[569] See Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 44.
[570] See Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 23–24.
[571] For the Nubian kings' love for horses and the existence of the equid burial cult set up in the Nubian Egypt of Twenty-Third Dynasty Nubia, see Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World*, 81.
[572] Stephanie Dalley, "Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II," *Iraq* 47 (1985): 31–48; idem, "Ancient Mesopotamian Military Organization," in *CANE,* 1:413–22. For an adoption of Dalley's proposal, see Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 44; Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World*, 80–95.

follows. First, the superb quality of Nubian horses is affirmed in Assyrian tribute records, which show the Assyrians' interest in acquiring them. Further, all the chariot horses mentioned in Assyrian documents are invariably Nubian (Cushite) horses. This leads to the inference that Nubian horses' large body, as opposed to the Asian horses' small body, made the breed suitable for chariotry and thus was in demand. Second, Nubian horses acquired through tributes and booty were not enough to meet the Neo-Assyrians' demand for chariot warfare. Because the Assyrians did not have direct control over Egypt or Nubia, they were forced to seek other avenues to equip their chariot forces, and thus horse-trading was set up. According to Assyrian records, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II had both encouraged trading between the Assyrians and the Egyptians during the time when the Assyrian-Egyptian relationship was cordial.[573] To Dalley, setting up these trading depots was motivated by horse acquisition. Third, the horse-trading between Assyrians and Egyptians is further supported by the frequent occurrence of the neologism "horse-trader" (*tamkar sisē*; DAM.GÀR.ANŠE.KUR.[RA]) in Neo-Assyrian documents. The term is not found before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Dalley suggests that the equestrian middleman came into existence as a result of the increasing demand for horses in a period when chariotry was waning but the riding cavalry had not yet totally replaced the former to be the prominent form of equestrian warfare, a period in which both chariot horses and riding horses were in demand.[574] The growing dependence on equestrian warfare resulted in the increasing demand for equestrian supply, a situation of which the Nubian Pharaohs purportedly took trading opportunities. Finally, assuming the historicity of the Solomonic Kingdom, Dalley uses the account of Solomon's import of horses and chariots from Egypt in 2 Chr 1:16–17 as

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[573] See Sargon II's Nimrud Prism Fragment D (IV.II.47) in Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," 34.

[574] For the transition from chariot warfare to cavalry warfare, see Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 136–41.

corroborative evidence. Similarly, Ann Hyland uses a few biblical references, including

Solomon's horse-trade, 2 Kgs 18:24, and Ezek 18:15, in support of Egypt's role as a horse

exporter.[575] The biblical portrayal of Judah's reliance on Egyptian horses and chariots for

military reinforcement does not validate the view of Egypt as a horse exporter, but only its

strength in equestrian warfare. Even without the "biblical evidence" of Solomon's horse-trade

with Egypt, Dalley's horse-trading theory would still be a persuasive one. However, evidence

seems to support that horse-trading between Egypt and Neo-Assyria, along with Egypt's mass

domestic horse-breeding and -raising, did not happen until the eighth century B.C.E. when the

historical circumstances were ripe for such a development, namely the deterioration of Egyptian

imperial strength, the rise of the horse-loving Nubian Pharaohs, and the equestrian technologies

necessitating Neo-Assyrians' substantial acquisition of chariot horses and riding horses from the

then politically vulnerable Nubian Egypt.

The horse-trade partnership between Solomon and the Pharaoh depicted in 1 Kgs 10:28–29

was unlikely to be historical. However, as Cantrell aptly points out, the Solomonic narrative

reflects a "memory" of the vibrant horse-trade in the eighth-century Levant, in which

archaeological evidence also suggests that Megiddo functioned as an important horse-raising and

-training center for the Israelites.[576] Archaeologists in the early twentieth century originally

identified the stables discovered at Megiddo as being Solomonic, based on the mention of

Megiddo as one of Solomon's architectural achievements in 1 Kgs 9:15. The thesis has been

dispelled by Yigael Yadin who subsequently dated the stables to the Omride period. Later,

Cantrell and Israel Finkelstein convincingly argued that the equestrian infrastructure, namely the

stables and the six-chambered gate, at Megiddo belonged to the time of Jeroboam II, around 800

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[575] Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World*, 81.
[576] Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 45, 129.

B.C.E.[577] This is the period that, according to Dalley, the Neo-Assyrian empire was in horse-

trading partnership with Nubian Egypt.

If Solomon's horse-trading partnership with Egypt, along with the equestrian infrastructure

(1 Kgs 4:7; 5:6–7 [Eng. 4:26–27]; 10:26–29), reflects a "memory" of the historical situation in

the eighth century B.C.E., as Cantrell and Finkelstein surmise, the question is from which

signifying context this "memory" stemmed. Cantrell compared the listed prices of Solomon's

imported Egyptian chariots and horses (10:29) and found that there was some discrepancy in

their pricing. Deviating from the general opinion that both listed prices were exorbitant and

hyperbolic, Cantrell found that the price of a horse (150 shekels in the MT) was expensive, but it

was not extreme in comparison to horse prices between 1780 to 540 B.C.E., whereas the price of

a chariot (600 shekels in the MT) appears to be exorbitant when compared to the sparse textual

evidence on the cost of chariots. Ordinary chariots were less valuable than a high-quality

warhorse. An ordinary chariot cost 64 shekels in thirteenth-century Egypt, and a chariot with

trappings cost 100 shekels at the time of Marduk-nadin-ahhe of Babylon (1098–1081).[578] In

Cantrell's view, the apparent disproportion in the prices of a horse and a chariot in 1 Kgs 10:29

would be reasonable if the 600-shekel chariot was a processional, ceremonial chariot, decorated

with gold and lapis lazuli, but this would suggest a later Babylonian or Persian context. In

Cantrell's words,

> This passage [1 Kgs 10:29] could have been written in a much later Babylonian or Persian context, long after
> the demise of chariot warfare and the widespread use of chariots, when chariots were primarily ceremonial and,
> therefore, were once again rare and expensive to produce.[579]

The price disproportion hints at a late signifying context of Solomon's horse-trading partnership

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[577] Deborah O. Cantrell and Israel Finkelstein, "A Kingdom for a Horse," 2:643–65; Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*.
[578] Cantrell, *Horsemen of Israel*, 48–49, 69.
[579] Ibid., 69; for a similar view of the processional use of Solomon's chariots with the text assigned to the Solomonic period, see Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 221–24.

with Egypt.

Another hint is the mention of Que (ancient Cilicia), a country appearing frequently as a vassal state in Neo-Assyrian documents between 850 and 640 B.C.E. A reference to its acquisition of warhorses is found in a Hittite-Phoenician bilingual inscription of Karatepe (ancient Cilicia) from the late eighth century B.C.E.[580] Not only was ancient Cilicia known to be a horse-breeding country in the Neo-Assyrian period, but it was also the fourth satrapy of the Persian empire which paid an annual tribute of 360 white horses and 500 talents of silver, of which 140 talents were spent on the maintenance of the satrapal cavalry and the remaining 360 talents were paid to Darius I.[581] Que had a long history of a prominent horse-breeding tradition that was well-established in the Neo-Assyrian period, and the Persian kings took advantage of the country's horse-breeding and demanded equine tribute. The fame of Que's long-time horse-breeding tradition was very likely to be part of the Deuteronomist's subjective experience. Both Egypt and Que had been selected as a symbol of equestrian strength, presumably because of their well-known history in equestrian warfare and horse-breeding.

Many scholars, whether or not they subscribe to the historicity of 1 Kgs 10:28–29, have pointed out that this short section belongs to the larger theme of the grandeur and prosperity of the Solomonic Kingdom.[582] Horses were high-status animals and high-cost luxuries, used only by the highest classes, mostly kings, nobility, warriors, and priests. In the Persian period, relay horses played a significant role in the imperial courier service, as the numerous Perpolis Fortification Tablets that deal with equestrian matters attest.[583] Chariots were valuable royal

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[580] Albright, "Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldean Kings," 22; "The Azatiwada Inscription," translated by K. Lawson Younger, Jr., *COS* 2:148–50.
[581] Herodotus, *Hist.* III.90.
[582] Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 218–19; Schley, "1 Kings 10:26–29: A Reconsideration," 600; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 545.
[583] See Nos. 1635–1704, 1757–78, 1780, 1785, 1834–2062 in *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, trans. Richard T. Hallock.

possessions. In the Persian period, their role as instruments of warfare had dwindled and was gradually replaced by cavalry warfare, but they continued to be used in royal hunts, royal processions, and cultic ceremonies.[584] According to Xenophon, Cyrus II was the first Persian king to have equipped the cavalry units, made riding a part of Persian curriculum, and ordered that Persian nobles must not travel on foot but always ride on horseback, irrespective of the distance they travel.[585] Thus, decorated horses and chariots were not only luxury items, but they were regarded as a sign of royal status and social prestige enjoyed only by the privileged of the Persian empire. The literary topos of horses and chariots in the ancient world is crucial to the interpretation of the Solomonic narrative.

While many other luxury items are plebified in the Solomonic narrative, horses and chariots remain royal commodities, whose transactions are strictly between royal houses. Moreover, these valuable goods have never been mentioned as booty or instruments of warfare in the text. This creates a stark contrast with the ancient imperial culture and thus constitutes a measurable absence. When horses and chariots are mentioned in ancient texts, they appear mostly in the lists of tributes or booty or as instruments of warfare, and only occasionally merchandise.[586] The Great Kings of Egypt and ancient Southwest Asia were keen on boasting about equine and equestrian forces as an aspect of their military strength.[587] In the Solomonic narrative, the Deuteronomist's interests in "horses" and "chariots" are mainly profit-oriented, which is consistent with the general tone of the text, with Solomon's role portrayed as the middleman of the horse and chariot trade between Egypt and the royalties in Asia Minor and northern Syria.

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[584] See Dalley, "Ancient Mesopotamian Military Organization," in *CANE*, 1:422.
[585] Xenophon, *Cyr.* IV.3; see also Hyland, *The Horse in the Ancient World*, 118.
[586] See Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," 226.
[587] For examples of such aggrandizement by Tiglath-pileser I, Adad-nirari, II, Azitawada, king of Adana, see Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* 2:48, 435; *ANET*, 653.

As early as the Late Bronze Age, the role of the middleman in trades between Egypt and

Asia Minor had been dominated by the Phoenician cities, whose interests in international liaisons

were motivated by economic development and profits. The Phoenician cities had developed a

commercial partnership with Egypt, to an extent that there was a "Tyrian Camp" in Memphis.[588]

In the Neo-Assyrian period, commercial activities between Egypt and Assyria, whose territory

coincides with the biblical Aram, were also conducted through the Phoenician cities.[589] In the

Persian period, the Phoenicians and the Egyptians continued their close trading relations and

even became political allies, along with the Greeks, at times to resist Persian hegemony of the

eastern Mediterranean region and the Nile Delta. Persian domination over these western

territories was also motivated by profits. To Persians, the maintenance of a steady flow of taxes

and tributes from the Phoenician city-states and Egypt was at times difficult and challenging due

to the recurrence of their collaborated resistance. Reading 1 Kgs 10:28–29 from the Persian

context, the text displays an ambitious desire to replace Phoenicia's privileged position as an

intercontinental middleman in trade through the mechanism of introjective identification and to

surpass the Persians as the greatest profiteer of the times by demonstrating an ability to mediate

between various polities whose relations were highly volatile and vacillating and by forming a

trade partnership with Egypt, an endeavor that the Persians failed to accomplish repeatedly due

to the political tensions with the western provinces in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.

The prominence of Que and the representation of Egypt as major horse-traders, along with

the vibrant trade in horses and decorated chariots in 1 Kgs 10:28–29, reflect more of the

historical situation in the eighth-century Neo-Assyrian period and the subjective experience of

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[588] Herodotus, *Hist.* II.112; John W. Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period: Partners in Trade and Rebellion," in *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean Word: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 466.
[589] Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 23–34.

the Deuteronomist's Persian context. The Solomonic narrative may be a derivative "memory," namely a psychic reality, that mingled historical details collected from the Neo-Assyrian records, with the Assyrian-Egyptian horse transactions displaced by the Solomonic-Egyptian ones.

Narrative details are mingled with historical elements stemming from the Persian context in which chariotry was gradually being replaced by cavalry in warfare, but it continued to be a prominent sign of royal status and affluence and was used in royal hunts and ceremonial processions. During the literary conception of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the overarching writer would have to rely on historical research to write the part on the monarchic history of Israel and Judah. He may have accessed the documents in the Neo-Assyrian archive that suggested and yielded the image of the vibrant equestrian trade between Egypt, Que, and the Asian imperializer. The wish to take the imperializer's place may have triggered psychic mechanisms through which Solomon took on the guise of the Neo-Assyrian king and became the chief middleman in equestrian trade.

Israelite-Egyptian Relations: Introjective Identification

The Pharaoh's role in the Solomonic narrative is complex and composite. He is portrayed as Solomon's father-in-law and land concessor, as an asylum provider to Solomon's enemies, and implicitly as Solomon's intercontinental partner in horse and chariot trades. This portrayal seems to be contradictory, inconsistent, ambivalent, ambiguous, and historically implausible. Yet, considering the signifying context in which the text originated, the impossible portrayal actually reveals the primary-process mechanisms of the cultural fantasy, in particular the mechanism of introjective identification. The composite figure of the Pharaoh in the Solomonic Kingdom is put together to forge an introjective identification of the Persian empire into the biblical portrayal of

the Solomonic Kingdom.

Persian-Egyptian antagonistic relations in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. were, for most of the time, unstable and vacillating. After Cambyses II conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.E., Persians maintained stable territorial domination over Egypt for several decades. Through the collaboration of the Egyptian elite, rumors of Cambyses II's or Cyrus II's marriage to Nitetis, a daughter of the former Pharaoh Apries (Herodotus, *Hist.* III.1–2), were spread among the Egyptian and Persian populations to legitimize the anomalous ascendance of Cambyses II by providing the invader's rule a theogamous basis through his or his father's marriage to an Egyptian princess. Solomon's marriage to the Pharaoh's daughter could be an introjective identification of this legendary Persian-Egyptian union, as I have argued. Solomon semiotically surpassed the Persian kings by subjugating Egypt through diplomatic marriage without any scruples or concession on the Egyptian side as Cambyses II encountered from Amasis, according to the Persian version of the story in Herodotus's *Histories* (III.1). Solomon even acquired Gezer as a dowry from his Egyptian father-in-law, which would have been interpreted as a sign of submission.

A few decades down the road, Egyptians soon sought for an opportunity to break free from Persian hegemony after Xerxes lost his battles in the Greek campaign. After the death of Xerxes in 465 B.C.E., the Egyptians of the Delta crowned Inaros, a Libyan prince, as the Pharaoh. He recruited local Egyptians and Athenian mercenaries and led a revolt against Artaxerxes I. Artaxerxes I eventually crushed the rebellion in 454 B.C.E. and regained territorial dominance; however, he failed to secure military control over some scattered regions in the Delta. Amyrtaeus became a kinglet in the marshes, and there was possibly another dynast in the region.[590] Since

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[590] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 575–76; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:319–23, 390–91; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 17; Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XI.71:3–6; 74; 77:1–5; Thucydides, *History of Peloponnesian War* I.104:109–10;

then, more Egyptian revolts broke out, and Egypt even seceded fully between 404 and 399 during the reign of Artaxerxes II. Not until 343/2 B.C.E., during the reign of Artaxerxes III, were the Persians able to re-annex the entirety of Egypt back into the empire.[591]

For the most part of the Achaemenid history, Persians' territorial control over Egypt had been volatile and precarious, and Egyptian-Persian relations were characterized by ambivalence and hesitance. At times, Egyptians even formed alliances and fomented insurgences with the Greeks and the regional powers in the eastern Mediterranean in an attempt to counter or overturn the Persian hegemony. During the period when Egypt regained their independence from Persia, Egypt maintained close business associations with the Phoenician cities and even supported their anti-Persian cause. Tachos (reign 361–359 B.C.E.), a Pharaoh of the Thirtieth Dynasty, was once sheltered by the Sidonians in his escape from Persian capture around 365/364 B.C.E., and he had possibly collaborated with the rebels in Asia Minor and Syria.[592] In 345 B.C.E., Nectanebo II, another Pharaoh of the Thirtieth Dynasty, supported the Phoenicians, who were instigated by the Sidonians to resist the Persians. Due to their strategic location in commerce, the Sidonians were wealthy and were able to muster a host of mercenaries and quickly acquired a number of triremes and other provisions for war. Eventually the Phoenician revolts, along with rebellions happening in Cyprus, were quashed by Artaxerxes III, but they delayed his re-annexation of Egypt.[593] Egyptians also supported anti-Persian elements in the empire and harbored dissidents and political refugees from both the conquered peoples and the Persians.[594] For instance, according to the Greek historians, they allied the Spartans and the Phoenicians for their anti-Persian cause and

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for a translation, see Thucydides, *History of Peloponnesian War* (trans. C. F. Smith; 4 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1919–1923).

[591] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:347, 351–52, 413–14; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire,* 100–01.

[592] Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 470–1; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 664.

[593] Ibid., 683; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:410–412; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 683; Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XVI.40.3; 40.5–43.3; 44.1–2, 4; 45.1–6; 46.1–3.

[594] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*,1:352, 370–71, 388–89, 391–92, 395–96.

provided refuge to Evagoras king of Salamis in Cyprus, Tamos a partisan of Cyrus the Young, and Glos a Persian commander who rebelled against Artaxerxes II. Egyptians provided an asylum for these anti-Persian forces and protected them from the Great King's persecution.

In the Solomonic narrative, the Pharaoh takes on the role of an asylum provider of Solomon's enemies, his Edomite enemy Hadad (1 Kgs 11:14–22) and his domestic rival Jeroboam (LXX 12:24d–f), and even gives them each a sister-in-law in marriage. As I have argued, the symbolic meaning of these marriages differs from that of Solomon's marriage to a Pharaoh's daughter. Rather than a sign of subjugation of Egypt, these marriages would have been interpreted as a sign of submission to Egypt by the first readers/auditors. Given Egypt's role as an archetypal imperial power, these unions in exile produce a looming effect of the potential hostility that Hadad and Jeroboam are capable of and thus serve to amplify their role as YHWH's punitive agent of Solomon's cultic infidelity. Neither of Solomon's regional adversaries, Hadad or Rezon, reappears in the rest of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. Their rhetorical function is immediate and short-lived in the Solomonic narrative. The Pharaoh's ambivalent role as their asylum provider and an ally with Solomon through marriage alliance is reminiscent of the Egyptian-Persian diplomatic relations, especially in the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C.E. when Egypt or part of Egypt broke free temporarily from the Persian hegemony and hostilities between Egypt and Persia were intense. Egyptians were fueling anti-Persian elements in the Phoenician cities and Asia Minor. The portrayal of the Pharaoh in the text is a combination of the Deuteronomist's subjective experience and fantasy. In other words, it contains features in part identifiable from their historical existence, including their direct experience and learned oral or written traditions of different periods, such as the anecdotal stories recounted by the Greek historians or ancient monumental inscriptions found throughout Egypt, and in part interwoven

and composed through their psychic processes. For instance, Hadad's and Jeroboam's marriage with a sister of the Pharaoh's wife is a composite practice that stemmed from the hostile, unstable relations between Egypt and Persia, and the general assumption of hostage policy practiced by many countries. Both aspects would have been a part of the first readers'/auditors' subjective experience, but they were combined and semiotized within the persona of the Pharaoh. Insofar as the historical evidence is available to us, no Pharaoh would have likely married the sisters of his wife to hostages, voluntary or not, however enormous these assets were to the Egyptian king's imperializing cause.

The coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean were strategically important for the Persians because of, first, its advantageous location between Egypt/Greece/Cyprus and the interior of the Persian empire and, second, the abundance of its natural resources, such as timber and metals. They also functioned as transit ports through which Egyptian, Greek, and Cypriot goods entered the inlands. The Pharaoh's implicit role as Solomon's intercontinental partner in horse and chariot trade and the depiction of Egypt as the export country and petty kingdoms in Anatolia and northern Syria as the import countries bear resemblance to the trade relations between Neo-Assyrians and the Nubian Egyptians in the eighth century B.C.E.

The image of Egypt as a supplier of horses and chariots may have been a displacement of Egypt's reputable equestrian and equine forces in the Persian period (Deut 17:16; Isa 31:1; Ezek 17:15), in which chariot warfare was taken over by cavalry warfare. The "earlier memory" of Egypt's export of high-quality chariot horses and its equestrian technologies lingered in the form of oral or archival traditions. Egypt's supposed share in the lucrative horse and chariot trades as a supplier in the Solomonic Kingdom was produced through the mechanism of condensation and displacement. The familiar images of the imperializer from different periods, between Neo-

Assyrian and Persian eras were commingled and composed to form the composite figure Solomon. The independent images of the imperializer are displaced and condensed through their approximation, namely the sharing of a common attribute.[595]

Solomon's complex and composite characterization reveals the mechanisms of condensation and displacement. Solomon is a composite character that combines the partial, fragmentary, displaced images of the imperializer from different periods. Images that the Deuteronomist were presumably able to collect through received oral and written traditions, included the archival texts from the Neo-Assyrian dossier, to which their position as Persian collaborators would have allowed them access. This composite image of Solomon maximizes the collective egoistic desire and pleasurable effects by painting Solomon in the most idealistic image of the imperializer derivable from the subjective experience of the Deuteronomist. The mingling of disparate traditions from the Deuteronomist's subjective experience—their own flesh-and-blood experience with Persian imperialism, and the various traditions of the past obtained through inheritance and research—bespeaks a psychoanalytic temporality in which the past, the present, and the future are no longer discrete and separate but fused seamlessly as a part of psychic reality.

The Egyptian-Israelite trade partnership is a fantasy that reflects the wishful thinking of the writer(s) to imperialize through trade relations. The portrayal of Solomon's commercial dominion coheres with the image of the Persian empire as the trade enterprise that manipulated trade relations among its subject countries (represented as the export and import countries in our text) to maximize its profits and the content of its treasury. In fact, Solomon, the metonymic Israel, textually surpassed the Persian empire by successfully maintaining Israel's dominion in

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[595] See Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:319.

trade with Egypt, kings in Anatolia, and kings in northern Syria, with whom the Persians struggled throughout the fifth and fourth centuries due to political unrest. Solomon's traders took up the role historically and traditionally played by the Phoenician merchants and solicited trade relations with the major powers to fill its royal coffers with gold and silver. Thus, we have a double introjective identification. Solomon's commercial enterprise is a composite image of the wealthy Phoenician cities and an ideal Persian empire unfaltering in its trade dominion.

Conclusions

From the psychoanalytic perspective, the Pharaoh's composite role in the Solomonic narrative would have stemmed from the Deuteronomist's subjective experience and the products of their psychic processes. The Pharaoh's image is a conflation of displaced, fragmentary, distorted, and anachronistic traditions of Egypt, Neo-Assyria, Persia, and Persian-Egyptian relations from different eras interwoven through the mechanisms of condensation and displacement. The Pharaoh is portrayed as Solomon's father-in-law, Solomon's partner in horse and chariot trades, and at the same time as an asylum provider to both Solomon's regional enemy and domestic rival. The three roles produce a rather ambivalent image of the Israelite-Egyptian relations. When the signifying context of Persian imperialism is taken into consideration, the text reveals a deep-seated fantasy of the imperialized Yehudites to take the dominant place of the imperializer by the textual means of introjective identification with the Persians in their precarious political relations with Egypt, and in their symbolic emulation of the Persians through the semiotization of Solomon's diplomatic leverage and commercial dominance.

As I have argued, Solomon's privileged marriage alliance with the Pharaoh was likely to be interpreted as a sign of Solomon's superiority over Egypt by the first readers/auditors, given that

the Egyptian kings had long regarded foreign brides and their dowries as tributes, thus a sign of submission to them. In addition, seen in the light of the Persian ideological means of legitimizing a conquest post eventum through the claim of land as dowry, the Pharaoh's concession of Gezer (9:14–15 [LXX 915; 1022; 5:14]) would have been interpreted as the Israelite king's legitimate right over Gezer, a city long under Egyptian hegemony. Through the motifs of diplomatic marriage and land concession as dowry, imperial ambition is displaced as erotic desire. Solomon semiotically subjugated Egypt and surpassed Persia by sealing a diplomatic marriage with Egypt without any scruples or concession on the Egyptian side, unlike Cambyses II's or Cyrus II's legendary marital proposal to an Egyptian princess, as Herodotus (*Hist.* III.1–12) suggests. The similarity between the legendary Israelite-Egyptian and Persian-Egyptian marriage alliances would effect a transference of affects associated with imperial grandiosity in the Yehudite readers/auditors, members of the imagined Solomonic Kingdom, and engender a sense of pride, privilege, and victory over their imperializer through Solomon's symbolic emulation of the Persian kings. As I have argued, imperial desire is often expressed metonymically through the erotic subjugation of the female subjects within the imperial dominion. Solomon had the exceptional and highest privilege of marrying the daughter of the Pharaoh and receiving a land concession as a dowry. In doing so, he symbolically subjugated Egypt and surpassed the Persian kings.

Solomon is portrayed as the intercontinental trade partner of Egypt in horse and chariot trades (10:28–29). Through his commercial partnership with the great power, Solomon has dominated the horse and chariot trades in southwestern Anatolia and northern Syria, expanding his imperial enterprise beyond the northern border. The trade partnership constitutes a metonymic expression of an ambitious desire of imperial expansion and narcissistic features,

including the grandiosity wish, the sense of uniqueness, and the sense of entitlement. Through the mechanism of introjective identification, the text also displays the wishful thinking of taking the Phoenicians' strategically important position as Persians' chief intercontinental trade partner in the Syro-Palestinian region and of surpassing the Persians as the major imperial entrepreneur in the region.

The Pharaoh's dual role as Solomon's ally and asylum provider to his enemies is identifiable in the Persian-Egyptian relations in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., which for most of the period was unstable and ambivalent, vacillating between collaboration and antagonism. At times, Egyptians even formed alliances and were involved in insurgences with the Greeks and the Syro-Palestinians against the Persians. Not only is Egypt portrayed as the archetypal imperial power with whom Solomon allies, but it is also depicted as an archetypal rival who harbors Solomon's Edomite enemy and Ephraimite rival. Concerning Hadad's and Jeroboam's flight to and warm reception in Egypt, when interpreted within the practice of high-born hostage-taking or refugee-seeking in ancient Southwest Asia, it is inevitable that their life in exile is to be understood as an incubation period, in which they await future opportunities to avenge the persecutor and to restore their political status, with the support of the host country. The power relations between Solomon, Jeroboam, and Hadad are semiotized through the extent of erotic privileges they each enjoy with respect to the Pharaoh's women, which is further textual evidence that the Solomonic narrative is a narcissistic cultural fantasy that places Solomon above all the major powers in the surroundings of Yehud.

CHAPTER 6

HIRAM AS A COMPOSITE CHARACTER

Introduction

Hiram, the king of Tyre, is another composite character in the Solomonic narrative. His role shifts from a provider of building materials and labor force (1 Kgs 5:15–32 [Eng. 1–18]), to a master craftsman of bronzework (7:13–45), and eventually to a partner of Solomon's maritime exploration (9:26–28; 10:11–12). His manifold roles serve to fulfill different aspects of Solomon's imperial cause, from setting up the infrastructure of the imperial city to the setting up of a commercial fleet to further his imperial enterprise northward. From a structuralist perspective, his role to that of Solomon would be categorized as a helper to the hero, but it would be more pertinent to call him the great provider or, metaphorically, a wish-granting genie. He has fulfilled the three wishes of Solomon, with or without being asked. First, at the request of the Israelite king, he provides Solomon with the cedar timber needed for the temple and palace building projects and also mobilizes laborers from his country to handle and transport the timber. He is even able to read Solomon's all (unspoken) desires (את־כל־חפצך) and offer him, in addition to cedar timber, cypress timber and gold that Solomon does not request and yet desires (5:22[Eng. 8], 24[Eng. 10]; 9:11). He mobilizes his builders to work in collaboration with Solomon's builders in preparing the timber and the stone for the building projects (5:32[Eng. 18]; LXX 6:1).[596] Solomon promises to pay Hiram's servants with wages (שכר; 5:20[Eng. 6]),

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[596]The meaning of Hebrew lexeme והגבלים (5:32[18]; LXX 6:1) is disputed. Most English versions have treated הגבלים as a gentilic with the transliteration "Giblites" or "Gebalites," which is unattested. LXX treats it as a verbal construct and renders καὶ ἔβαλαν (LXX^Lucian: ἐνέβαλον) αὐτούς, meaning "and they put them [the stones]." It has been conjectured that והגבלים is a corrupted reading of והגבלום (hiphil of גבל, "to border, rim," with third-person

but Hiram only desires "food provisions for my [Hiram's] household" (אֶת־חֶפְצִי לָתֵת [לֶחֶם בֵּיתִי;

5:23[Eng. 9]) in return.[597] Solomon does as Hiram requests and provides him with 10,000 cors of

wheat as "food provisions for his household" (מַכֹּלֶת לְבֵיתוֹ) and in addition 20 cors of beaten oil

yearly (v. 25[Eng. 11]).[598] It is reasonable to assume that the large amount of wheat would

include the food rations to the indentured laborers. In sum, Hiram gives more than he is asked,

but demands less than he is promised. As I have mentioned earlier, the exchange of desires

between Solomon and Hiram creates an "exploitative division of wish-fulfilling labor." The

exploiter demands luxurious goods, and the exploited wishes only for the basic provisions,

namely the means of survival. The ration payments put the Tyrians in the position of hirelings

subjugated to their imperial boss Solomon. This section will analyze the composite nature of the

characterization of Hiram and probe deeper into the manifest surface of the Hiram episode,

seeking to find the primary-process mechanisms embedded in the Israelite-Tyrian relations. I

will argue that Hiram is a metonym of the powerful coastal city-states of Phoenicia, and the

Israelite-Tyrian relations described in the Solomonic narrative reflects a subject-object reversal

of the Israelite-Phoenician relations during the Persian period. It constitutes another component

of the imperialized Yehudites' cultural fantasy to take the place of the Persian imperializer

through the mechanism of introjective identification; namely, the real-life Persian-Phoenician

relations are semiotically displaced to the Israelite-Tyrian relations in the text.

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plural pronominal suffix; see *HALOT*, 173). The reconstructed reading suggests a process of refining the hewed stone. Assuming the syntactic symmetry between the first half and the second half of the verse, the reconstructed yet unattested reading is more sound and convincing than the unattested gentilic word. For a discussion of the translation, see Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 224–25.

[597] See *HALOT,* 125.

[598] LXX 5:25 has 20,000 baths of beaten oil, instead of 20 cors. 1 cor is equivalent to approximately 300 to 450 liters and 1 bath is about 22 liters. 'Household" (בית) here carries a broader sense of the royal establishment that includes all subjects under the king's authority.

Hiram as Solomon's Vassal-Ally

According to the Deuteronomist's "peace" standard, which is expressed as a function of Solomon's interests, Solomon and Hiram have maintained an amicable relationship. After their first collaboration, the two kings enter a treaty (1 Kgs 5:26[Eng. 12]). We can infer from the mention of "peace between Hiram and Solomon" (שלם בין חירם ובין שלמה ;5:26[Eng. 12]) and Hiram's addressing Solomon as "my brother" (אחי ;9:13) that it is not a vassal treaty. Rather, it is a treaty of parity (or fraternity), supposedly agreed upon by two parties of complete equality.[599] However, the Israelite-Tyrian treaty seems to have only conferred on Hiram a nominal status of being Solomon's equal; in practice, Solomon remains the dominator and the exploiter of Tyrian resources and technologies. Such a practical inequality is attested in the ancient Southwest Asian treaties sealed by parties that were supposedly equal in status.[600] In fact, the writer(s) may have hinted at the disparity in power by naming the Tyrian king "Hiram."

To date, archaeology has not yielded any supportive evidence for the historicity of the tenth-century Tyrian king Hiram; the only written sources at our disposal are the biblical narratives of David and Solomon, Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII.50–149), and his *Against Apion*

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[599] For a discussion of a parity treaty, see Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 4–5.

[600] For instance, in the thirteenth century B.C.E., after prolonged hostility, Ramesses II of Egypt and Hattusili III of Hatti concluded a treaty of fraternity. In Queen Puduhepa of Hatti's correspondence to Ramesses II, she even addressed the Egyptian king as "my brother." However, in practice, the relationship between the Great Kings was not totally equal. Ramesses II was harboring Urhi-Teshshup, whose throne Hattusili III had usurped, and refused to extradite him to Hatti. In many disputes, Ramesses II also appeared to have a better leverage in negotiation. See "The treaty between Hattusili III of Hatti and Ramses II of Egypt" (Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 15:96–100) and the related texts in ibid., 131–38. An example from the Persian period is the signing of "Peace of Callias" agreed upon between the Persians and the Athenians in 450/449 B.C.E. The Athenian troops relinquished any future claim of territorial rights over Egypt, Cyprus, and Syria in exchange for their own autonomy from the Persian empire. The Athenians hailed the signing of the treaty as an unprecedented victory over Persia. However, as Briant and Kuhrt both have pointed out, the treaty served more the interests of the Persians. For instance, any suspension of tribute payments from the Greek city-states was meant to be temporary and served to put an end to the Athenians' aggression. After the conclusion of the treaty, the Persians continued to manipulate the internal rivalries in Greek cities for their own advantages. See Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XII.4.4–6; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:312; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 580–82. These two treaty samples from different periods should suffice to show that the parity in treaties of fraternity was more claimed than practiced.

(I.106–127), whose reliability and credibility are highly questionable.[601] Josephus's accounts contain questionable sources and obvious derivatives of the biblical accounts. They are also written at least four centuries after the biblical accounts, while the biblical stories had already undergone many revisions through the process of oral and written transmission. Thus, Josephus's accounts cannot be used to corroborate the biblical accounts or the historicity of Hiram. While the lack of extrabiblical evidence cannot totally repudiate the historicity of a tenth-century Tyrian king named Hiram, the composite nature of Hiram's characterization inevitably reveals the fictive elements of this persona, even if a pinch of historical remnant of his personality survived in the narrative. Due to the lack of evidence, the historicity of Hiram cannot be assumed a priori.

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[601] The Tyrian king Hiram is mentioned in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story and the Chronicles (2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:15–32[1–18; LXX 6:1]; 7:13–45; 9:11–14, 26–28; 10:11–12, 22; 1 Chr 14:1; 2 Chr 2:2–15 [Eng. 3–16]; 4:11–16; 8:2, 17–18; 9:10–11, 21). The two accounts share the same basic storyline, but differ and are even contradictory in many details. The Chronicler's account seems to be dependent on the Deuteronomist's account and shows signs of "secondary revisions." For instance, the Chronicler differentiates between Huram the Tyrian king and Huram the craftsman as two personae. Also, in the Chronicler's account, there is a subject-object reversal in the land grant episode (1 Kgs 9:11–14). Huram was said to have given cities to Solomon (1 Chr 8:2). The scope of this study does not permit a detailed psychoanalytic analysis of the transposition. However, it could be shown that the Chronicler has elevated the collective grandiosity and entitlement that are characteristic of the Solomonic narrative to a greater extent. Thus, Chronicler participates in the cultural fantasy and intensifies its wish-fulfilling affects. Likewise, Josephus follows the Chronicler and differentiates the Tyrian craftsmen from the Tyrian king by assigning them different names, Cheirōmos and Eirōmos respectively. Josephus also harmonizes the Tyrian craftsman's ethnicity by merging the two biblical accounts, making Cheirōmos a son of a Naphthalite woman and an Israelite man (Danite in Chronicles). Josephus's accounts in *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII.40–149) and *Against Apion* (I.106–127) are purportedly based on secondary "Tyrian records" translated by the Greek historian Menander and the Phoenician history written by the Greek historian Dios. In the latter, he cites the excerpts of the works of both historians. There are numerous issues on the credibility of Josephus's sources. First, many historians have doubted the reliability of Menander's and Dios's accounts and the existence of the so-called "Tyrian records." It was prominent for Hellenist historians to write pseudonymously cum posthumously. Second, it was impossible to date their historical writings since we know almost nothing about their lives, when or where they had flourished. Many scholars believe that Menander belonged to the early second century B.C.E. Their original works have been lost to us and probably also to Josephus, except in fragmentary excerpts. See Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* (trans. and commentary by John M. G. Barclay; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 70, n.379. From Josephus's citation of Dios' excerpts, we can infer that Dios uses oral traditions of anecdotal and legendary kinds. In sum, the credibility of these historians is questioned. Second, there is also the issue of how Josephus utilizes their works to support his thesis of the antiquity of the Jewish nation. He is often polemical and eager to deliver his points, even at the expense of disregarding the contradictory details and skewing their portrayals. For scholarly works on the historicity of Hiram and the unreliability of the written sources, see H. Jacob Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem: Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, 1973), 77–192; Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 195–99; Francois Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1992), 40–58; Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* (trans. and commentary by John M. G. Barclay; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 66–77.

Given that Hiram's historicity is inconclusive and the Deuteronomist habitually used typological names in the Solomonic narrative, the possibility that the name "Hiram" (חירם or its variant "Hirum" (חירום; 5:24[Eng. 10], 32[Eng. 18]; 7:40) may carry a symbolic meaning cannot be ruled out and should be considered. By "typological," I do not mean that the name must be arbitrarily made up, only that it bears a symbolic significance within the signifying context.

"*Ḥirummu*," the Phoenician equivalent of "Hiram," is a recurrent royal name in the history of Tyre with attestations in Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods.[602] Among the attested Hiram kings, noteworthy are the so-called Hiram II who allied with the kings in Syria, Damascus, and Israel to form an anti-Assyrian coalition against Tiglath-pileser III and the so-called Hiram III who was in power when Cyrus defeated the Babylonians.[603] Considering the Tyrian royal name's frequent adoption, the geographical proximity of Phoenicia and Yehud, and their frequent cultural and political interactions, it can be reasonably assumed that the Deuteronomist and their Yehudite readers/auditors were familiar with the name. Because of the commonness of "Hiram," the specific name may have carried some representational, *pars pro*

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[602] The archaeological evidence for the historicity of the so-called Hiram I, the tenth-century Tyrian king mentioned in the Solomonic narrative, is lacking, but Tyrian king Hiram II (reign ca. 739–730 B.C.E.) is mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, 283) and his name appeared on the Stele of Tiglath-pileser, along with the names of the Syrian, Damascene, and Israelite kings with whom he had entered an anti-Assyrian coalition. The court list of Nebuchadnezzar, dated to 570 B.C.E., mentions Merbaal and his brother Hiram III (reign ca. 551–532), whom the Tyrians brought back from Babylon to be kings in Tyre. See Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, 193–219, 326–329, 343–347. According to Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* I.158–59), Cyrus defeated Nabonidus, king of Babylon, in the fourteenth year of Hiram III. See also H. Jacob Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period [539–486 B.C.E.]," *BA* 42 [1979], 25). Herodotus (*Hist.*VII.98) mentions a certain Tyrian king, "Matten, son of Siromos," who was on board of a Persian-Phoenician ship. Katzenstein (*The History of Tyre*, 187) proposes that "Siromos" should be read "Hiram."
[603] Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, 193–219; Mark Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia: An Introduction* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2001), 27–28. It should be pointed out that the Doppelgänger of three characters in the Solomonic narrative are found in the Neo-Assyrian records found in Calah. "Hiram of Tyre" (*ANET*, 283a), "Rezon of Damascus" (*ANET*, 283b), and "Samsi, queen of Arabia…Arabia in the country of Saba'" (*ANET*, 283b, also 284–86) in the annalistic records of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) correspond to Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:15–32[Eng. 1–18]; 7:13–45; 9:26–28; 10:11–12), Rezon of Damascus (11:23–25), and the Queen of Sheba (Saba'?; 10:1–10) respectively. It is tempting to speculate that the writer(s) of the Solomonic narrative had access to the records in the Neo-Assyrian archive and derived these personae and their names partly on the basis of these historic figures. In other words, the annals were part of the Deuteronomist's subjective experience and part of their creative materials. However, it does not entail that the Deuteronomist must have belonged to the Neo-Assyrian period, but only that they had access to the Neo-Assyrian records. This is a hypothesis worthy of further exploration.

toto or metonymic, significance for the general category "Tyrian royalty."

"Hiram" (חירם), or its variant "Hirum" (חירום), is a shortened form of אחירם, meaning "my brother is exalted."[604] The initial א is dropped due to apheresis. In the episode of land grant, Hiram addresses Solomon as "my brother" (9:13), a title of endearment and a claim of his equal status presumably warranted by his treaty of fraternity with Solomon. Since, within the story, אחי "my brother" is a reference to "Solomon", the name אחירם "Hiram" may naturally be interpreted as "Solomon is exalted." In other words, it signifies Hiram's tacit acknowledgment of Solomon's superiority. The name of the Tyrian king bears a symbolic exaltation that reveals the Deuteronomist's grandiose wish of Israel's dominance over the Phoenician city-states, in particular, and over its surrounding countries in general through the mechanism of projective identification, namely self-admiration projected into admiration from others.[605]

Is Hiram Solomon's ally or vassal? Although Hiram has concluded a treaty of fraternity with Solomon, the Israelite-Tyrian equality, as I have pointed out, remains nominal. In practice, Hiram is treated more like Solomon's vassal, constantly and variously exploited by the Israelite king. In spite of the Deuteronomist's portrayal of Hiram's cooperative spirit, Hiram's submissiveness has a certain pretentious and inconsistent aspect. In the episode of land grant (1

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[604] *HALOT*, 299, 313; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 208.

[605] Even though the writer(s) may have named the Tyrian king "Hiram" because of the metonymic significance of the name, it is not certain whether the symbolic exaltation of Solomon as "my brother" is a result of a conscious process or a primary process of transference. In any case, it is arguable that the Deuteronomist were conscious of the mechanism of projective identification and utilized it to their rhetorical purpose. In the Gideon-Abimelech story (Judges 8–9), Gideon declines the Israelites' offer to be their king (8:22–23). The narrative gap allows his rejection to be interpreted as either genuine or pretentious. There are textual signs that suggest that Gideon has in practice ruled over the Israelites or the Shechemites. See Alberto Soggin, *Judges: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1981), 160; David Jobling, *1 Samuel*, 46. His aspiration to be the ruler is shown through his request for gold earrings for setting up an ephod cult, his acquisition of numerous wives and concubines who bore him seventy sons, and even his naming his own son "Abimelech" (אבימלך) which means "my father (is) king" (8:24–31). Through the naming of his son, Gideon implicitly acknowledges his kingly status. This textual incident of naming suggests that the Deuteronomist were able to project the thought of Gideon into the naming of his son, thereby controlling the readers'/auditors' interpretation of the characters' acts and attitudes. The meaning of "Abimelech" is disputed. I follow the most obvious reading. For other possible meanings rendered by various scholars, see Robert G. Boling, *Judges* (AB 6A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company: 1975), 162–64.

Kgs 9:11–13), the hidden political tension and disparity between the two allies have finally broken out. After Hiram has provided Solomon with the precious materials for his building materials, Solomon gives to Hiram twenty cities situated in Galilee, an adjoining region to the southeast of Tyre, in return. Hiram makes a trip to inspect the cities, and he finds them "not right" (ולא ישרו; 9:12). His dissatisfaction with Solomon's territorial grant is then explicitly expressed in a direct speech; the episode ends with the etiological note, typical of Greek historiography, that he names the cities "the land of Cabul [worthlessness] to this day" (ארץ כבול עד היום הזה; v. 13). From this etiological note, we can infer that the toponym "Cabul" is probably known to the first readers/auditors and the correlation of the relations between Solomon and Hiram to a toponym familiar to the readers/auditors is one of the Deuteronomist's rhetorical means to persuade the readers/auditors of the authenticity of the accounts.

There are many narrative gaps in this short episode of land grant that invites transferential reading. First of all, the narrator does not convey what exactly is "not right," but Hiram's judgment implies a certain expectation regarding the land grant. The readers/auditors are told of Hiram's judgment, but not the process, basis, or criteria of his judgment. He might have expected the Israelite king's generosity to be more proportional to his own generosity, or more commensurable to the status of a Great King. His expectation may be or may not be reasonable, and the same can be said of his judgment. Both are subject to transferential reading. One would assume that a Tyrian reader/auditor and a Yehudite reader/auditor would have filled in the narrative gaps differently. What is certain is that Hiram's expectation implies that he deems his relationship with the Israelite king as an honorable business transaction, whose success is judged by its expected return. According to his unspoken standard, the return is deemed disappointing, unfair, and perhaps exploitative.

Second, Hiram then either speaks directly to Solomon or thinks aloud (with Solomon as his imagined addressee) to express his disappointment in the form of a rhetorical question: "What are these cities that you have given me, my brother?" (מה הערים האלה אשר־נתתה לי אחי ;9:13). Note that neither the nature of Hiram's addressee (whether real or imagined) nor that of his dissatisfaction is explicitly stated. Is Hiram complaining or simply expressing his dissatisfaction cathartically? Is he in the presence of the Israelite king? Is Hiram's rhetorical question a way of venting his frustration in order to avoid direct confrontation with the Israelite king? Again, the narrative gap invites transferential reading, and the answers to each question could be multiple, indefinite, and even contradictory.

Finally, another narrative gap that invites transferential reading has to do with the Solomon's motive behind the land grant, which is not explicitly stated in the narrative. The temporal adverb אז "then" that marks the sequence of the reciprocal transactions from Hiram's supply of raw materials (valuable timber and gold) to Solomon's grant of twenty cities (9:11) seems to suggest a causal relation between the two grants. Because of the textual ambiguity, the causation is subject to, again, transferential reading. Commentators have interpreted Solomon's land grant variously as a pawn (or mortgage) to secure a loan (120 talents) from Hiram, a payment for the Tyrian goods and labor, a cession due to his inability to pay Hiram, and a collateral for his debts to Hiram.[606] All of these interpretations presuppose a certain extent of historicity of the land

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[606] For the pawn theory, see Albert Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 1; Münster: Aschendorff, 1911); cited from Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 475; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 204–05; Wiseman, *1 & 2 Kings*, 126; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 307. For the payment theory, see F. Charles Fensham, "The Treaty between Solomon and Hiram and the Alalakh Tablets," *JBL* 79 (1960), 59–60; Gwilym H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984), 1:212; A. Graeme Auld, *I & II Kings.* (The Daily Study Bible [Old Testament]; Philadelphia: Penn.: Westminster, 1986), 71; Marvin Sweeney, "The Critique of Solomon in the Josianic Edition of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 114 (1995): 615–16; Walter Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings* (Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 123–24. For the cession and collateral theories, see Gray, *I & II Kings*, 223; J. Alberto Soggin, "The Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom," 375; idem, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 87. Other views include a settlement for a political dispute

grant episode and also a certain extent of incredibility of historical magnificence of the

Solomonic Kingdom. They subvert the textual portrayal of a magnificent kingdom and the

presumed superiority of Solomon over the Tyrian king. They rewrite what they consider as a

more historically plausible scenario by portraying Solomon in dire financial difficulties and in

desperation ceding the Galilean cities in the northern frontier. These interpretations thus go

against the rhetorical force of grandiosity and entitlement that is repeatedly observed in the text.

While the narrative gap invites transferential reading, it does not entail that multiple

meanings were intended or supposed by the writer(s). The meaning, whether intended or not,

could be implied even in the absence of signifiers within the specific signifying context. What is

pertinent to my purpose is not how many ways the episode of land grant has been interpreted or

why it is interpreted as such, but how the first Yehudite readers/auditors would have understood

this episode. In order to assess their transferential reading, it is imperative that the episode be

seen as it appears to be, namely a part of the cultural fantasy of collective narcissism produced in

the Deuteronomist's specific signifying context.

The Persian kings used reward and discipline in tandem to gain and retain the loyalty of their

subordinates, including the collaborators of the conquered peoples. Without a reward system,

punishment alone would result in the accumulation of hostile sentiments and ultimately lead to

resistance. Officials at different levels and domains of administration would receive preferential

treatments and benefits in exchange for their loyalty and subservience to the Persian overlords.

Darius I and his successor Xerxes both regarded that one of the qualities of a good king was to

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(DeVries, *1 Kings*, 131–32), a sale (Rice, *Nations under God*, 73–74; Terence E. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* [Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1999], 199), a reward (Iain W. Provan, *1 and 2 Kings* [NIBCOT; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995], 84–85), and an explanation for the loss of the Galilean territory to the Phoenicians in the tenth century B.C.E. (Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* [trans. Anselm Hagedorn; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003], 107).

show favor to those who aided or could potentially aid the Great King in his imperial career. A good king was to be guided by "justice" (*arstam* in Old Persian) in meting out reward or punishment. Darius proclaimed on the Bīsitūn Inscription (*DB*, §63), "The man who cooperated with my house (*viθ*), him I rewarded well; whoso did injury, him I punished well."[607] This imperial ideology is also found in David's valedictory exhortation to Solomon and Solomon's consolidation of the royal house (1 Kings 2). David instructs Solomon to avenge Joab the commander of the army and Shimei the Benjaminite for their blunders and misconducts (vv. 5–9). He also requests Solomon to treat the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite with steadfast kindness (הסד; v. 7). Solomon carries out his father's "dirty work" and goes beyond by starting a royal-house cleansing to remove his opponents. He executes his own brother Adonijah, the former aspirant to the throne, on the grounds of his request to marry David's last concubine, Abishag (vv. 13–25). He exiles Abiathar the priest and a member of Adonijah's faction, to Anathoth (vv. 26–27). After he has executed Joab, he promotes Benaiah, who has carried out all the executions on his behalf, in place of Joab as the commander (vv. 28–35). Solomon has demonstrated the ability to reward and punish accordingly in the beginning of his reign. His grant of twenty cites to Hiram may be interpreted as a part of the reward system to retain officials' loyalty in the light of Persian imperial administration.

Both land confiscation and royal gifts of lands and towns were attested in the Persian period as a part of the imperial system of reward and punishment that the Persian overlords used to inspire, retain, or gain the loyalty of their subjects. Beside land grants, various royal gifts, honors, titles, positions of authority, and privileges were used as rewards or enticement bestowed

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[607] Translation cited from Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 302; see also L. W. King, R. Campbell Thompson, and E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia* (London: British Museum, 1907), 71–72.

to the king's favorite officials, potential collaborators, and benefactors, namely to people whose merits and services were notable, beneficent, or potentially beneficial to imperial interests. Rewards to individuals also served a broader imperial interest by promoting a favorable image of the Great King as a king of "justice" (*arstam*) and attracted more willing collaborators to his service. The Persian overlords demanded absolute loyalty from their client-kings, but at the same time their client-kings expected to be recompensed for the service rendered. This type of patronage system was extensively used by the Romans, but as Niels Peter Lemche has pointed out the institution was presupposed in the Deuteronomistic concept of covenant and already in practice in the ancient Southwest Asian societies before the Roman period.[608] The Persians' reward system was a salient part of the patronage system in maintaining the allegiance of their client-kings.

From the Persian imperial perspective, not all conquered lands were considered royal properties;[609] nonetheless, the Great King had authority over their appropriation, which included direct control over production and producers and the rights of confiscation and redistribution to regional authorities or individuals. Where and when he deemed proper, a Persian king could confiscate and redistribute lands or towns as royal gifts, concessionary plots, or military allotments. These land grants, even without a designated duration, were not considered perpetual and were definitely subject to revocation. The recipients held usufructuary rights and were expected to yield profits and to pay taxes or dues in kind in relation to the usufruct of these lands. The category of concessionary plots is reminiscent of the Babylonian system of *ḫaṭrus* and is

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[608] Niels Peter Lemche, "Kings and Clients: On Loyalty between the Ruler and the Ruled in Ancient 'Israel'," *Semeia* 66 (1995): 119–32. For more on the development of the patronage system from the kinship-household level to the monarchic level, see also Boer, *Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, 105–08.
[609] Briant is skeptical about the existence of a specific category of land called *tagē*, the so-called "crown lands." See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 420.

attested throughout the Persian empire.[610] After Alexander III of Macedon conquered the Persian empire, he adopted and continued this imperial system of land and town grants practiced since the time of Cyrus II.[611]

Instances of land and town grants to both Persian officials and foreign collaborators are well attested in the works of Greek historians and in the Aramaic documents from the Persian military garrison in Elephantine, Egypt. For my purposes, I will focus on the gifts of lands and towns to the foreign collaborators of the Persians. Many Greek exiles, including the well-known cases of Themistocles the Athenian, Demaratus the Lacedaemonian, and Gongylus the Eretrian, received multiple cities in Asia Minor from the Great Kings as enticement for their collaboration in the Persian campaign against the Greeks or as rewards for their allegiance, benefaction, and company in expeditions. These Greek exiles were entitled to claim the revenues of the assigned towns.[612] The Persian kings' generosity in giving lands and towns to the Greeks was a calculated strategy motivated by imperial expansionism. In comparison to the potential territorial return, the gifts of lands and towns were small investments. As Briant puts it, this Persian policy of land and town grants was "part of a strategic design to protect Achaemenid interests in a vitally important region."[613]

The case of Histiaeus of Miletus's land grant not only illustrates how precarious a career of a Persian collaborator could be, but also how perceived ambition and avarice could bring a collaborator's downfall. According to Herodotus (*Hist.*, V.11, 23–24), Darius I wanted to reward Histiaeus of Miletus for his good service and advice that brought Persians a decisive triumph

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[610] Ibid., 415–421.
[611] Ibid., 856.
[612] Ibid., 348–50, 419–20, 561–63; Plutarch, *Themistocles* 26–31; for a translation, see Plutarch, *Lives*, 2:1–92; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III.1.6; for a translation, see Xenophon, *Hellenica* (trans. Carleton L. Brownson; 2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918–1921); Herodotus VI.70.
[613] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 513.

over the Scythians. Therefore, he offered to reward him whatever he should choose. Histiaeus asked for the lucrative Mycinus in the Edonian territory, which was rich in timber for manufacture of ships and oars and in silver mines, along with a sizeable population of Greeks and other non-Persians. Histiaeus was granted the land and began to develop it. Later, Megabazus learned about Histiaeus's request of a land of great strategical value. He warned Darius of Histiaeus's ambition. As the result, Darius recalled Histiaeus to the royal court in Susa and retained him as his tablemate and adviser in court.[614] The series of events commenced Histiaeus's downfall, revolt, defection to the Greeks, and eventually led to his execution.

The significance of Solomon's gift of twelve cities to Hiram to the first readers/auditors must be assessed in view of the perceived Persian policy of land and town grants, in particular to their foreign collaborators. First, the causation between Hiram's supply of valuable raw materials for Solomon's building projects and Solomon's reciprocal gift of twelve cities would have been interpreted as a royal reward. According to the text, Hiram is rewarded with twenties cities nearby his own principality in the adjoining land of Galilee. The number "twenty" may be a symbolic match to the total number of years he has provided service to Solomon's building projects. The temple project takes seven years to complete, and the subsequent palace project takes thirteen years, for a total of twenty years. However, an alternate reading of the land grant as an incentive for Hiram's naval assistance in Solomon's maritime trade expedition would also be plausible, given that the first readers/auditors were able to analogize the historical context of Persian-Phoenician relations of their time.[615] This reading would entail an understanding of the temporal adverb אז "then" as purely temporal.

In view of the Persian imperial policy of land and town grants, the first readers/auditors

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[614] See also Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:207–08
[615] See pp. 341–344 below.

would probable assume that Hiram is the regional authority over the twenty cities and is entitled to the revenues that they generate and the appropriation of their natural resources, but at the same time he is expected to pay the related taxes and dues. Hiram regards them "not just" and names the region "Cabul" (כבול; 9:13), meaning "worthlessness," presumably due to the region's meagerness in resources and the cities' inability to generate considerable profits, which would be his true reward. At the end of the land-grant episode, the readers/auditors are told that Hiram sends Solomon 120 talents of gold, which is the same amount that the Queen of Sheba presents to the Israelite king. This means that in spite of being exploited by Solomon and presented with twenty cities that are good for nothing, Hiram is nonetheless considered a foreign tributary and is still expected to contribute monetarily to the Solomonic Kingdom as a sign of submission and a sign of gratitude for Solomon's "generosity." I have argued, with due consideration of the semiotic meaning of the signifier "land grant," that it is likely to impress the first readers/auditors as being a royal reward. Also, in view of the Greek historians' habitual inclusion of etiological stories, the episode also functions as a means of rhetorical persuasion to convince the readers/auditors of the authenticity of the Solomonic narrative in general. However, it is not sure how the Yehudite readers/auditors would have responded to the legendary Israelite king's parsimonious grant. The narrator tells us explicitly that from the Tyrian perspective it was definitely "not right," meaning unfair or even exploitative. From an in-group perspective, it may be praised as a protection of the domestic economy and thus a welcomed measure. Megabazus was critical of Darius I's generous gift of resourceful and prosperous Myrcinus to Histiaeus the Greek collaborator. He whitewashed Histiaeus, a vassal-king of Miletus, and eventually led to his detention in the royal court of Susa. Thus, the question of propriety, whether "right" or "not right," is ultimately perspectival and could thus be determined by transferential reading. The

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interpretation of the land-grant episode, though deviating from the various interpretations offered by commentators, aligns with the overwhelmingly aggrandizing tone and Solomon's sense of entitlement observed throughout the text, and it is sensitive to the original signifying context of the Deuteronomist and the first readers/auditors.

I will now return to the question of the Israelite-Tyrian relations. Is Hiram an ally or a vassal? Hiram is a nominal ally of equal status by virtue of the Israelite-Tyrian treaty of fraternity, but in practice he is treated as a tributary vassal and exploited in many ways. When the narrator first introduces Hiram the Tyrian king in 1 Kgs 5:15[Eng. 1], he particularly highlights Hiram's amicable relationship with Solomon's predecessor, David, with a semiotically-charged word אהב, which means "ally" within the narrative, but it is commonly used to signify "lover." The mention of Hiram's relationship with Solomon's predecessor invites the readers/auditors to recall from their memories any traditions, oral or written, on the diplomatic alliance that they may be familiar with. These traditions may include Hiram's supply of cedar timber, carpenters, and masons for David's palace construction (2 Sam 5:11). However, there is no mention of an alliance formed between David and Hiram before 1 Kgs 5:15[Eng. 1], but only a hint of David's lordship over Sidon and Tyre in 2 Sam 24: 6–7. In the territorial census that David conducts at the instigation of YHWH, Sidon and Tyre are included within David's territorial dominion. Thus, if the narrator has intimated any relationship between David and Hiram, it is one between a suzerain and a vassal, at least from the perspective of the Deuteronomist. In sum, because of the practical disparity that constantly puts the treaty bearer into the position of the exploited, Hiram could be labeled with the oxymoron *vassal-ally*. I will show later that the degree of exploitation that the Tyrians suffer under Solomon's rule progresses as Hiram's role shifts in the development of the story. I will also argue that the Israelite-Tyrian

relations constitute a subject-object reversal of the historical situation in the Persian period and that it reflects a cultural fantasy, the writing/reading/listening subjects' wish to replace their imperializer, the Persian empire, through the mechanism of introjective identification.

Hiram as a Bronzesmith

The story of Hiram the bronzesmith (1 Kgs 7:13–51) may at first appear to be very confusing. The debut of Hiram the bronzesmith in 7:13–14 would inevitably impose an association with Hiram the Tyrian king, who has already entered the story in chapter 5:15 [Eng. 1]. In the blink of a second during the reading/performing process, the readers/auditors are to make a judgment, without much conscious process, whether these two Hiram's represent the same person or different characters. The judgment is a result of the interplay between their subjective experience and the reading/auditory experience. What would be the most probable judgment made by the first readers/auditors? Identity or distinction? In later traditions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the distinction of the two Hiram's had been stabilized and inevitably served to retrospectively control the perspective of subsequent readings of the earlier tradition in the Deuteronomist (Hi)Story. The parallel account in Chronicles (2 Chr 2:12–14 [Eng. 13–14]; 4:11–16), generally dated to the Hellenistic period, and Josephus's account in *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII.76–90) have shown signs of extensive "secondary revisions" resulting in irreconcilable contradictions among the later traditions, making any attempt to harmonize these accounts to no avail.

For the purpose of this section, I will focus discussion on the portrayal of Hiram the craftsman in the late traditions. In both of the Chronicler's and Josephus's accounts, Hiram the bronzesmith is no longer just a bronzesmith (חרש נחשת; 1 Kgs 7:14), but a versatile skilled

craftsman (איש־חכם, literally "a wise man", in 2 Chr 2:13; τεχνίτην in *Ant.* VIII.76) capable of all kinds of craftsmanship, especially skilled in the work of gold, silver, and bronze. The expansion is a sign of intensification of rhetorical effects of grandiosity in the cultural fantasy. The Chronicler differentiated between the Tyrian craftsman Huram (Chronicler's Hiram) and the Tyrian king of the same name (4:11; LXX 4:16), and at times he also identified the craftsman either as the Tyrian king's own father (4:16) or a craftsman of his father who has the same name as the king (2:12–13[Eng. 13–14]).[616] Josephus also differentiates between the two Hiram's, who appear to be the Tyrian king Eirōmos (Εἰρώμου) and the Tyrian craftsman Cheirōmos (Χειρώμου). The names are almost identical and with a slight difference of the additional letter χ in the craftsman's name. In the Deuteronomist's account, Hiram the bronzesmith is a half-Israelite, whose mother is of Naphtali and father a Tyrian (1 Kgs 7:14), whereas in the Chronicler's account, the mother of Huram the craftsman is a Danite and his father a Tyrian (2 Chr 2:13[Eng. 14]). There is a sign of harmonization in Josephus's account, in which Cheirōmos is described as a son of a Naphtalite mother and an Israelite (Danite?) father, making Cheirōmos

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[616] In contrast to many major English versions (such as NRSV, CEV, DBY, ESB, NASB, and NJB) that treat חורם אבי (2 Chr 2:13[Eng. 12]) and חורם אביו (2 Chr 4:16) as variants of a proper name "Huram-Abi" in reference to the craftsman, I prefer the literal translations "Huram, my father" (part of Huram's direct speech) and "Huram, his father" (part of the narration) respectively. The literal reading identifies the craftsman as the Tyrian king's father of the same name, Huram. The choice of treating חורם אבי as a proper name "Huram-Abi" arises from Josephus's identification of the father of Eirōmos (Hiram) as Abibaal in *Against Apion* I.17–18. The preference over the literal translation will inevitably contradict Josephus's account. Thus, some commentators prefer the rendering "Huram-Abi." See Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 10; Steven S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles* (IBC; Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1989), 124. There are several issues with the rendering "Huram-Abi." First, the only testimony we have for Hiram's father, Abibaal, is from the first-century C.E. historian Josephus, whose accounts are based on questionable sources and the biblical accounts. See Lowell, K. Handy, "Phoenicians in the Tenth Century BCE: A Sketch of an Outline," in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (ed. Lowell K. Handy; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 162. Thus, the historicity of Abibaal is questionable. Second, even if Abibaal's historicity is verified, to reject the rendering "Huram, my father" based on its contradiction to a "verified historical fact" is tantamount to assuming the Chronicler would not have provided wrong historical data, which runs against the common feature observed in "biblical historiography." Third, the proper name "Huram-Abi" is not attested elsewhere. Fourth, the literal meaning of "Huram-Abi" is "my brother is exalted, my father." The inclusion of two familial elements makes the name very awkward. Fifth, there is no maqqef linking the two lexemes together, so there is no basis to see them as a unit. Finally, the literal translation is preferred, because it is consistent with the narration. For a discussion of the translation of חורם אבי, see Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 544.

a pure-blooded Israelite. It must be pointed out that in Josephus's account Cheirōmos is unrelated to the Tyrian royal lineage, whereas the Chronicler still left a hint of Huram the craftsman being the father of Huram the Tyrian king. The royal lineage necessitates at least a Tyrian patrilineage. Thus, Hiram the bronzesmith's or Huram the craftsman's Tyrian patrilineage constitutes a subtle suggestion of a Tyrian-Israelite union within the Tyrian royal house. Josephus is able to sever the Tyrian patrilineage because he completely severs the royal relation or identity between Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith.

The majority of the commentators applies the Chronicler's character differentiation to the Solomonic narrative and distinguishes Hiram the bronzesmith (1 Kgs 7:13–51) from Hiram the Tyrian king (5:15–32 [Eng. 1–18], 9:11–14, 26–28; 10:11, 22) in their reading of the Deuteronomist's account.[617] Thus, the secondary distinction made in the later traditions has determined the course of reading the earlier tradition in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. However, what the late traditions represented are the result of conscious reworking; thus, they do not represent the impression or immediate reaction of readers/auditors to the debut of Hiram the bronzesmith in the narrative. My textual analysis indicates not only that the text does not warrant such a distinction, but also that, without the retroactive interpretive framework of the later traditions, the first readers/auditors were likely to consider Hiram the bronzesmith and Hiram the Tyrian king as the same character.

In order to assess how the first readers/auditors may have perceived the identity of the two Hiram figures, I will once again make use of Wolfgang Iser's phenomenological theory of the reading as the process of anticipation and retrospection set in motion by the text's sequential

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[617] For instance, see Gray, *I & II Kings*, 171; Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 179; Provan, *1 and 2 Kings*, 71; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 302–05; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 226, 261; Brueggemann, *Solomon*, 68 and 89.

time.[618] I will consider how the readers/auditors may have responded to and supplemented

narrative details in this process, and what the narrative patterns are that may serve to guide the

readers/auditors to familiarize the text's internal logic and consistency and forgo their own

perceptions and preconceptions. I will begin by considering the sequential emergence of the

narrative details regarding Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith.

Hiram the Tyrian king is the first named foreign potentate introduced in the Solomonic

narrative. Before his entrance, the narrative focuses mainly on the internal affairs of the

Solomonic Kingdom, with the exception of a passing note on Solomon's marriage alliance with

an unnamed Pharaoh (3:1). The narrator introduces Hiram the Tyrian king as follows: "Now

Hiram king of Tyre sent his officials to Solomon [וישלח חירם מלך־צור את־עבדיו אל־שלמה], for he

heard that they had anointed him king in place of his father; for Hiram had always [כל־הימים]

been an ally [אהב] of David" (5:15[Eng. 1]). The narrator intimates that Hiram initiated contact

with Solomon to renew an alliance with Israel upon the death of David and the succession of his

son Solomon. By doing so, the narrator explicitly connects Hiram's entrance to the succession

narrative (1 Kings 1–2) that precedes in textual proximity and alludes to any previous narrative

details on the relationship between David and Hiram that the readers/auditors may recall. This

connection produces some specific effects in the process of retrospection and anticipation. The

readers/auditors are invited to retrieve any previous narrative details, familiar anecdotes, known

oral traditions, and any recollections regarding the relationship between David and Hiram. The

only preceding reference to Hiram in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story that the readers/auditors

may recall is in 2 Sam 5:11, in which the narrator introduces Hiram with the following words:

"Now Hiram king of Tyre sent envoys to David [וישלח חירם מלך־צר מלאכים אל־דוד], as well as

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618 See Iser. "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," 279–99; see also pp. 220–221 above.

cedar timber, carpenters, masons, and they built the palace for David." The narrator introduces

both Hiram's debut (2 Sam 5:11) and his re-entrance (1 Kgs 5:15[Eng. 1]) with nearly identical

wording, in a context of Hiram's making a diplomatic initiative to connect with the Israelite king

after the latter has consolidated his rule in Jerusalem. Hiram's debut is also associated with his

role in supplying cedar timber, carpenters, and masons for David's palace construction. The

narrator's deliberate association between Hiram and David and the similarities between the two

episodes of Tyrian diplomatic association produce an effect of anticipation for the

readers/auditors at this particular sequential point of the Solomonic narrative. The anticipated

story development would likely be Solomon's building projects, along with Hiram's recurring

role as the supplier of building materials and laborers. Indeed, this trajectory is correct. The

narrative proceeds to Solomon's temple and palace building projects, focalizing on Hiram's

indispensable role.

The narrator goes on to describe the message exchanges between Solomon of Jerusalem and

Hiram of Tyre (5:16–23[Eng. 2–9]). Solomon relays his request for cedar timber and laborers,

and Hiram relays a draft contract with modified terms to Solomon. In these message exchanges,

the narrator uses the same waw-consecutive וישלח "now he sent" as the opening term. After the

deal is sealed, the narrator goes on to provide the exquisite architectural details of the Jerusalem

temple and Solomon's palace that take altogether twenty years to complete (1 Kgs 6:1–7:12). He

then proceeds to the next section on the furnishings of the temple by reintroducing Hiram as the

bronzesmith, with a similar opening statement to his introduction and reintroduction of Hiram

the Tyrian king, only that the subject and object are flipped this time: "Now King Solomon sent

[וישלח המלך שלמה] and fetched Hiram from Tyre" (7:13). A further observation is warranted here

before we move on to the next verse that provides a supplementary note on the identity of Hiram.

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This short opening statement triggers a set of associations with the preceding episodes in the readers'/auditors' process of anticipation and retrospection. All three introductions of Hiram begin with the waw-consecutive וישלח "Now he sent." The recurring narrative pattern and the common persona "Hiram of Tyre" in all three incidents would inevitably forge an association between the introductions. Before the narrator supplements more characterization of Hiram in the upcoming verse, by the act of retrospection the identity of Hiram the Tyrian king and the Hiram that Solomon fetched from Tyre would have already been established.

At this point, the narrative opens a gap of indeterminacy as to why Solomon brought Hiram all the way from Tyre to Jerusalem. Solomon's intent is not clear, but based on the preceding narrative on building constructions and Hiram's involvement in them the readers/auditors may have anticipated that his presence is needed in relation to the building projects, which is indeed the reason. Nonetheless, the narrative gap still leaves the readers/auditors puzzled and looking forward to an explanation. The narrator then goes on to provide an explanation through supplementary characterization of Hiram (7:14):

> He [Hiram] was a son of a widowed woman of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre. [He] was an artisan in bronze, and he was filled with artistry [את־החכמה], understanding [ואת־התבונה], and knowledge [ואת־הדעת] to do all work in bronze. He came to King Solomon and did all his work.

This verse provided the anticipated explanation to Solomon's relocation of Hiram. Solomon removes Hiram from Tyre and brings him to Jerusalem because his expertise in bronzework is needed in Jerusalem. Without the narrator's implicit or explicit disassociation, the supplementary characterization of Hiram provided in v. 14 would naturally be associated with Hiram the Tyrian king of the preceding narrative and lead to an immediate identification of the two Hiram's. If the reading was performed, the readers/auditors would not have the time to pause and process the fantastic elements in this characterization, and any process of rationalization, whether to accept or reject the already-forged identification, must be carried simultaneously with the ongoing

reading/performing process.

Another round of anticipation and retrospection is triggered after the first readers/auditors were given additional character details in 7:14. The supplementary characterization of Hiram clears the cloud over Solomon's intent, but it also produces more perplexing narrative gaps following the immediate identification of the two Hiram's. Hiram's dual identity as Tyrian king and bronzesmith and his complex ethnicity as an Israelite-Tyrian could potentially challenge the perceptions and preconceptions of the readers/auditors. How could a Tyrian king be a bronzesmith? Is there a lack of good bronzesmiths in Jerusalem that Solomon must bring one from Tyre? Is there a reason that the narrator puts his maternal lineage before his paternal lineage? Could a Tyrian king be a son of a Naphtali widow? Does that mean he is not of Tyrian royal descent? Is his father, who is mentioned after his widowed mother, his adopted father or step-father? Is the narrator implicating that Hiram the Tyrian king is a half-Israelite? These questions invite transferential reading and demand the readers/auditors to engage in the process of anticipation and retrospection, familiarization and defamiliarization, drawing upon narrative details already presented to them and the analogies from their subjective experience to arrive at answers that are most persuasive to them. Could these queries potentially lead the first readers/auditors to reject the identification of the two Hiram's? Maybe, but I will argue that as the narrative unfolds, the narrative patterns would prompt the readers/auditors even more toward drawing such an equation.

First of all, the ancient readers/auditors would have no problems accepting Solomon's employment of foreign artisans for his building projects. James A. Montgomery has listed a number of examples with epigraphical evidence to show that it was a common practice for the Great Kings of Hatti, Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria, in the first and second millennia B.C.E., to

hire foreign artisans and laborers for the construction of public buildings.[619] The practice is also well attested in the Persian period. The "foundation charters" of Darius I's palace at Susa list sixteen foreign peoples for bringing raw materials to furnish the palace and specialized craftsmen from eight different countries involved in construction and decoration. The Great King was keen on utilizing the specialties of diverse ethnic groups for their interests, among which include Babylonian scribes, Carian stoneworkers and masons, Egyptian and Syrian traders who worked in the building trades such as masonry, carpentry, and engraving, and the groups of deported workers called *kurtaš*. [620] The Persepolis Fortification Tablets attest that ethnic groups from across the empire were hired as royal servants and workers, and rations were given to craftsmen of all kinds from different places.[621] Individual craftsmen were rarely named. Briant assumes that the Persian officials did not force the master craftsmen to participate in their building projects, but they were hired through recruitment.[622] However, we know that the Persians practiced the deportation of the conquered peoples, among them craftsmen and artists, who were obliged to work for the Persians.[623]

Solomon's utilization of Hiram's expertise in bronzework would seem to be a natural personnel decision to the first readers/auditors. The Phoenician craftsmen were renowned in antiquity for their artistry in working a variety of materials—metal, stone, wood, and ivory. Their

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[619] Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 167–68.
[620] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 172.
[621] Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 162–63; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 503; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:793–95, 819. For the text of the foundation charters at Susa, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:492–97. While the Persepolis Fortification Tablets provide scholars with many valuable administrative records for the reconstruction of the Persian imperial policies and practices, there are numerous interpretive issues in relation to their appropriation to engender a general picture applicable throughout the empire. See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:763–65 for a summary of their textual issues. See also p. 79 above.
[622] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 433–34.
[623] Ibid., 505–06; Josef Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule and Its Impact on Yehud," in *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic Literature* (ed. Louis Jonker; FAT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Seibeck, 2011), 174.

reputation as skilled craftsmen in metal was already recognized by the time of Homer.[624] Cyrus II may have commissioned the Phoenicians as masons, carpenters, and timber transporters for the construction of the Jerusalem temple (Ezra 3:7; cf. 2 Sam 5:11). Thus, Solomon's employment of a Phoenician master craftsman would have been a motif consistent with the socio-historical context of the first readers/auditors. If anything, it is actually perplexing that the Deuteronomist seemed to have put so much emphasis on the Tyrian bronzesmith's Israelite lineage. I will return to this textual anomaly later in the discussion.

Now that the first readers'/auditors' familiarity with Solomon's employment of a Tyrian bronzesmith has been argued, it is time to turn to the unfamiliar aspect of the episode, namely the coincidence of identity between Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith. While the idea of a prominent king being a master bronzesmith may have appeared to be fantastic and invites resistance from the readers/auditors, there are five narrative patterns within the internal logic of the Solomonic narrative that would support an identification of the two Hiram's.

First, noteworthy is a narrative pattern based on a series of the waw-consecutive וישלח "and he sent" that is used to introduce six transactions between Solomon and Hiram within the Hiram episode (5:15[Eng. 1], 16[Eng. 2], 22[Eng. 8]; 7:13; 9:15, 27). The first occurrence of וישלח is found in 1 Kgs 5:15[Eng. 1], where the narrator first introduces Hiram the Tyrian king. The same waw-consecutive is also used for the introduction of Hiram the bronzesmith in 7:13 and in association with Hiram the maritime exploration partner in chapter 9. The qal waw-consecutive וישלח is exclusively used to signify the transactions between Solomon of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre in 1 Kings 3-11. An additional qal waw-consecutive with pronominal suffix (וישלחם) occurs in 5:28[Eng. 14], in which King Solomon is said to have sent 30,000 Israelite forced laborers to

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[624] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 112–14.

the Lebanon presumably for timber-transport. However, both the recipient and the agent of the

transaction are unspecified. The following table summarizes these וישלח transactions, with 2 Sam

5:11 and 1 Kgs 5:28 listed as reference. The words in the brackets represent the missing yet

implied predicates in these transactions.

Verse(s)	The subject of the transaction	The agent of the transaction	The object of the transaction	The recipient of the transaction
2 Sam 5:11	King Hiram of Tyre	Hiram's envoys	Cedar timber, carpenters, masons	David
1 Kgs 5:15[Eng. 1]	King Hiram of Tyre	Hiram's officials	[Message]	Solomon
1 Kgs 5:16[Eng. 2]	Solomon	[Messenger]	Message of request of cedar timber, laborers	Hiram
1 Kgs 5:22[Eng. 8]	Hiram	[Messenger]	Message of grant of cedar & cypress timbers, laborers	Solomon
1 Kgs 5:28[Eng. 14]	King Solomon	Unspecified	30,000 Israelite forced laborers	Unspecified
1 Kgs 7:13	*King Solomon*	[Solomon's officials]	*Hiram*	*Solomon*
1 Kgs 9:14	Hiram	[Hiram's officials]	120 talents of gold	Solomon
1 Kgs 9:27–28	Hiram	Hiram's officials, a fleet with experienced sailors	400 talents of gold from Ophir	Solomon

Table 1. The וישלח transactions of Solomon and Hiram

This narrative pattern produces a sense of familiarity and consistency within the internal logic of

the Hiram episode and effects an automated association of the waw-consecutive and the dealings

between Solomon and Hiram. As the consequence, the pattern encourages the identification of

Hiram the Tyrian king with Hiram the bronzesmith.

The וישלח pattern also underscores the parity of their relationship and Solomon's role as the

exploiter within the relationship. In all these transaction, Solomon is persistently the recipient of

tangible goods and gold. Hiram is a one-time recipient (5:16[Eng. 2]), and all he receives is

Solomon's request for building supplies and laborers whereas Solomon receives valuable goods and altogether 520 talents of gold from Hiram. If the unspecified recipient of the transaction of 30,000 Israelite forced laborers in 5:28[Eng. 14] is Hiram, all he receives is the manpower needed to complete the timber manufacturing. Hiram is persistently the provider. Aside from the transaction with unspecified details in 5:28[Eng. 14], Solomon initiates two transactions. Besides the request for building resources, he makes a second dispatchment that curiously also makes him the recipient of the transaction (7:13). He receives a valuable human resource, Hiram the bronzesmith. Thus, the transactions that Solomon initiates are solely for his own interests, making him the sole beneficiary. Note that Solomon is not as courteous and suppliant as he appears to be when he makes his first request. In his second dispatchment, Solomon simply fetches Hiram from Tyre and brings him to Jerusalem. There is no mention of an imploration.

The second narrative pattern that serves to reinforce the identification between the two Hiram's is the lexical connection pointing to the common traits between a king and a craftsman. Hiram the bronzesmith is described as a bronzesmith "filled with artistry [את־החכמה], understanding [ואת־התבונה], and knowledge [ואת־הדעת] to make all bronze wares" (7:14). The three virtues ascribed to Hiram the bronzesmith are also regarded as kingly qualities. First, the Hebrew word חכמה used to denote "artistry" is also the word used to denote "wisdom," for craftsmanship is considered a branch of wisdom, namely practical wisdom, in the social world of the Deuteronomist.[625] The same word is used numerous times in our text to describe the kingly quality of Solomon (2:6; 3:28; 5:9–10[Eng. 4:29–30], 14[Eng. 4:34], 26[Eng. 12]; 10:4–8, 23–24; 11:41). Second, the term תבונה "understanding" is also used in association with חכמה "wisdom" in 5:9[Eng. 4:29] to describe Solomon's divinely bestowed kingly virtue. Finally,

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[625] See Fohrer, "σοφία, σοφός, σοφίζω," *TDNT*, 465–96.

although the Hebrew word דעת "knowledge" is not used to describe Solomon, the emphasis on

the encyclopedic scope of his knowledge on dendrology, botany, mammalogy, ornithology,

herpetology, and ichthyology (5:12[Eng. 4:33]) would no doubt qualify Solomon as a man of

practical knowledge. Due to the common qualities ascribed to a good craftsman and a good king

in the Solomonic narrative, as fantastic as it may seem, the equation between a craftsman and a

king would not be difficult to draw according to the internal logic already set up in the text.

Third, after the lengthy, elaborate description and a short summary of all the bronze

furnishings that Hiram made for the temple (1 Kgs 7:15–47), the narrator goes on to describe in

detail all the gold vessels in the temple that "Solomon made" (ויעש שלמה; 7:48–50) without the

involvement of Hiram, intimating the role of king Solomon as a goldsmith.[626] Martin J. Mulder

points out that the qal verb עשה can mean "to make" or "cause to make"; thus, it is possible to

interpret that Solomon orders the gold vessels to be made rather than he makes them himself.[627]

However, if the effect of the narrative's internal logic—developed along its sequential time—on

the readers/auditors is taken into consideration, it is inevitable that the first readers/auditors were

inclined to interpret עשה as "to make." The qal verb עשה occurs thirteen times in the episode of

Hiram the bronzesmith, with twice as infinitive constructs (לעשות), six times in the form of waw-

consecutive imperfect (ויעש), and five times in the form of perfect (עשה). With all the

occurrences, the subject and the object are persistently Hiram and a bronzework of his making

respectively. In fact, the description of Hiram's bronzework follows a narrative pattern that

divides his bronzework into major categories with the waw-consecutive ויעש "and he made" (vv.

15, 18, 23, 27, 38, 40), with the exception of ויצר "and he cast" in v. 15. The description begins

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[626] Cf. the LXX which has καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων "and King Solomon took" instead of ויעש שלמה (7:48), implying that the gold vessels were also made by Hiram. This could be a "secondary revision" to remove the fantastic suggestion that Solomon was also a goldsmith.
[627] Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 363–65; see also Cogan, *1 Kings*, 269.

with an introduction to Hiram's talents in bronzework in general: "He was filled with artistry, understanding, and knowledge to make all bronze wares [לעשות כל־מלאכה בנחשת]. He came to King Solomon and made all his wares [ויעש את־כל־מלאכתו]."[628] Then, the narrator goes on to list his bronze products according to their specific categories using ויצר or ויעש as a section divider. Finally, he inserts a concluding section on Hiram's bronzework in 7:40b–44 that resembles the introduction in wording: "Hiram completed making all the wares [לעשות את־כל־מלאכה] which he made [עשה] for King Sololmon for the house of YHWH."[629]

 Before the readers/auditors reach the episode of Solomon's goldwork, they would have already been familized with the narrative pattern in the preceding episode that consistently uses the qal verb עשה in reference to metalwork and the subject of the verb being the craftsman. When they reach the next verse (v. 48) that begins with "And Solomon made all the vessels, which..." (ויעש שלמה את כל־הכלים אשר...), the formulaic use of the qal verb עשה and the similar narrative would lead to an immediate reading of Solomon as a goldsmith. The portrayal of Solomon the king-goldsmith follows the narrative logic of Hiram the king-bronzesmith. Thus the two associations reinforce each other and help the readers/auditors to defamiliarize their own preconceptions on the essential distinction between craftsmanship and kingship.

 From a psychoanalytic perspective, the difference between the values of these metals may suggest a grandiose wish for ethnic superiority. The two kings are engaging in symbolic competition of craftsmanship. Every time Hiram the bronzesmith and King Solomon are mentioned in tandem in chapter 7 (vv. 13–14, 40, 45), Hiram always occupies an inferior position, as if he is an apprentice completing the assigned tasks for a master craftsman. Hiram's

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[628] The Hebrew word מלאכה, usually rendered as a generic term for "work," is also used as a collective term to denote "objects, wares" (See *HALOT*, 586).

[629] 1 Kgs 7:40a and 7:45aα forms a *Wiederaufnahme* (resumptive repetition). Thus, 7:40b–44 is likely to be an insertion.

role as the inferior bronzesmith ends in the episode of Solomon as goldsmith, disassociating Hiram from the gold furnishings of the temple. Solomon stands out in this symbolic competition as the winner in terms of the primacy, rarity, and the luster of gold over bronze, symbolically defeating Hiram the bronzesmith. The symbolic competition is more than one over craftsmanship. Since both Solomon and Hiram are described as filled with "wisdom" [החכמה] and "understanding" [התבונה], and both have proven the vast scope of their "knowledge" [הדעת] either through prolific scholarship or mastery of metalwork, the competition is also one over "wisdom." Solomon has excelled in different categories of wisdom (5:9–14[Eng. 4;29–34]), and now he prevails in the area of practical wisdom, namely craftsmanship. Both Solomon and Hiram are metonymic figures of the ethnic groups to which they belong, namely Israel and Tyre (or the larger Phoenicia). The Israelite goldsmith's triumph over the Tyrian bronzesmith may be interpreted as a displaced grandiose wish for the cultural superiority.

Fourth, the Sololomonic narrative strictly follows a narrative pattern in which each foreign country mentioned in the text corresponds to only one representational character: Tyre/Phoenicia to Hiram, Sheba/Arabia to the Queen of Sheba, Egypt to the Pharaoh, Edom to Hadad, Damascus to Rezon, and schismatic Israel to Jeroboam. It would not be a surprise that any major roles related to Tyre appear as a composite figure in singularity. For the writer(s), each of these figures is a metonym of the foreign country that s/he symbolizes. According to the narrative's internal logic, the Tyrian king and the bronzesmith from Tyre are both named Hiram because Hiram is the metonym of Tyre/Phoenicia. This internal logic affects the perceptions of readers/auditors in a subtle way to contribute to their identification of Hiram the Tyrian king as Hiram the bronzesmith.

Finally, if indeed the equation between Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith is

drawn, the readers/auditors are subject to issues of the ethnicity and legitimacy of the Tyrian king. As I have argued above, following the sequential time of the narrative, the first readers/auditors were likely to associate the Hiram in 1 Kgs 7:13 with the Hiram the Tyrian king in the precedent narrative and perceive the characterization of Hiram in the next verse as supplementary details. The placement of Hiram's maternal lineage before his paternal lineage constitutes a textual anomaly and invites transferential reading. The unconventional order may suggest a subtle emphasis on the precedence of his Israelite origin, which is linked to his mother. The mention of his mother being a widow before the mention of his Tyrian father has also bewildered many commentators and creates an engaging narrative gap for filling. Later traditions have a tendency to reduce his Tyrian father to the status of an adoptor or a step-father, and in turn "elevate" Hiram's ethnicity to a full-Israelite status.[630] Noteworthy, these grants of a full-Israelite membership to Hiram the bronzesmith are based on the presumed distinction between the two Hiram's effected by the traditions in Chronicles and retroactively read into the Deuteronomist tradition. As I argue, without the influence of later traditions, the first readers/auditors would have likely perceived an identity, given the narrative internal logic.

In the sociohistorical context of the first readers/auditors, it was a common practice for the Great Kings to hire foreign artisans and laborers for the royal building projects. Thus, the narrator's emphasis on Hiram's Israelite origins, whether perceived as full or half, would likely be a deliberate one. In view of the latent wish of ethnic superiority reflected in the Solomonic narrative, the deliberate emphasis on his Israelite origins can be interpreted as another textual sign of ethnocentrism; that is, even the renowned bronzesmith in Tyre was somehow related to

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[630] The LXX inserts a copula before הוא, which turns Hiram, instead of his mother, into a member of Naphtali's tribe, and by implication his Tyrian father was his stepfather. According to Rashi, Hiram was "a full-blooded Israelite" and a descendent of Israelite migrants in Tyre. According to Josephus (*Ant.*, VIII.76–77), Cheirōmos [Hiram] has a Naphtalite mother and Israelite father.

the Israelites and was in fact a half-Israelite (or even a full-Israelite). He may be a half-Israelite from his mother's side or a full-Israelite if adopted by a Tyrian father. He may be a descendent of Israelite migrants or an Israelite migrant himself. The textual indeterminacy leaves us multiple possibilities and invites transferential reading. However, pertinent to my purpose is the question whether the first readers/auditors would be convinced by the narrative internal logic that a Tyrian king could be a half Israelite (or even a full-Israelite) and at the same time a son of a widow. To simplify my question: Is anomalous ascendence to the throne a familiar concept to the first readers/auditors? If it is, then there should be little obstacle prohibiting the readers/auditors from being seized by the narrative suggestion. If the signifying context of the first readers/auditors is considered, it can be inferred, at the very least, that they should have little issue in accepting a son of a widow to be a king. Such a case is attested in the Eshmunazar inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II, king of Sidon, dating to the fifth century B.C.E., in which the king claimed himself to be a widow's son, despite his royal lineage.[631] Later in the Solomonic narrative, Jeroboam, a non-Davidide and also a widow's son (11:26), was about to become king of Israel. The similitude between Eshmunazer's and Jeroboam's backgrounds and that of Hiram the bronzesmith would likely promote an amalgamation of Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith and eventually result in their identity. Since interethnic marriage was a common practice even among the Phoenician dynasts, the idea of a Tyrian king with an Israelite lineage from his mother's side would not have been strange. In light of these considerations, Hiram the bronzesmith would be likely identified as Hiram the Tyrian king by the first readers/auditors. They are two componential personae of the same composite character, Hiram.

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[631] George A. Cooke, *Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabtaean, Palmyrene, Jewish* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 30–33.

Hiram as Solomon's Maritime Exploration Partner

The last shifting role that the composite Hiram plays is Solomon's maritime-exploration partner (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11–12, 22). The episode of Hiram the maritime partner consists of three fragments intertwined with the episode of the Queen of Sheba (10:1–10, 13) and the account of Solomon's wealth (10:14–21). Hiram the maritime partner is introduced for the purpose of fullfiling Solomon's desire of taking part in the lucrative maritime trades. In the previous episodes, when Hiram's assistance is needed, Solomon takes the initiative to solicit Hiram's help, either by sending a request or by sending someone to fetch Hiram from Tyre to Jerusalem. This time, Hiram is the actor of sending, and, like the preceding episode of Hiram the bronzesmith, there is no mention of a request. The news of Solomon's building a commercial fleet to explore the Red Sea has somehow reached Hiram, and the Tyrian king sends a team of Phoenician experienced mariners, "sailors who know the sea" (אנשי אניות ידעי הים; 9:27), to collaborate with Solomon's servants in the naval expedition. The text consistently emphasizes the Israelite-Tyrian collaborative effort in all Solomon's ventures, both the temple and palace building projects and the maritime exploration (5:20 [Eng. 20], 32 [Eng. 18]; 9:27; 10:22), but their "collaboration" is never that between equals.

In the previous episodes, Hiram bears the burden of supplying building materials and metallurgical expertise in bronzework for Solomon's construction projects. In this episode, Hiram continues to be exploited by Solomon. He provides Solomon with merchant vessels and the experienced mariners for their maritime commercial venture, but the Israelite king is described as the sole beneficiary of the joint venture, which generates lucrative revenues for the Israelite coffers. In each of Hiram's fleeting appearances in the text, either the joint venture or his fleet is said to have brought back valuable goods – a large quantity of gold, rarest wood, and

exotic species. The joint fleet "brought" (ויבאו) from Ophir, a place purportedly abundant in gold

but still today unknown, 420 talents of gold (9:28); then Hiram's fleet "brought" (הביא) from

Ophir a large quantity of hitherto-unheard-of "almug wood" (אלמגים עצי) and precious stones

(10:11–12); and finally the joint fleet of Tarshish periodically "brought" (תבוא) back "gold and

silver, ivory, apes [קפים], and peacocks [ותכיים]" from their triennial expeditions (10:22).[632]

Hiram thus has become an instrument of profiteering.

Solomon's dependence on the Phoenicians would have appeared to be natural to the first

readers/auditors. The Phoenicians had a longstanding reputation for their shipbuilding industry

(both warships and merchant vessels), navigation technologies, and experienced mariners.[633] The

coastal cities' naval strength, along with their rich resources and reputation in a variety of crafts,

is attested archaeologically and textually. The image of Tyre in the Solomonic narrative was all

too familiar to the Deuteronomsit and their ancient readers/auditors. The Israelites, being the

inhabitants of the inland, would have never been able on their own to develop advanced naval

technologies. In contrast, the Phoenicians' maritime achievement was attested as early as circa

3000 B.C.E. with an account of a Phoenician fleet of 40 merchant vessels transporting cedar

timber to Egypt. According to Pliny the Elder of the first century CE, the Phoenicians were

thought to have invented the art of navigation. Because of the well-known superiority of

Phoenician vessels and mariners, their naval forces were indispensable to the Persians in both

their maritime commerical activities and their naval campaigns against the Greeks and the

Egyptian rebels.[634] The Phoenician cities had been the Persians' naval recruiting bases, and the

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[632] The meaning of תכיים is disputed. It may be "peacocks," "apes," or a rare fowl. See William F. Albright, "Ivory and Apes of Ophir," *AJSL* 37 (1921): 144; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 224–25; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 249; *HALOT*, 1731.

[633] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 82–95.

[634] Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period," 31; John W. Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period: Partners in Trade and Rebellion," 459–67.

Phoenicians' superb nautical ability in the Persian period was well attested.[635] The Persian naval force was dependent on the coastal dwellers' expertise in navigation and the shipbuilding industry. Cambyses II's whole fleet is said to have relied on the Phoenicians' collaboration, and even the entire Persian navy is said to have been composed of Tyrian and Sidonian warships. Xerxes, in his Greek campaign, had formed a fleet of over one thousand triremes, with foreign contingents from different countries in Asia Minor and Syria. The Phoenicians alone had contributed three hundred ships along with mariners (Herodotus, *Hist.*, VII.89; cf. VIII.67). Herodotus tells of a naval contest initiated by Xerxes to find out which ethnic group had the most powerful vessels and best mariners. The Sidonian galley ultimately won the contest and was rewarded by the Great King.[636] It is unquestionable that the Phoenicians' maritime prowess and their collaboration with the imperial powers would have been well known to the first readers/auditors. Thus, the image of the Israelite Great King's reliance on the naval forces of Hiram would have been familiar since it is a displaced image of the Persian king's place in his maritime joint venture with the Phoenicians. Because of this familiarity, the first readers/auditors would probably not have interpreted the reliance as a sign of inferiority, but rather as a sound imperial policy of maximal utilization of the resources and technologies of the subjugated to the interests of the empire.[637] Hiram in all his manifold roles serves faithfully as Solomon's principle imperial agent, who provides all necessary resources and technologies to generate substantial

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[635] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 713.

[636] See Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 95.

[637] Solomon's maritime endeavor is said to have attempted by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, a century later without mention of outside help (1 Kgs 22:49[48]). Jehoshaphat was said to have repeated Solomon's plan to build a fleet of the Tarshish (Phoenician-merchant) type (cf. 10:22) with the aim of bringing gold from Ophir (cf. 9:28). The planned expedition was never realized because the ships were wrecked in Ezion-Geber (cf. 9:26). The common motifs shared by the stories of Solomon's maritime success and Jehoshaphat's maritime failure are striking. It is not sure how these two traditions relate to each other. However, if the first readers/auditors were familiar with Jehoshaphat's naval endeavor and subsequent failure, Solomon's naval achievement would have appeared to be more exceptional. With the help of the Phoenicians, Solomon is able to undo, in the narrative world, what Jehoshaphat had purportedly failed about a century after Solomon's time.

revenues for the Israelite king. Without the assistance of the Tyrian king—his supply of Phoenician natural resources and skilled timber-handling laborers, metallurgical expertise, and the navigational assistance—Solomon would have never been able to fulfill *all* his ambitious desires. While Solomon's utilization of the Phoenician resources would have been interpreted as a symbol of sound entrepreneurship to the first readers/auditors, the Israelite king's exploitative dependence on the Tyrian king was also undeniable.

Israelite-Tyrian Relations: A Subject-Object Reversal

The Israelite-Tyrian relations described in the Solomonic narrative form a composite picture that combined fictive and identifiable historical elements. The portrayal of Tyre as a merchant city abundant in natural resources, a place to look for fine craftsmen, and a coastal city with great naval power, is certainly historically verifiable. As one of the leading commercial cities in the Eastern Mediterranean, it occupies a literary topos of a metonym representing the major Phoenician cities that enjoyed similar prosperity, wealth, and power. The great empires in its surrounding—Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and Greece—had at different times coveted control over the Phoenician cities for their resources, lucrative international trade, and the privileged locations they occupied in naval operations, both commercial and military. The Phoenician cities occupied a strategic location between the western Mediterranean cities and the Asian interior and between Africa and Asia Minor, they had enjoyed great advantages as international trading ports and strategic military posts during the second and first millennia B.C.E. Sidon and Tyre were among the earliest polities in the satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates to have commercialized and popularized coinage, minting silver coins as a currency for trade exchanges and using it as a symbolic expression of political autonomy or civic prestige in the fifth century

B.C.E., whereas not until a century later did Yehud strike their own.[638] Phoenician craftsmen were renowned and applauded for their artistry and exceptional talents in working all kinds of materials—metal, wood, stone, ivory, and fabric. They were well known for their eclecticism in adopting and combining designs and motifs from their surrounding cultures to create hybrid iconographies.[639] They were famous for manufacturing fine metal wares, which were also exported to Palestine.[640]

Contrary to the portrayal in the Solomonic narrative, the coastal cities of Phoenicia were always more prosperous, wealthy, and culturally developed than the Judean highlands. During the Persian period, the Phoenician city-states and the Levant, along with Cyprus, together belonged to the fifth satrapy of the Persian empire, the Trans-Euphrates, one of the twenty satrapies set up by Darius I (Herodotus, *Hist.* III.89–196).[641] Because of their strategic importance, the Phoenician city-states had enjoyed a great extent of governmental autonomy in comparison to other regions in the satrapy.[642] During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., the Phoenician city-states had at times developed hostilities against their Persian overlords, defected, supported their Egyptian, Cypriot, and Asia Minor rivals, and even attempted to break free from Persian domination. Tyre was the first city to have displayed open hostility toward the Persian

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[638] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 78–80; Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 8, 48–49; idem, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 466–72; idem, "The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins," *JBL* 105/4 (Dec 1986): 634.

[639] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 112–116.

[640] John W. Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 46.

[641] Scholars' views on the historicity of Herodotus's account of Darius I's fiscal reform through the set up of twenty satrapies as a tribute system vary. Briant (*From Cyrus to Alexander*, 390–91) is skeptical about the number of districts even though he believes that Darius I implemented the tribute system around the time of 518 to 517 B.C.E. Cook (*The Persian Empire*, 81) subscribes the authenticity of the list but dates Darius's fiscal reform to 493 B.C.E. In Amélie Kuhrt's view (*The Persian Empire*, 669), Herodotus's list stemmed from an even later period.

[642] When Cambyses II was expanding the empire westward, the Phoenician cities yielded to the Great King. Later, Cambyses demanded the Tyrians' assistance in their battle against Carthage, but the Tyrians refused to fight against the Carthaginians on the grounds that they were in a pact with them (see Herodotus, *Hist.* III.19). The Tyrian resistance to Cambyses's request indicated that Tyre retained a certain level of negotiating power even with the Persian overlords. The refusal, however, eventually led to the preferential treatment of Sidon by the Persians and thus the decline of Tyre. See Jacob Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period," 23–34.

overlords and supported the anti-Persian forces in Athens, Cyprus, and Egypt.[643] During the

Cypriot king Evagoras's rebellion in the beginning of the fourth century, Tyre defected and

became an ally of Evagoras. The Tyrian fleet collaborated with Evagoras's fleet and fought

against the Persians, and the Tyrians even harbored Evagoras (Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XV.2.4).[644]

However, despite the occasional tensions, Tyre remained loyal to the Persians when Alexander

III of Macedon invaded the Phoenician cities in 332 B.C.E. When the other major Phoenician

cities—Sidon, Arwad, and Byblos—surrendered to Alexander, Tyrians stood firm and

vigorously resisted his forces. According to Diodorus Siculus (*Lib. Hist.* XVIII.40.2–3; 46.3–4),

the city engaged Alexander in a seven-months-long siege so that Darius III could have more time

to prepare for battles.[645] The Tyrians were overconfident about their island's military strength

and also underestimated Alexander's. Alexander defeated Tyre at the end and retaliated against

the city's resistance by executing 6,000 of its citizens and selling another 30,000 into slavery.[646]

Sidon, Tyre's twin city, also had a volatile relationship with the Persian overlords,

vacillating between hostility and collaboration. There is numismatic evidence that Abd'ashtart I,

king of Sidon (reign ca. 372–362/361 B.C.E.), defected, allied with the Athenians, and led a

rebellion against the Persians. Abd'ashtart was likely the Sidonian king who sheltered Tachos,

king of Egypt, when Artaxerxes II struggled to regain control over Egypt and crushed a series of

satrapal strifes. Artaxerxes II eventually quashed the Sidonian rebels and put the pro-Persian

Tennes on Sidon's throne. Tennes then defected and led a large-scale revolt against Artaxerxes

III, which ended in his own death and the Sidonians' conflagration of their own city. At the end,

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[643] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 31.
[644] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 648–59.
[645] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 227; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:440–43; Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 472; Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XVII.40.2–3; 46.3–4.
[646] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 33.

Artaxerxes III restored hegemony over Sidon and Lower Egypt and secured Persian domination over the western territories.[647]

Lacking the rich resources and strategic advantages of the coastal cities, the interior of the Trans-Euphrates occupied a subordinate position and was under the control of the Persian authority situated in Phoenicia. There is archaeological and literary evidence to support that, during the Persian period, Phoenician domination had extended to what the biblical writers considered the territories of Israel. The Eshmunazar inscription of the fifth century B.C.E. mentions that the Persian king granted the cities of Dor and Joppa on the coastal plain to the Sidonian king Eshmunazar II as a reward for the services he rendered.[648] Sharon C. Herbert and Andrea M. Berlin have located a large administrative center at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee, near the city of Tyre, whose construction is dated to the fifth century B.C.E. It was likely a regional center of the Persian government assigned to the authority of Tyre to oversee the administration of the Tyrian interior and the Upper Galilee. It is plausible that the Tyrian interior and the Upper Galilee were Xerxes's land grant to the Phoenicians, most probably to the Tyrians, in exchange for the naval resources needed for his Greek campaign.[649] Phoenician domination over the Galilean region continued from the Persian period into the Hellenistic period. Archaeological remains indicate that the Persian and Hellenistic Galilee, along with southern Syria, was characterized by ethnic diversity, with a mixed population from Greece, Egypt, Italy, and a significant number of Phoenicians. In contrast to the affluence and the large extent of political autonomy enjoyed by Phoenician cities in the Persian period, Yehud was meager in resources

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[647] See Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 470–72; Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 31–34; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 664.

[648] Cooke, *Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 30–33.

[649] Sharon C. Herbert and Andrea M. Berlin, "New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/ University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 329 (2003): 47–48; see also Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Period," 30–31.

and less privileged politically. Yehud was under the authority of the Persian administrative center situated in the region under Phoenician domination.[650]

The prosperity, affluence, abundance in natural resources, superiority in craftsmanship, and trading prestige that Tyre and other Phoenician cities enjoyed are merely alluded to in the Solomonic narrative, but they are well accounted in the prophetic literature. "Tyre" has become a metonym of the coastal cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, representing their magnificence and haughtiness, and their incomparable success in conducting international trade and maritime activities (see Isaiah 23; Ezek 26:1–28:26). For these reasons, the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel lamented over Tyre's pride, wealth, and splendour, and proclaimed a divine oracle of destruction against the merchant city. Both prophets condemned its compradorship to the Great Kings, enriching their wealth with international trade (Isa 23:17; Ezek 28:33). Ezekiel in particular reprimanded Tyre's wealth-hoarding and profiteering "cunningness and insights" (חכמה ותבונה; literally "wisdom and understanding" [Ezek 28:4]; see 28:3–5, 17) and the Tyrian priest-king's self-promotion to divine status (Ezek 28:1–9). Thus, the characteristics of Tyre that are condemned vehemently by Isaiah and Ezekiel, with arguably the exception of the deification of the king, are by and large projected into King Solomon and the Solomonic Kingdom and yet exalted by the Deuteronomist.

Note that two fragments of the episode of Hiram the maritime partner (10:11–12, 22) are used to flank the narrative on Solomon's gold-hoarding behavior and his extravagant lifestyle (10:14–21). Solomon has made 200 large shields of beaten gold, each containing 600 shekels of

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[650] Charles E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 140. Sidon gained prominence over Tyre for the most part of the Persian period. The city was also a site for a palace of the Persian king and hence a regional seat of power for the Persian overlords. When the Sidonians rebelled against the Persians in the mid-fourth century B.C.E., Artaxerxes III destroyed Sidon, and Tyre became once again the principal city of Phoenicia. See Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period," 32; Betlyon, "Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 459.

gold, and 300 smaller shields of refined gold, each containing three minas of gold, and he stores them in the royal treasury, the Forest of the Lebanon (vv. 16–17). These shields are not meant to be used in warfare, but they are surplus income made into gold bullions and hoarded in the royal treasury. Solomon has also made an ivory throne overlaid with refined gold, with the finest artistry and unprecedented design (vv. 18–20). Historically, the Phoenicians were renowned for making finest ivory artifacts and all kinds of ivory furniture. The reputation of their ivory craftsmanship is also mentioned in the book of Ezekiel (27:6, 15). By framing Solomon's gold-hoarding behavior and the making of his unprecedented ivory throne with the episodic fragments of Hiram the maritime partner, the text directly associates and implicitly compares the Solomonic Kingdom's extravagance with Tyre's renowned affluence. Solomon symbolically surpasses Tyre's wealth-hoarding attitude and finest artistry by the making of an unprecedented ivory throne.

What I have attempted to delineate is the subject-object reversal between the Solomonic Kingdom and Tyre. Historically, the coastal Phoenician cities, among which Tyre and Sidon were the leading principalities because of their strategic location in conducting international trade and in developing naval resources, had enjoyed great economic success and been given political privileges by the Persian kings who had subjugated them. During the Persian and Hellenistic periods, the Phoenician cities dominated the coastal plains of the Levant and northern Syria, including the land of the Galilee and Yehud. The Solomonic narrative painted a picture of Solomon's dominance over Hiram the Tyrian king. Thus, the text has reversed the historical position of the dominator and the dominated by displacing the Solomonic Kingdom in an image of their dominator, the Phoenician cities. The coastal cities' wealth-hoarding attitude, extravagance, and renowned, fine craftsmanship have been displaced into the Solomonic

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Kingdom and symbolically surpassed by the Israelite king. Solomon the goldsmith symbolically defeats Hiram the bronzesmith. Solomon's hoarding of 500 gold shields symbolically competes with Tyre's reputed wealth-hoarding. The Israelite king's production of an ivory throne of unprecedented craftsmanship symbolically outdoes the Tyrians' reputation of craftsmanship. The pride and wealth-hoarding and profiteering "wisdom and understanding" that Tyre and other coastal cities exhibited are displaced into the Solomonic Kingdom. However, what the prophets reprimanded vehemently is praised by the Deuteronomist after the mechanism of transference. Note that the Deuteronomist only came to reprimand, directly, Solomon's cultic deviance, semiotized through his multiple liaisons with forbidden foreign women, and, indirectly, Solomon's subjection of the northern Israelites to exploitative physical labor through the episode of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 11:1–12:24). This reflects an ambivalent attitude toward wealth and the exploitative nature of wealth-hoarding. Representing the exploited and the less privileged in the regional economy, the Judean prophets castigated the Tyrians for the profit-driven attitude toward life. Yet wealth and prosperity were still deemed as desirable and thus fantasized. Through the reversed power dynamics between Yehud and the Phoenician cities portrayed in the Solomonic narrative, the imperialized Yehudites were able psychically to assume a privileged position of the wealth and success of the coastal dwellers and enjoy the associative pleasurable affects that they would otherwise never have obtained in reality.

Israelite-Tyrian Relations: Introjective Identification

Aside from this overt reversal of power dynamics, the domination pattern represented by Israelite-Tyrian relations is indeed realistic and identifiable in Persian imperialism, except that the Persian king's role is taken up by Solomon in the text. The Israelite-Tyrian relations

portrayed in the text are reminiscent of the Persian-Phoenician relations in the fifth and fourth

centuries B.C.E.

In the Solomonic narrative, the Israelite-Tyrian relationship is highly ambivalent and

unstable. On the one hand, it resembles that between the modern colonizer and the colonized,

with Solomon being the exploiter of Phoenician natural resources and labor force, and Hiram

acquiescing to all his requests with minimal return of food rations and Solomon's gifts of twenty

cities that are "like nothing" (כבול) to him (5:22–26 [Eng. 8–12]; 9:11–14). Hiram's complaint

about the quality of the twelve cities reveals that their relationship is not always peaceful (cf.

5:26[Eng. 12]) but has some rough moments. On the other hand, Hiram seems to represent a

higher civilization whose technological progress surpassed that of the Solomonic Kingdom. This

constitutes a reversal of the extent of cultural and technological progress achieved by the

colonizer and the colonized that modern colonialism presupposes. Tyrians are portrayed as

culturally and technologically more developed than the Israelites. Their achievements in

metallurgy and navigation technologies are indispensable for Solomon's imperial career.

Solomon has to rely on their supply of resources, labor, and their technologies to set up the

Solomonic Kingdom's infrastructure and to venture a maritime trade exploration. Moreover,

Solomon's humble payments of staples and the gift of a vast land of poor quality seem to suggest

a sign of Solomon's subordinate position and his country's underdeveloped conditions,

countering his claim of imperial supremacy.[651] Even though the text seems to portray Solomon's

exploitative attitude and acts toward the Tyrians, the picture does not fit well with the modern

conception of colonialism. The Phoenicians' cultural and technological advancements over the

Israelites seem to contradict and subvert the ideological portrayal of the cultural inferiority and

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[651] For instance, see Jobling, "'Forced Labor'," 62.

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backwardness of the colonized typically found in modern colonial discourse. Indeed, the fact that

Solomon acknowledges the Phoenicians' ("the Sidonians" in 5:20) [652] superiority in timber

handling (5:20 [Eng. 6]) suggests that the gap in civilization between the colonizer and the

colonized so often portrayed in modern colonial discourse is reversed, rendering modern

assumption inapplicable.

The Persian imperializer, like their predecessors the Assyrians and Babylonians, had never

assumed their ethnic or cultural superiority over the conquered peoples. Rather they legitimized

their rule mainly by the proof of their military superiority, whether through the display of

military prowess or the engagement in actual warfare. However, the ideological apparatus did

play an important part in their conquest. As I have described in Chapter 1, the Persian kings were

very keen on co-opting the cultic elite of the conquered peoples and utilizing the native religious

ideologies to portray their rule as a divine mandate. However, they had never claimed the

supremacy of Persian civilization over that of the conquered peoples. In contrast, the Persians

were exploiters par excellence of the craftsmanship and advanced technologies of the conquered

peoples for the economic development and territorial expansion of the empire.

The power dynamics between Solomon and Hiram, as described in the Solomonic narrative,

are likely to be an idealized representation of the power dynamics between Persia and the

Phoenician coastal city-states. The composite figure of Hiram the Tyrian king is a metonymic

expression for the Phoenician city-states. He is a condensed, fragmentary representation of the

resource-abundant, prosperous, and technologically well-developed Phoenician coastal cities,

whom Solomon, or the metonymic Israel, exploited to maximal extent. In other words, Solomon,

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[652] The gentilic term "Sidonians" in 5:20[Eng. 6] is a synecdochic expression for "Phoenicians." See Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 213. As Betlyon ("Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period," 459) indicates, Sidon was the principle city of the Phoenicians during the Persian period.

or the metonymic Israel, is a literary introject of the Persian imperializer who relished in the rich natural resources, labor power, exceptional craftsmanship, and most importantly naval technologies of the coastal cities. Because the Israelite-Tyrian relations are portrayed in a way that mimicking the Persian-Phoenician relations, the displacement reflects a mechanism of introjective identification. The Persians' imperial policy and Machiavellian attitudes toward the coastal cities are adopted, displaced, and incorporated into the ancestral political entity with which the Yehudites identified.

The portrayal of the Israelite-Tyrian relationship is a displaced, distorted, and fragmentary version of the Persian-Phoenician relationship. First, the image of Hiram supplying natural resources (cedar and cypress timbers), laborers (timber-handlers and load-bearers), and craftsmen (builders and bronzesmith) in exchange for Solomon's food rations reflects the Persian-Phoenician dealings mentioned in the book of Ezra and by the Greek historians. According to Ezra 3:7, the Persian collaborators of Yehud were said to have paid masons and carpenters with money and Sidonian and Tyrian timber-transporters, who brought the cedar timber from the Lebanon to Joppa by sea, with food rations. Joppa was a city on the Syro-Palestinian coast under Phoenician domination during the Persian period. In the transaction, the Yehudite officials were mainly agents carrying out the distribution of rations to the Phoenician hirelings, on behalf of their Persian overlords. The motifs of temple construction, transport of the cedar timber along the coastline, and food rations to the Phoenician hirelings also appear in the transactions between Solomon and Hiram.[653]

The Persians used the prized cedar timber from the Lebanon not only as construction material for public buildings but also for shipbuilding. With the Persians' westward expansion to

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[653] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 378–79.

Greece, the cedars were on demand for the building of the naval fleet. Xerxes, in his Greek campaign, had formed a fleet of twelve thousand seven triremes (Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.89). In his campaign to the mountainous region of the Lebanon, Alexander III had extracted the cedars for his fleet (Plutarch, *Alexander* XXXIV).[654] Antigonus the One-Eyed, in preparation for his naval expedition against Egypt in the late fourth century B.C.E., sought the assistance of the Phoenicians in Tyre, employing 8,000 men to fell trees and 1,000 pairs of draught animals to transplant the timbers for fleet building (Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XIX.58.2).[655] The portrayal of Solomon conscripting a huge number of Israelite manual laborers—30,000 timber-handlers, 70,000 burden-bearers, and 80,000 stonecutters—in preprations of his temple and palace building projects (5:27–29[Eng. 13–15]) exceeds even the strenuous effort of Antigonus' fleet-building described by Diodorus. The extent of Solomon's exploitation of the natural resources and laborers, in particular of the Phoenicians, bears similitudes to that of Persian kings' exploitation. However, unlike the Persian overlords, Solomon never exploits the Phoenicians for the purpose of military expansion.

Second, as I have pointed out with the epigraphic evidence of "foundation charters" of Darius I's palace at Susa, not only were the Persian kings keen on utilizing the natural resources of the conquered countries, they also liked to boast of the incorporation of the specialized craftsmanship of the conquered people in their building projects. Solomon's utilization of Hiram the bronzesmith (7:13–47) and Hiram the Tyrian king's builders in timber and stone preparations (5:32[Eng. 18]; LXX 6:1) reflect metonymically the Persian king's craftsman-exploitation.

Third, the historical counterpart of the Israelite-Tyrian collaborative in maritime trade expedition is identifiable as the Persian-Phoenician naval force. The Persians, being originally

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[654] See L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 154.
[655] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 379.

the inhabitants of the interior, relied on the shipbuilding industry, navigation expertise, and experienced mariners of the coastal Phoenician cities in both their commercial and military activities. At the very least, the commercial aspect of the Persian-Phoenician joint ventures is identifiable in the Solomonic narrative. Solomon relies on Hiram to provide both a fleet and experienced sailors for their joint expeditions. However, only Solomon is described as the profiteerer in the text, and the Tyrian merchant fleet functions as his profiteering instrument to bring back a great amount of gold from Ophir (a toponym used synonymously to "the source of gold" in the biblical literature)[656] and exotic goods and species as gifts and tribute that befit a Great King's honor. The portrayal of the Israelite-Tyrian joint venture bears a great extent of similarity to the Persian-Phoenician naval collaboration. Solomon, being a king of the highlands, is forced to rely on the naval resources of Tyre to fulfill his maritime ambition. The portrayal would have provoked a sense of familiarity to the Persian-Phoenician maritime partnership, even if the association was drawn unconsciously.

Finally, Solomon's gift of the twenty cities in the Galilean region to Hiram also resembles the Persian imperial policy of land grant. As I have pointed out with archaeological and monumental evidence, in the fifth century Eshmunazar II, king of Sidon, claimed on the inscription of his sarcophagus to have received the coastal cities Dor and Joppa as a land grant from the Persian king. Also, the Persian administrative complex at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee was likely to be under Tyrian authority with the land and its surroundings granted to Tyre in exchange of their naval assistance. Thus, Solomon's land grant to Hiram the Tyrian king may be interpreted as a displacement of the Persian king's grant to the Phoenician cities for the purpose of imperial expansionism. Solomon's land grant to Hiram is the displaced, distorted version of

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[656] See 1 Kgs 22:28; Job 22:24, 28:16; Ps 45:0; Isa 13:12.

the Persian king's land grant to Tyre. The distorted part of this identifiable historical element is the absence of expansionistic intent.

Unlike the case of the Persian King's land grant to Eshmunazar II, the reason for the land grant is not stated in the Solomonic narrative. Presumably, the first readers/auditors would have been familiar with the historical situation between Persia and Phoenicia during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. On the one hand, if they presupposed the causal relation between Hiram's supply of building material and Solomon's land grant, then the land grant may be interpreted as Solomon's reward for Hiram's twenty-year supply of building materials and laborers. On the other hand, if Hiram's subsequent naval assistance was regarded as consequential to the land grant, then it may be interpreted as an incentive for Hiram's further assistance in Solomon's maritime trade exploration. This retroactive reading would make the land gift as a common incentive for the Tyrians' naval assistance in both the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom and the historical counterpart of the Persian-Phoenician relations in the fifth century and fourth centuries B.C.E. As I have pointed out earlier, the gifts of lands and towns were a part of the Persian imperial policy of reward and punishment. There are attested instances of the Greek collaborators receiving gifts of towns and lands from the Persian king as a means of enticement for their help in advancing Persian domination. Solomon's land grant to Hiram would likely be understood as part of this imperial system by the first readers/auditors. In view of the Persian-Phoenician relations in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., Solomon's land grant to Hiram is likely to be an introjective identification of the Persian king's land grant to the Phoenician cities.

Conclusions

In conclusion, Hiram is a composite character that bears condensed, fragmentary

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representations of the coastal cities of Phoenicia, with highlights on their rich resources, renowned craftsmanship, and maritime achievements. Hiram, on the manifest surface, is the metonym of the coastal city-states of Phoenicia. Hiram's relationship with Solomon is essentially that of the exploited to the exploiter, in spite of the suggestion that he has supposedly sealed a treaty of parity with him. The treaty of fraternity gives him the nominal status of an equal, but he is practically treated as a vassal. In view of the subjugated position that Hiram occupies in the Solomonic narrative, he could be called a vassal-ally.

Another composite aspect of Hiram's characterization is his role as a bronzesmith. I have argued that the differentiation between Hiram the Tyrian king and Hiram the bronzesmith is a retrospective, superimposed reading due to the development of later legends, in which the text had undergone substantial "secondary revisions" to remove Hiram's seemingly incompatible identities that bewildered the rational mind. I have argued that, based on the socio-cultural assumptions in the signifying context of the first readers/auditors and the narrative's patterns and internal logic, Hiram the bronzesmith was likely to be identified as Hiram the Tyrian king. Furthermore, Solomon the goldsmith (1 Kgs 7:48–50) engages and defeats Hiram the bronzesmith in a symbolic competition of craftsmanship, a form of practical wisdom, by virtue of the value and rarity of gold over bronze. Considering that Solomon and Hiram are the metonymic figures of the ethnic groups that they represent, the symbolic competition may be interpreted as a displaced grandiose wish of ethnic superiority.

As in Persian-Phoenician relations, Solomon does not uphold cultural superiority over the Phoenicians but rather acknowledged, explicitly or implicitly, the cultural and technological advancements of the Tyrians (and the Phoenicians) and fully exploits their material and human resources to advance the imperial cause of his own kingdom. Solomon's dependence on Tyre's

craftsmanship and naval resources may be interpreted as an introjective identification with the Persians, in particularly of their dependence on the Phoenicians. The metonymic Israel, like its historical counterpart, exploits a variety of the Phoenician resources, and at the same time becomes dependent on them for their imperial ambition.

The Israelite-Tyrian relations portrayed in the Solomonic narrative are composed of invented elements and historical elements identifiable in the Persian-Phoenician relations of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. combined through the mechanisms of subject-object reversal and introjective identification. On the manifest surface, the power dynamic between Israel and Tyre has been turned around. During the Persian period, the coastal cities of Phoenicia occupied privileged and strategic positions in international trade and as Persians' chief collaborator in naval expeditions. If Yehud, being the interior hill country less developed and meager in natural resources, was actually dominated by the Phoenicians, then the Israelite-Tyrian relations portrayed in the text constitute a subject-object reversal. As for the latent content, the Israelite-Tyrian relations were traceable to the Persian-Phoenician relations of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. The amicable and yet at times volatile relationship between Solomon and Hiram bears similitude to the Persian-Phoenician relationship of the time. Solomon's land grant to Hiram finds its historical parallel in the Persian overlords' use of lands and gifts as reward or enticement to their foreign collaborators. Archaeological evidence indicates that a Persian regional administrative center was set up at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee granted to Tyre and operated by the Tyrians, which is remarkably similar to Solomon's land grant of twenty cities to Hiram, and the cities of Dor and Joppa were given to Sidon by the Persians. In our text, Solomon is the displaced Persian king, who takes up his role as the imperializer, exploiter, and subjugator of the Phoenicians through the mechanism of introjective identification. Through subject-object

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reversal and introjective identification, Solomon, the metonymic Israel, symbolically surpasses the more powerful coastal cities of Phoenicia through its metonym Hiram, and simultaneously displaced the Persians as their imperializer. The Yehudites' power relations with the Phoenicians and the Persians were effectively displaced and introjected into the grand narrative of their monarchic distant past. Thus, the pleasurable effect of the unfulfilled (and unfulfillable) wish to be the imperializer was psychically satisfied through their psychic participation in the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom.

CHAPTER 7

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA AS A COMPOSITE CHARACTER

Introduction

The Queen of Sheba is the only female composite character in the Solomonic narrative. Her anonymity, her lengthy Yahwist-centric speech, and the lack of historical references in the narrative bespeak the legendary origins of the Queen-of-Sheba episode. The mention of her place of origin, Sheba (שבא), cannot to be taken granted as an indicator of her historicity; rather, it is to be interpreted as a signifier bearing symbolic significance familiar to the first readers/auditors. I will argue in this section that the toponym "Sheba" functions more or less as a territorialized pecuniary and erotic symbol within the Deuteronomist's signifying context. It stands as a metonym of the trade achievements of southern Arabia. However, as a gendered signifier, "the Queen of Sheba" is semiotically inflated and subtly imbued with an erotic layer of signifiance. This erotic overlay transforms the queen from merely the subjugated position of tributary to a dominated position of a suitress and a surrogate mother. The "Queen of Sheba" is a pecuniary symbol by virtue of her place of origin and an erotic symbol by virtue of her gender and her interactions with Solomon. In order to gain insights into the composite nature of the characterization of the Queen of Sheba, it is necessary to locate the toponym "Sheba" within the Deuteronomist's signifying context and to analyze the semiotic mechanisms that imbue the queen with an extra boost of libidinally charged energy, engaging and exciting the psychic participation of readers/auditors in the cultural fantasy.

The Queen of Sheba as a Tributary to Solomon

The geographical location of Sheba is uncertain. Sheba has been variously identified as

Saba, the ancient kingdom in southern Arabia (modern-day Yemen),[657] the deserts in northern

Arabia,[658] and an African country (Ethiopia).[659] Most scholars identify Sheba as the more well-

known Sabean kingdom of southern Arabia, a place well known for its gold, incense, and

international trade in antiquity. Epigraphical evidence from the Persian period indicates that

cargoes of incense were transported by land route from southern Arabia to Tell Jemmeh near

Gaza to be shipped to other markets in the Mediterranean world.[660] Thus, it is safe to assume that

the first readers/auditors were familiar with the important position that Arabia occupied in

international trade. Regardless of the exact location of Sheba in Arabia, for the purpose of this

study what concerns me is in the significance or signifiance that the signifier "Sheba" bears

within the signifying context of the first readers/auditors. In other words, whether the first

readers/auditors knew the precise or approximate location of Sheba may not be very significant

to their reception of the text. Rather, the literary and sociohistorical topoi which the signifier

occupied would be a key factor to determine the proclivity of their transferential reading.

To begin with, I will look at the toponym "Sheba" (שבא) as a signifier in the biblical

literature. In the prophetic literature, "Sheba" appears as a place abundant in gold, choice

frankincense, and precious gems, famous for international trade (Isa 60:5–6; Jer 6:20; Ezek

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[657] For instance, see Robinson, *The First Book of Kings*, 126–27; Fretheim, *First and Second Kings*, 59; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 310; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 118–19.

[658] For instance, see Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 215; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1*, 509–10. Robinson (*The Fist Book of Kings*, 126–27) has pointed out that the identification of Sheba to Northern Arabia is a means to shorten the distance between Sheba and Jerusalem to make the queen's trip historically credible.

[659] "Sheba" is mentioned in relation to Cush (Ethiopia) or Seba, which is often linked to Ethiopia, in Gen 10:7; Isa 43:3; 45:14; Ps 72:10; 1 Chr 1:9. The Ethiopians claim the Queen of Sheba to be theirs in the Ethiopian traditions of the legend. See Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: British Academy, 1968), 139–42. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII.165–175) calls Solomon's visitor "the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia."

[660] Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 12.

27:22–23; 38:13; cf. Ps. 72:10, 15). In Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre, Sheba is listed among the countries involved in trading with Tyre; the merchants of Sheba exchanged Tyrian goods with "all premium fragrance, all precious gems, and gold" (Ezek 27:22). This list of merchandise is identical to the list of goods that the Queen of Sheba brought to Jerusalem and presented to Solomon (1 Kgs 10:2, 10). "Sheba" appears consistently throughout the biblical literature as a reference to a place of international trade—especially in relation to Tyre—well known for the three imported luxury goods, among which בשם "balsam oil" was its specialty product. The consistent reference suggests the biblical writers' and their readers'/auditors' familiarity with "Sheba" as a pecuniary and exotic symbol. The association of Solomon to two renowned merchant ports, Tyre and Sheba, adjoining the northern and southern extremities of the Solomonic Kingdom, thus bolsters the portrayal of him as a leading entrepreneur in the Levant by putting the kingdom in the major contexts of international trade.

The title "queen" in "the Queen of Sheba" should not be interpreted as a king's chief consort; rather, it signifies a female sovereign. The idea of the existence of a female sovereign may have appeared exotic, or at least anomalous, to the Yehudites, but it was definitely not unheard of, even if the legitimacy of Queen Athaliah's sovereignty was refuted (2 Kgs 11:1–20). Female rulers of Arabian tribes are attested in the annalistic records of the Neo-Assyrian period, in the cuneiform documents from the time of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) to that of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.E.).[661] The names of two Arabian queens, Zabibe and Samsi, are listed among the tributaries in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. Samsi, in particular, is also mentioned as "the queen of Arabia and It'amar the Sabean" from the desert and the seashore in

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[661] See *ANET*, 283–86, 183 n. 5. I have suggested in n. 603 above that the Doppelgänger of three characters (Hiram, Rezon, and the Queen of Sheba) in the Solomonic narrative are mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian records discovered in Calah.

the annals of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.).[662] These queens presented tribute of gold, silver, camels, horses, and spices to the Assyrian kings. The portrayal of the Queen of Sheba in the Solomonic narrative is generally in accord with the portrayal of the Arabian queens in the annalistic records of the Neo-Assyrian period. In light of these archival records, whose accessibility may have been limited to the scribes of the royal house, the idea of a female sovereign appearing at Solomon's palace as a tributary would have been familiar to the learned Deuteronomist and probably would not have been a strange idea to their readers/auditors who may have heard anecdotal or legendary stories of these queens through oral traditions passed down by the itinerant merchants from Arabia. The exotic idea of a female sovereign that involves a subversion of gender stereotypes would have made excellent popular tidbits that excite the voyeuristic desire of the readers/auditors to peep into the life of these extraordinary women and also provide an "educational opportunity" to reinforce patriarchal ideals of male dominance. The motif of a legendary queen within the male-dominated world is universal folklore material. Pertinent to my purposes, I will focus on the kind of popular legends of female sovereigns in the Persian period of which the Deuteronomist and the first readers/auditors would have presumably heard.

Herodotus (*Hist.* I.184–186) mentions briefly the remarkable building projects that the Neo-Assyrian queen Semiramis, along with another Assyrian queen Nitocris, had accomplished. These two queens, according to Herodotus, were the only two female sovereigns in Neo-Assyrian history. Apparently, Semiramis remained a living legend even during the reign of Darius I. A gate in Babylon was named after her, "the Gate of Semiramis," which is mentioned by Herodotus (*Hist.* III.155) in the episode of Zopyrus's defection scheme. Scholars have

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[662] *ANET*, 285–86.

identified this Semiramis as the historical Sammu-Ramat, the only female sovereign who ruled

the Neo-Assyrian empire in the late ninth century B.C.E., whereas the other female sovereign,

Nitocris, is unidentified and likely to be Herodotus's confusion of the Egyptian queen Nitocris

(see Herodotus, *Hist.* II.100).[663] The longstanding popularity of the legendary rule of Semiramis

is attested in the works of Greek and Roman historians from the time of Ctesius of Cnidus, the

Persian-court physician of the late fifth century, to the time of Roman historian Justin (Marcus

Junianus Justinus). The Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (90–30 B.C.E.) claims to have used

Ctesias as his main source in his retelling of the legendary story of Semiramis.[664] According to

Diodorus, Semiramis was from Syria, and the Syrians were familiar with the myth of her birth.

Diodorus's highly embellished accounts of the legendary queen contain numerous folkloristic

and mythological motifs that transformed her into a demigod with exceptional beauty and

intelligence. As the queen of Assyria, she accomplished many extraordinary feats, including the

founding of Babylon, various major building projects, and the campaign against India. Even

though Diodorus was aware of more mundane versions of her legendary life, he apparently

followed the more intriguing, entertaining version by Ctesias. Justin (*Epitome* I.2) describes her

as a female sovereign ruling in male attire and deliberately compares Alexander III's campaign

against India to hers, highlighting Alexander's emulation of the amazing feats of the legendary

queen.[665] Due to the popularity of the Semiramis legend in the Greek literature of the Persian and

Hellenistic periods, it is reasonable to assume that the first readers/auditors would have heard the

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[663] See "Semiramis," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (ed. Elizabeth Knowles; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), n. p. [cited 27 July 2016]. Online: http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library .vanderbilt.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780198609810.001.0001/acref-9780198609810-e-6351; Carolyn Dewald, Explanatory notes to *The Hist.* by Herodotus (trans. Robin Waterfield; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 612.

[664] Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* II.1–20.

[665] See Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 128–43; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 154.

name of Semiramis and her legendary feats.

The legendary story of the encounter of Alexander with another female sovereign, Thallestris, the queen of the Amazons, is passed down to us by the Greek and Roman historians, Diodorus Siculus (*Lib. Hist.* XVII.77.1–3), Quintus Curitus (*History of Alexander* VI.5.24–32), and Justin (*Epitome* XII.3.5–7; cf. II.4.33), whose versions follow the same basic storyline.[666] Thus it is likely that these versions are genealogically related and traceable to a root source. Some scholars have traced the source back to the work of the Alexandrian historian Cleitarchus of the late fourth century B.C.E.[667] If these late writers have indeed followed Cleitarchus's account of Alexander's encounter with Thallestris, this would mean that the story was already in circulation during Alexander's lifetime and the first readers/auditors may have heard of the legend. If the legend of Alexander and Thallestris originated or was developed from another folktale of a similar plot in temporal proximity to the Deuteronomist, this would have an interesting bearing on the first readers/auditors' transferential reading of the Queen-of-Sheba episode in the Solomonic narrative. It suffices to point out that the historicity of this amorous liaison between Alexander and Thallestris is discounted even in antiquity by Strabo, Plutarch, and Arrian, even though Arrian has attempted to remove the legend's incredulous elements in order to produce a modified account of increased credibility.[668]

The basic storyline, following Diodorus's version (*Lib. Hist.* XVII.77.1–3), is as follows: Thallestris, the queen of the Amazons, heard of Alexander's achievements and came to see him

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[666] For a brief discussion on the recurring motif of Alexander III's sexual encounters with a queen in Alexandrian legends, see Daniel Ogden, "Alexander's Sex Life," in *Alexander the Great* (ed. Waldemar Heckel and Lawrence A. Tritle; Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 209–10; Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 128–49.

[667] See Elizabeth Baynham, "Alexander and the Amazons," *Classical Quarterly* 2001 (51): 115–26; Márta Munding, "Alexander and the Amazon Queen," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 16 (2011): 125–42. Note that the queen of the Amazons is variously named Thallestris (Diodorus), Thalestris (Quintus Curtius), and Thalestris/Minytha (Justin), but the various versions follow the same basic storyline.

[668] Munding, "Alexander and the Amazon Queen," 128–42.

in person with a retinue of three hundred Amazons in 329/8 B.C.E. The king asked her intent. She

replied that she came for the purpose of bearing the king's child, believing that the child of two

extraordinary parents would be superior than all other mortals. The king granted her request and

spent thirteen days with her. Afterward, he offered her fine presents and discharged her.

Curtius's version (VI.5.24–32), following the same storyline, is more embellished and titillating,

with emphasis on Thallestris's passion and eagerness toward meeting the famed Alexander,

along with a lengthy description of her partially naked body in their first encounter and her

boldness in making the request to have the king's child, a wish that the king keenly granted and

fully satisfied. As for Justin's version, he embellishes the legend with the additional detail that

the queen died soon after she returned to her kingdom.

    Scholars have provided different readings regarding the symbolic meaning carried by the

legend. Based on the peaceful, amorous setting between the two sovereigns, Elizabeth Baynham

interprets the story as a symbolic reconciliation between the conqueror and the conquered

through a romantic expression.[669] In contrast, Michèle Daumas proposes that, through granting

the sexual favor to a "barbarian," the conqueror is symbolically defeated by the "barbarians" by

behaving like a "barbarian"; thus, the moral behind the story to its Greek audience is to avoid the

"oriental seductress."[670] Both the symbolic meanings of conciliatory coitus and the danger of a

seductress are possible readings that the ancient readers may have had, depending on how they

had analogized the motifs with their own subjective experience. In any case, the historicity of the

encounter is less of my concern than the symbolic meanings that it bears, which will yield

insights on the kind of transferential reading that such a tradition may have produced, assuming

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[669] Baynham, "Alexander and the Amazons," 124–26.
[670] Michèle Daumas, "Alexandre et la reine des Amazones," *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 94 (1992): 352–54; see also Munding, "Alexander and the Amazon Queen," 134–35.

that the first readers/auditors were familiar with the motif of coitus-request in the legend. I will

return to this point later. At the moment, it is sufficient to point out that the motif of a female

sovereign in a male-dominated world occupied a unique literary topos in the Greek literature.

Greek and Roman historians show a tendency to expand the motif, emphasizing the masculinity

deliberately pursued by the female sovereign and spicing it up with sexually sensationalized

embellishments. This tendency is likely to have been shared by the Deuteronomist and their first

readers/auditors, even though theirs was subtler than the Greek and Roman historians, as I will

argue.

The encounter between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is portrayed as peaceful, amorous,

and reciprocal. While the text does not explicitly state that their relationship was romantic in

nature, the possibility that the episode may be interpreted as a symbol of reconciliation between

the conqueror and the conquered, in line with Baynham's reading of the encounter between

Alexander and Thallistris, should be considered. I have already argued for Solomon's symbolic

subjugation of the Pharaoh and Hiram. I will argue that the Queen of Sheba, being the third

foreign dignitary in the text, is also symbolically subjugated by Solomon by way of a חידה

("riddle" or "enigmatic saying") challenge. The queen comes as a tributary in an inferior position

to pay homage to King Solomon, bringing with her a substantial amount of luxury goods

befitting the prestige of a Great King (1 Kgs 10:2). The narrator makes the purpose (or pretext)

of her visit clear to the readers/auditors from the very beginning: "She came to test him

[Solomon] with riddles" (ותבא לנסתו בחידות; 10:1). The narrator reveals neither the content of the

enigmatic sayings nor the queen's motive to instigate the challenge, but only that Solomon

overcomes the challenge by solving all of them (10:3). The narrative gaps produced by the empty

signifier חידות and the absence of intent are perplexing and intriguing, engaging the

readers/auditors in transferential reading to fill the gaps.[671] At the same time, leaving out such

important details suggests that the text focalizes not on the content of the חידות but rather on the

result of the חידה contest.[672] The posing of חידות does not aim to engage the readers/auditors in an

intellectual exercise; it is a symbolic contest whose result further reinforces the superiority of

Solomon's wisdom and metonymically his imperial superiority in general.[673]

Josephus has cited the Greek historian Dio's account of the riddle competition between

Solomon and Hiram (Eirōmos) the Tyrian king, which is purportedly based on the official Tyrian

records translated by Menander. In this legendary contest, Solomon took on the role of the riddle

challenger and engaged Hiram in a riddle competition. He stipulated that whoever lost would

have to pay a fine to the other. In the end, a Tyrian named Abdemounos won the contest on

behalf of Hiram, and Solomon paid a substantial sum.[674] This late tradition shares the similar

literary motifs and features with the biblical counterpart. It contains a riddle competition without

giving the content of the riddles or their solutions. It may well be a displacement of the riddle

challenge by the Queen of Sheba in the Solomonic narrative. The transference is enabled by the

common motifs of diplomatic competition between the two states and both characters' major

supporting role in the Solomonic narrative.[675] John M. G. Barclay points out in his commentary

on *Against Apion* that to the Greek historians (Dios and Menander) whom Josephus purportedly

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[671] To quote Donald J. Wiseman's interpretation as an instance of how this gap is filled by commentators: "The visit was no 'wisdom contest' between rulers of great powers, for such is unattested at this time, but is based on a trade mission, since Solomon now controlled the 'Red Sea' and the caravan routes from east Arabia through Ezion Geber. … The test was not an academic exercise but to see if he would be a trustworthy business partner and a reliable ally capable of giving help" (*1 & 2 Kings*, 129). Wiseman presupposes a certain extent of the episode's historicity and explains away any literary elements that resist "reality testing." It is a form of "secondary revision" from a psychoanalytic perspective. At the very least, the motif of riddle-competition occurs in the Phoenician history of Dios, as Josephus's citation indicates.

[672] In contrast to the episode of the Queen of Sheba, the story of Samson's riddle in Judg. 14:1–19 focalizes sharply on the riddle and Solomon's Philistine companions' effort to solve the puzzle even by way of a woman spy.

[673] See a similar position in Hans-Peter Müller, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im Alten Testament," *VT* 20 (1970): 477–79.

[674] *Ag. Ap.*, I.112–15; *Ant.* VIII.148–49.

[675] The textual transference follows the same psychic mechanism of what I have pointed out about Hadad's life in exile and the LXX expansion of Jeroboam's life in exile. See pp. 262–266.

based his accounts, the challenge of riddles is a symbolic competition and not a symbolic friendship.[676] Since this account purportedly originated from the Tyrian records, it reflects the ethnocentric perspective of the Tyrians, to whom the Tyrians' superiority was proved by Abdemounos's symbolic defeat of the Israelite king with acclaimed wisdom in the riddle contest.[677] In view of the displacement of the riddle challenge in Josephus's account, the riddle challenge in the Solomonic narrative may have been interpreted by the first readers/auditors in a similar vein as a symbolic subjugation of Sheba. Given that "Sheba" is a pecuniary symbol, Solomon's victory in the riddle challenge signifies not only his superiority in wisdom but also his superiority in prosperity and wealth, which according to the internal logic of the text are results of "wisdom imperialism."

Solomon's superiority in prosperity and wealth is further reinforced by the Queen of Sheba's amazement upon her survey of Solomon's wisdom, his palace, the food on the King's Table, the seating of his officials, the attendants at his service, their raiment, his cupbearers, and the burnt offerings that he offers to YHWH; "she was flabbergasted" (ולא־היה בה עוד רוח; 10:5). The list of spectacles bespeaks of Solomon's exhibitionist display of wealth, prestige, and power. What the queen witnesses suggests that Solomon's officials are beneficiaries of the kingdom's prosperity and wealth. Their raiment and the food they consume at the King's Table suggest that Solomon's wealth is redistributed to the officials through these means, which is consistent with the Persian king's reward system, as supported by the archival and literary evidence.[678] Thus, the

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[676] Barclay also points out that riddle-solving is a common motif in Greek legend, but riddle-competition is a rare one. Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* (trans. and commentated by John M. G. Barclay; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 69, n. 372 and 72, n. 388.

[677] Cf. Müller, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im Alten Testament," 179.

[678] See Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King': The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of his Satrap, Karkiš," in *Der Achämenidenhof (The Achaemenid Court): Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema »Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen,« Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007* (ed. Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger; Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 674, 682–85; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 302–15, particularly 306–08 and 313–15.

sumptuousness of Solomon's feast and the lavishness reflected in the officials' attire, the number

of attendants, and the magnificent table settings may be an introjective identification of the well-

known lavishness of the Persian kings' feasts, a picture consistently depicted by the Greek

historians and supported by the Persepolis Fortification Tablets.[679]

I have mentioned earlier that the Persian empire had a system of reward and punishment to

retain or gain the loyalty of the royal officials and the foreign collaborators. Beneficence and

discipline were used in tandem to sustain allegiance and subservience and to deter treachery,

respectively. Pecuniary incentives were the primary motivator.[680] The gift of lands and towns is

only one major form of reward; there were other royal gifts, such as robes, jewelry, honorary

titles, and positions of honor. Robes and jewelry were archetypal royal gifts. The amount of

ornaments that an official wore reflects his esteem in the royal house and the extent of favor he

received from the king.[681] The scenes of royal luxury that the Queen of Sheba witnesses in

Solomon's court are likely to be derived from popular images and the Greek historians'

portrayals of the level of lavishness in which the Persian kings indulged.

The Queen of Sheba's amazement on the scale and the sumptuousness at the royal table may

be interpreted, on the basis of collective narcissism, as both a projective self-admiration and an

introjective identification of the exceptionally large scale of the Persian Kings' Table, which

provided foodstuffs not only to the royal family but also to the court administrators, workers, and

bodyguards. The King's Table in the Persian administrative sense is a prominent location of

redistribution of provisions. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets indicate that food rations were

issued to various parties through the King's Table according to their rank in the royal

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[679] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:200; 2:509–10, 576–79, 604–09.

[680] For examples, see Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.134–37; VIII.5; IX.18; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, IX.1–2, V.8, 11, 13. See also Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:506.

[681] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 302–15; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:633–44.

administrative hierarchy. The scale of such feasting was phenomenal. According to the Greek historians Dinon and Ctesias, the number of people served at the King's Table could reach 15,000 and a meal cost 400 talents.[682] The guests were seated in accordance with their social status.[683] The large-scale banquet was considered a privilege of the Persian officials. The lavishness of the food consumed and drink poured in the presence of the Persian king and redistributed through the King's Table was substantial. The individual texts and journal entries collected at Persepolis show figures that reach 1,224 sheep or goats, 126,100 quarts of flour, 1,044 poultry, and 12,350 quarts of wine (cf. 1 Kgs 5:2–3[Eng. 4:22–23]).[684] In view of the archival documents and the evidence of the King's Table as a location for the redistribution of resources, the large number of guests and the high cost of a meal stated by the Greek historians are plausible figures.[685] Because Persian kings regularly feasted and fed a large group of tablemates, there was a great need for attendants and kitchen staff. Bakers, cooks, "female cooks," and even perfume makers were listed among the banquet personnel in the *Letter of Parmenion*, which Parmenion wrote to Alexander III regarding the Persian royal feasts.[686] Solomon's presumably sumptuous banquet may be interpreted as an introjective identification to the Persians' sumptuous and large-scale feasts.

It is highly plausible that the Deuteronomist were well acquainted with this sumptuous image of the Persian kings' feasts since regional satraps and governors followed the Persian kings' feasting practice and organized their own miniature "King's Table." From Nehemiah 5:17, we hear that even a local governor such as Nehemiah was feeding 150 men on a daily

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[682] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 286–315, in particular 314–15; see also Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:509–10, 604–09.
[683] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:578.
[684] Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King'," 679–80.
[685] Cf. Cook, *Persian Empire*, 139–40.
[686] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 209 and 293.

basis. Nehemiah's emphasis on the self-financed governor's feast reflected his deviation from the Persian general practice of regarding the satrap's table or governor's table as a form of regional tax.[687]

The Queen of Sheba's inspection, on the manifest surface, serves to satisfy the exhibitionist desire of a narcissist king, who was eager to make known to the world his wisdom and affluence. This exhibitionistic tendency of Solomon creates an internal narrative inconsistency within the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. In contrast to the prophetic indictment that king Hezekiah receives for the display of all his wealth to the Babylonian envoys (2 Kgs 20:12–19), Solomon's showcase of the lavish royal-court lifestyle is returned with the queen's admirations, whether through her adulation of Solomon or through her beatitude of Yhwh (2 Kgs 10:6–9).

The gift exchange of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba may seem to be reciprocal. The queen does not come empty-handed. She brings with her 120 talents of gold, an unprecedented great quantity of choice fragrance, and precious gems (10:2, 10) and presents them as a sizable tribute to Solomon. The queen's offer of an enormous yet unaccounted amount of incense is reminiscent of the great quantity of one thousand talents of incense that the Arab peoples had paid to Darius I as a "gift" every year (Herodotus, *Hist.* III.97). Unlike the other satrapies whose satrapal tax was mainly assessed in *silver*, the Arabs paid tribute in kind. Solomon symbolically surpasses the Persian king by having the Queen of Sheba voluntarily offer one hundred twenty talents of *gold*, in addition to the unquantifiable amount of incense and precious stones.

In reciprocation, Solomon has given the queen "all her desire [את־כל־חפצה] that she requested, apart from what he gave of king Solomon's own accord [אשר נתן־לה כיד המלך שלמה]" (10:13). What the queen desires is not stated and the formula of incomparability is only used to

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[687] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 487.

describe the queen's gift. What Solomon gives and whether his gifts are commensurable to the queen's sizable tribute remains an enigma and invites transferential reading. However, in stark contrast to her flamboyant arrival with a great entourage and camels bearing the sizable tribute, her departure is downplayed: "She returned to her land, she and her officials" (10:13). There is no mention of a great retinue to guard the "munificent" gifts, as some commentators assume,[688] presented to her by Solomon. The emphasis on the subject of departure, "she and her officials," gives an impression that she leaves almost empty-handedly. Thus, like Hiram before her, she and her country are in the position of exploited tributary, bearing the labor to fulfill Solomon's grandiose desire.

The Queen of Sheba as a Suitress

A unique literary feature of the Queen-of-Sheba episode in the Solomonic narrative is the considerable number of empty signifiers used in the narrative. The empty signifiers are predicates without actual referents, and thus they produce narrative gaps that invite readers'/auditors' transferential reading, namely to fill the gaps in accordance with their subjective experience. The amorous encounter between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba has been reimagined variously by different religious traditions. These traditions of interpretation attest to a tendency of readers/auditors to further eroticize the encounter, spicing up the story with romantic and sexually explicit details, usually with narrative expansion of marriage and progeny. According to a Jewish legend, the queen "came to Solomon" (ותבא אל־שלמה; 1 Kgs 10:2) because she desired to be impregnated by the king, which was "all she desired" (10:13). According to Rashi's anachronistic reading, the offspring of their union was Nebuchadnezzar.[689]

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[688] For instance, see Gray, *I & II Kings*, 243.
[689] See Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 218; Wiseman, *1 & 2 Kings*,

According to an Ethiopic tradition, with the Queen of Sheba Solomon fathered Menelik, the founding king of the Ethiopian kingdom. The Queen of Sheba has been variously portrayed as the most noble person in the Ethiopic version, a pagan woman converted to the right faith in the Quran (Sura 27:14–44), a harpy queen named Bilqis in Arabic literature, and the demonic temptress Lilith in the Talmud.[690] These incommensurable traditions with contradictory details utilized the indeterminacy of the narrative gaps and transferentially filled them with other elements within the retellers' subjective world.

A textual analysis of the episode indicates that the readers/auditors' tendency to eroticize the encounter as an amorous liaison is not entirely driven by the readers'/auditors' own idiosyncrasy but rather stems from the semiotic forces distributed unevenly, ephemerally, and sporadically within the text, along with the symbolic meanings rooted in their "cultural segment of the unconscious."[691] I will show in this section that the Queen-of-Sheba episode is at the outset filled with libidinally charged vocabulary followed by a series of empty signifiers and suspense, which entice the readers/auditors toward eroticizing the encounter between Solomon and the Queen. The text's semiotic forces activate the instinctual rhythm through the sporadic occurrence of libidinally charged words, suggestive empty signifiers, and theses laid outside the manifest content of the narrative, transposing the reading experience into an instinctual, biological, and sociocultural process.[692] The tendency toward eroticization, coupled with the consistent portrayal of the Queen of Sheba as the initiator and active subject of the encounter, produces an allusion of the queen as a suitress, even though the text is devoid of explicit romantically references. This

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130; see E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 139.

[690] See Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 131–45; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 120–21; Wernes Daum, ed., *Die Königen von Saba: Kunst, Legende und Archäologie zwischen Morgenland und Abendland* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1988); DeVries, *1 Kings*, 139.

[691] Weston La Barre, *The Ghost Dance*, 207; see also p. 123 above.

[692] See Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 100–01.

presence of erotic content in its absence is likely to be a result of a psychic mechanism to avoid

censorship, whether internal inhibitions or social taboos, that pressures the Deuteronomist to

express erotic material in a roundabout way, in terms of allusions by suggestions or omissions,

through drive-facilitated marks to the erotic content. Thus, erotic content is present even in its

absence.[693] In our text, omissions occur predominantly in the form of empty signifiers, whose

lack of referents invites the transferential reading.

    I will assess the textual effect on the readers/auditors by considering the narrative in the

sequential time of reading.[694] At the outset of the episode, the sexually connotative verb בוא has

already occurred three times (10:1–2), all with the queen as the subject of action, to describe the

aim of the queen's visit (v. 1), her movement toward the object of desire ("She came [ותבא] to

Jerusalem" [v. 2a]), and her arrival at the object of desire ("She came to Solomon [ותבא אל־

שלמה]" [v. 2b]). The verb בוא on its own is already semiotically charged with sexual meaning. As

I have indicated, the construction בוא אל־ "to go in to" carries even a stronger sexual

connotation.[695] Thus from the outset the text has established the queen as the pursuer of the

encounter, and she remains so in the entire episode. Of the twelve main clauses in the narrative

part of the episode, ten of them have the Queen of Sheba as the subject of action. Only in two

scarce occasions is Solomon the subject of action, where he acts only in response to the queen's

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[693] For the psychoanalytic concept of allusion by omission, see Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, SE* 8:78. Allusion by suggestion or omission as a presence in its absence is different from Terry Eagleton's notion of "measurable absence," which refers to the absence of content that should have been present. Even though the absence is measurable or traceable through ideological criticism and elicits suspicion on the authorial intent, it does not necessitate any roundabout ways that hint at the absent content. See Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory* (London: Verso, 1976), 72; see also n. 287 above. Allusion by suggestion or omission is also different from Erich Auerbach's notion of "fraught with background." Such "background" is a presence, albeit in a nebulous, unexpressed way that invites filling-in and interpretations. See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Thought* (trans. Willard R. Trask; 50th-anniversary ed.; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 12–13. For further elaboration, see pp. 462 below.
[694] See pp. 220–221 for Wolfgang Iser's theory on sequential reading.
[695] See n. 418 and pp. 201–202.

request and desire (vv. 3, 13). Throughout the episode, the queen consistently occupies the active position of the pursuer, and Solomon remains consistently the passive pursued.

The episode begins with a paronomastic expression that is in itself an empty signifier: "The Queen of Sheba heard of the hearsay about Solomon" [ומלכת־שבא שמעת את־שמע שלמה; 10:1a], namely the queen heard of some unverified report concerning Solomon. This report is an empty signifier, a report without content. The readers/auditors are invited to fill in the blank retrospectively based on the preceding episodes in the Solomonic narrative and their own subjective experience. They may also anticipate further development of the episode that would supplement the missing content since this short sentence functions as the protasis to the apodosis, "therefore, the Queen of Sheba came to test him [Solomon] with enigmatic sayings" (ותבא לנסתו בחידות; v. 1b). The lexeme בחידות constitutes another empty signifier that invites gap-filling. As I have pointed out, the text focuses on the result of the riddle-challenge that conveys symbolic subordination through a sort of "wisdom contest," rather than the content or the solutions of the riddles, but the contentless חידות inevitably invites transferential reading regardless of whether such reading serves to give the signifier a concrete content. The Hebrew word חידה has a broad spectrum of polyvalent meanings; aside from "riddle" and "enigmatic saying," it also signifies "something put indirectly and needing interpretation,"[696] namely a roundabout way to say something without making it explicit. The narrator goes on to describe how the Queen of Sheba "came to test him" (ותבא לנסתו) with two more ותבא-expressions that end with an even stronger sexual connotation, "And she came to Solomon [ותבא אל־שלמה] and she relayed to him all that was on her mind [את כל־אשר היה עם־לבבה]" (v. 2). "All that was on her mind" constitutes the third empty signifier in the episode that invites transferential reading.

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[696] *DBD*, 295.

The narrator tells the readers/auditors that "Solomon revealed to her [ויגד־לה] all her concerns [את־כל־דבריה], nothing was concealed [נעלם] from the king that [אשר] he did not reveal [הגיד] to her" (v. 3).[697] This verse contains two more empty signifiers, the fourth and fifth ones, with respect to the concerns that the queen had on her mind ("all her concerns") unrevealed to the readers/auditors and whatever the king revealed to her. What could a female sovereign have tested her male counterpart? What has Solomon revealed without reservation in response to "all that was on her [the Queen's] mind"? With the progression in the use of the sexually suggestive verb בוא, the first readers/auditors were enticed to fill these empty signifiers with erotic content.

Next, the narrator lists what the queen has witnessed "[w]hen she saw" (ותרא) a series of splendid scenes of Solomon's kingdom (vv. 4–5). Noteworthy, Solomon's wisdom is listed first among the various splendid scenes that the queen has witnessed with her own eyes. This implies that Solomon's comprehensive wisdom (את כל־חכמת) is not so much an abstract concept but a visible spectacle, although it appears as another empty signifier (the sixth one) subject to transferential reading. This spectative wisdom could have been reinforced by the potential suspense created by the particle אשר in verse 3 in the sequential time of reading. Imagine the reader or the storyteller putting a pause before אשר, "*nothing was concealed from the king ……* *that he did not reveal to her*" (emphasis mine), leading to the suggested reading that the king stands "naked," intellectually and/or physically, before the queen, even if the hiphil verb נגד retains its common, intellectual nuance. Is the queen attracted to Solomon because of his brainpower and penetrative insights into "all that was on her mind"? Has the queen "gazed at" (ותרא) the embodiment of Solomon's charms, the so-called "wisdom"?

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[697] The hiphil verb נגד is usually rendered as "to declare," but it can also mean "to reveal" or "to make known" in particular with reference to something hidden. In order to retain the contrast to the subsequent niphil verb עלם, I prefer the rendering "to reveal" over "to declare."

At the end of her gaze of Solomon's visible "wisdom" and various magnificent spectacles of his kingdom, the narrator goes on to describe a highly-sentimentalized response of the queen: "And she was left breathless" (ולא־היה בה עוד רוח). The same expression is used to describe an intense, emotive moment of astonishment that the Amorites and Canaanites experience when they witness the spectacle of the Israelites crossing the dried Jordan (Josh 5:1; cf. 2:11). Given the Queen-of-Sheba episode has been semiotized from the outset, this expression may be understood as an orgasmic explosion in the text. The queen's "breathless" experience is in this sense similar to *la petit mort*. Her ecstasy is followed by another sentimentalized moment in which she verbalizes her astonishment in direct discourse (vv. 6–9). Verses 6–7 recapitulate the hearsay that the queen heard (v. 1). She verifies the "word" (הדבר; the seventh empty signifier) spread in her country regarding Solomon's "matters [על־דבריך; the eighth empty signifier] and wisdom" (v. 6) and that he surpasses in "wisdom and goodness [וטוב; the ninth empty signifier] that I [the queen] heard in the hearsay [השמועה; the tenth empty signifier]" (v. 7). In addition to the empty signifiers "matters" and "hearsay," whose contents remain enigmatic, the Queen uses a very vague word טוב to describe Solomon. NRSV has rendered טוב "prosperity" with respect to the spectacular scenes that the queen has witnessed. However, this translation neglects the fact that "Solomon," not his kingdom, is the subject of the hiphil verb יסף "to surpass" (v. 7). Thus, both חכמה "wisdom" and טוב "goodness" are predicative to "Solomon."

טוב is a polysemous word when it comes to predicating a personal attribute. Within the Solomonic narrative, the adjectival form of טוב has been used to predicate Adonijah's appearance (1:6) and, presumably, Abner's and Amasa's moral character or competence (cf. 2:32). In its noun form, טוב can mean "beauty" and "property, blessing, well-being."[698] The inherent

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[698] *HALOT*, 372.

ambiguity of טוב is amplified by the empty content of the "matters" or "hearsay" that the queen has heard about Solomon. Again, given that the episode has already been eroticized from the outset, it is likely that טוב would have been perceived as a physical attribute, in juxtaposition to חכמה "wisdom," an intellectual attribute made visible in the episode. By describing the queen's sentimental reaction and her diegetic "eyewitness" account of Solomon's "wisdom" and "goodness" (טוב), the semiotic force within the text reinforces a nuanced reading of a visible טוב, hence physical attractiveness. The queen's diegetic account functions to persuade the readers/auditors of the verity of the fabulous stories of the legendary king by imbuing them with purportedly authoritative authentication in the form of direct speech and simultaneously to engage the readers/auditors in transferential reading with more empty signifiers.

Then the queen continues her diegetic view and expresses envy toward Solomon's wives and servants (10:8).[699] According to the syntactic structure of verse 8, the privilege of constantly listening to Solomon's wisdom seems to apply only to "these servants, who stood constantly in your [Solomon's] presence," and not his wives. Here, Solomon's wisdom turns from a visible attribute to an audible attribute only in relation to his attendants. Thus, the text produces a narrative gap as to how Solomon has made his wives happy. On the manifest surface, this appears to be the queen's projective identification into the wives and servants.[700] Because of the narrative gap, the readers/auditors are left to imagine the content of the queen's identification with Solomon's wives and her perception of their "happiness" (אשרי). The mention of the servants' incessant service to Solomon contrasts with her ephemeral encounter with the king.

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[699] See n. 403 for my preference of the MT version.
[700] See n. 403 for the textual critical note on 1 Kgs 10:8. Some commentators who follow the MT's reading interpret the Queen of Sheba's reference to Solomon's wives as an appropriate diplomatic statement made by a female sovereign to her diplomatic counterparts. See Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 120; Montgomery, *The Books of Kings*, 217; Rice, *1 Kings*, 80. My textual analysis arrives at a different conclusion by seeing the reference as a projective identification on the manifest surface and a "projective extraversion" of narcissistic thoughts in the latent content. See n. 404.

This may reflect her subtle wish to take the place of Solomon's wives and officials and enjoy the king's constant company. The erotic suggestiveness of the queen's wish is reinforced by the projective identification with Solomon's wives in precedence to that with Solomon's officials. The additional remarks about the "happiness" of his attendants may be read as a dilution of the subtle yet strong erotic suggestion with the reference to his wives.[701]

The erotic overtone of the text continues with the eroticization of the relationship between YHWH and Solomon, or the metonymic Israel, with the qal verb חפץ "the desire" and the qal verb אהב "to love." While neither חפץ nor אהב is used to predicate the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, their semiotic force may have happened on the unconscious level and may have continued to drive the readers/auditors to associate the text with erotic motifs. The same qal verb חפץ reappears in the conclusion of the episode, in which Solomon is said to have satisfied all the queen's desire (את־כל־חפצה; v. 13), which constitutes the eleventh empty signifier of the text. The Queen of Sheba, being the only female character who is explicitly said to have desired something or someone in the Solomonic narrative, occupies a rare subject position of desire. At this point, the semiotic forces running in and out of the text have reached their peak with the mention of a female subject of desire in totalizing form, along with the unconditional reciprocation of her desire by the subject of fulfilment, Solomon. In sum, the semiotic forces are carried by the libidinally charged verbs and empty signifiers. In particular, the empty signifiers produce numerous narrative gaps that invite filling. Given the semiotic forces of the libidinally charged vocabulary in operation, from a psychoanalytic perspective these empty signifiers are erotic allusions by suggestion and omission.

Narrative gaps, whether in the form of empty signifiers or the lack of narrative details,

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[701] For a similar view of the erotic suggestion made by the Queen of Sheba, see K.-S. Lee, "Books of Kings," 163.

produce moments of indeterminacy that invite immediate filling by the readers/auditors. What has she heard about Solomon? What are the riddles or enigmatic sayings? What does the queen have in her mind? How does Solomon respond unconditionally to her "enigmatic sayings"? How does Solomon make his wives happy? What has Solomon given to the Queen of Sheba to satiate all her desire? What has he given her anyway? The text's reticence toward these questions contrasts with the relative clarity present in the Hiram episode (cf. 10:13). Not only is the narrative reticent on the details descriptive of the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, there is also a reversal of role dynamics in their relationship in comparison to that of Hiram and Solomon. In the latter case, it is Hiram who tries to satisfy all Solomon's desire unconditionally, and Solomon falls short of reciprocating to Hiram by giving him 20 cities that he deems worthless. In the episode of the Queen of Sheba, the dynamics of gratification is reversed. Solomon always responds to the queen's requests unconditionally (10:2–3, 13) and demands nothing in return. Whatever the queen gives, she gives them out of her own volition. Solomon's preferential treatment of the Queen of Sheba will be further analyzed in relation to the episode of Bathsheba's intercessory request on behalf of Adonijah.

A textual analysis of the episode of the Queen of Sheba in this section has led to the conclusion of an aspect of her composite role being a suitress, and a very successful one. The queen is consistently portrayed as the subject of action throughout the episode, whereas Solomon is the object to be acted upon, except in the two incidents that he acts in response to the queen's requests. The semiotic forces embedded in the Hebrew language, along with the ubiquity of narrative indeterminacy, drive the first readers/auditors toward the tendency of eroticizing their relationship. This semiotic operation could only be effective with certain social and cultural assumptions. While I have argued earlier that the Queen of Sheba functions as an eroticized

metaphor of international commercial success and also that the episode is a transitional narrative toward the full-fledged dual signification of erotic privilege as a territorial conquest in 1 Kgs 11, it must be pointed out that in this episode the symbolic conquest is carried out by way of volitional submission, in a form of the conquered pursuing its own subjugation in recognition of the superiority of the conqueror. It is in this political symbolism that the Queen of Sheba's role as a suitress is established. The semiotic forces embedded in the text that drive the readers/auditors toward eroticizing the episode play a vital role in the establishment of this symbolism. It is tempting to read the episode of the Queen of Sheba as a male fantasy of a female seductress, namely that of a volitional sexual submission of his female object of desire, even though in reality neither the volition nor the submission is described. The queen is portrayed as the consistent subject of action and Solomon as the passive object to be pursued only to satisfy the male narcissistic fantasy of sexual grandiosity and entitlement. However, this thesis must be reconsidered on two grounds. First, given the greater political context of the Solomonic narrative, erotic desire is better to be interpreted symbolically as a displaced ambitious desire. Erotic desire and ambitious desire run in tandem in the libidinally charged episode. The impulse toward eroticizing the encounter intensifies also the political impulse toward conquering the Other, in this case through the fantasized volitional sexual and political submission of the queen. Second, if the text is read in light of the preceding episodes, in particular those with Bathsheba as the key character, the relationship between Solomon and the queen may be interpreted as the extension of Solomon's oedipal desire and submissiveness. I will discuss in detail this aspect of their relationship in the next section.

Earlier I mentioned the anecdotal story of Alexander and the Queen of the Amazons, which may have been in circulation since the late fourth century B.C.E. In other words, this sexually

explicit story may be contemporaneous or in temporal proximity with the anecdotal story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and thus they were likely to have stemmed from similar signifying contexts. Both stories follow the basic plot and share a number of major motifs. Both stories are about an audacious female sovereign of a powerful foreign country who decides to pay a famed king a personal visit. Both stories emphasize that the female sovereign comes with a sizable retinue and with a specific intent. Both contain a desire motif on the side of the female sovereign and a wish-granting motif on the male counterpart. The desire of the queen, whether explicit or hidden, is granted and fully satisfied by the famed king. Both contain the same motifs of gift presentation and the queen's departure in satisfaction.

In terms of the tradition development, there has been a tendency to expand, embellish, and further eroticize both stories by later writers, in particular toward portraying the queen as a suitress overpowering the famed king with her overwhelming passion. If the empty signifiers in the episode of the Queen of Sheba are filled in with transferential literary counterparts from the story of Alexander and the Queen of the Amazons, whose emplotment was presumably familiar to the first readers/auditors, it would result in an almost identical story. The transferential reading would have resulted as follows. First, the "hearsay" or "matters" the Queen of Sheba heard about Solomon (vv. 1, 6–7) and Solomon's "goodness" (v. 7) would be perceived as some sort of kingly achievements and his superiority over all men. The "enigmatic sayings" that the queen posed (v. 1), as well as "all was on her mind" (v. 2), "all her concerns" (v. 3), and "all her desire (v. 13) would be various ways to convey the unspoken request of bearing the king's child. Consequently, the king's unconditional responses to her request (vv. 3, 13) would be the grant of an erotic request. As a result, the meeting motif in the episode of the Queen of Sheba would be effectively transferred into a mating motif resembling the one in the story of Alexander and the

Queen of the Amazons. Given the contemporaneity or temporal proximity of these two anecdotal stories, the plausibility of their dependence, either sequential dependence or a shared folkloristic provenance, cannot be ruled out. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to delve into their relation. However, one of the implications of their temporal proximity is the plausibility of the kind of transferential reading that I postulated. If the kind of sexually explicit stories represented by the story of Alexander and the Queen of the Amazons were indeed part of the subjective experience of the first readers/auditors, namely a component of their signifying context, then such transferential effect would have inevitably resulted. Also, the episode of the Queen of Sheba may be interpreted as a censored subtype of this kind of sexually explicit stories available in the fourth century B.C.E., with all explicit erotic motifs expressed in terms of hidden allusions by suggestions and omissions.

The Queen of Sheba as Solomon's Surrogate Mother

In this section, I will argue, from a psychoanalytic perspective, that the Queen of Sheba may be interpreted as Solomon's surrogate mother along the storyline, filling in Solomon's desperate longing for Bathsheba, the Queen Mother, who is last mentioned in 1 Kgs 2:19 and is thus effectively "deceased" by the time the Queen of Sheba visits Solomon. On the manifest surface, these two female characters share multiple traits. First, they are linked by the proximity of their status in the royal house. Both Bathsheba and the Queen of Sheba occupy the highest-ranking royal position among women in their respective country, with the former being the queen mother of Israel and the latter the female sovereign of Sheba. Both of them are queens, albeit in a different sense.

Second, their names are associated through the mechanism of condensation. The personal

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name "Bathsheba" (בת־שבע) and the typological name "the Queen of Sheba" (מלכת־שבא) contain

similar phonal components, שבע and שבא, which may be an indicator of the primary process of

condensation in operation. According to Freud, as a part of the operation of condensation, words

and names are often treated as things in the unconscious and combined in a way as if they were

things.[702] The title מלכת־שבא "the Queen of *Sheba*" contains the phonal element שבא that bears

resemblance to the second phonal component of the proper name בת־שבע "Bath*sheba*."

Moreover, each name contains a *maqqep* connecting a female appellation (the first component)

to the phonal-associated qualifier (the second component). The phonetic and syntactic similarity

between the two names may be interpreted as a name association. One character alludes to the

other through common elements in their names. Name play by a shared phonal element is

evident in other biblical narratives. For instance, as a sign of divine covenant, YHWH renamed

אברם "Abram," literally "exalted father," to אברהם "Abraham," literally "the father of multitude"

(Gen. 17:5). The spellings of the two proper names differ only with an addition of the letter ה in

the latter. Also, his wife שרי "Sarai," literally "she foregoes," is renamed as שרה "Sarah," literally

"princess" (Gen. 17:15). The two names differ only in the ending vowels. In both cases, the

resemblance of the new name to the old one conveys the unchanged aspect of the identity of the

character, but the marked phonal change symbolizes a transformation in their life. In a similar

vein, "the Queen of Sheba" and "Bathsheba" are condensed through the phonal connection.

While they are two separate personalities in the Solomonic narrative, just as her name bears a

phonal resemblance to Bathsheba, the Queen of Sheba constitutes a part of the persona of

"Bathsheba," in particular the part in relation to Solomon, and carries forward her narrative in

another persona.

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[702] See Freud, *Interpretation of Dreams*, *SE* 4:295–96; idem, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, *SE* 8:120–24.

Third, Bathsheba and the Queen of Sheba both play a significant role in the Solomonic narrative. They are the only discursive female characters in the Solomonic narrative. All other female characters, whether named or not, remain voiceless and/or absent in the narrative. In terms of narrative structure, Bathsheba occupies the place of the central female character in the first chiastic half of the Solomonic narrative (1:1–5:14[Eng. 4:34]), whereas the Queen of Sheba is the spotlighted female character in the second half (9:1–12:24).[703] While the narrator never explicitly links Bathsheba to the Queen of Sheba, the three subtle elements of affinity that I have mentioned would be sufficient to produce a transference of affects associated with one character to the other in the first readers'/auditors' interpretative act, even if the transference was made without the readers'/auditors' awareness.

Finally, as the reading or performance continues, this transference of affects would likely be fortified with the motifs shared by Bathsheba's and the Queen of Sheba's narratives. The most remarkable connection of the two narratives is the same בוא־אל formula used in the introduction of Bathsheba's entry to David's chamber and then to Solomon's presence with the introduction of the Queen of Sheba's entry to Solomon's presence. To begin with, let me focus on the two entry scenes of Bathsheba.

The similarity in narrative details between Bathsheba's entry scene to David's chamber (1 Kgs 1:15–16) and her entry to Solomon's presence (2:19–20) leads inevitably to the readers'/auditors' association of the two scenes and thus effects a transference of affects associated with the two entry scenes. These scenes bear strong narrative resemblance, yet they also contain a few points of contrast. First, both scenes conspicuously begin with the same introduction, "And Bathsheba went in to the king" (ותבא בת־שבע אל־המלך; 1:15; 2:19). As I have

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[703] See Figures 1 for their occurrences in the chiastic narrative structure of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24.

argued, the verbal construct בוא אל־ is libidinally charged, as in Bathsheba's first entry scene (1:15–16), and such semiotic force remains in operation, even if mitigated, in Bathsheba's second entry scene (2:19–20). While Bathsheba's second entry scene lacks the chamber motif and the additional commentary of David's senility and Abishag's presence that serve to buttress the erotic tension between David and his two women as in the first entry scene, the widowed Queen Mother's visit to her only son may be interpreted as compensatory gratification that partially satisfies her desire to be intimate with her late husband-king. In other words, the erotic motif is not completely removed but only displaced. Associative affects are transferred from the erotic object to the fruit of the erotic union.

A second resemblance-contrast lies in the wish motif. Bathsheba's entry to David's chamber results in the king's grant of a wish that ends in the preservation of Bathsheba's and her son's lives, whereas her entry to Solomon's presence with the intent of soliciting the king's grant of a request ends in Solomon's termination of the lives of his internal opponents. Both entry scenes contain a wish-motif, in which the power of granting the wish lies with the paterfamilias of the royal house and Bathsheba appears as the subject who does the wishing, whether for her own interest or on behalf of Adonijah.

Third, the power dynamics determined by the characters' position in the imperial hierarchy are lexically reminiscent, and yet the roles are reversed. In the chamber scene, Bathsheba is the one who "bowed down and genuflected to the king [David]" (ותקד ... ותשתחו למלך; 1:16), but in the scene of her intercessory request on behalf of Adonijah, Solomon appears to be the subservient and submissive one, who rises to greet the Queen Mother, "genuflected" (וישתחו), and publicly recognizes her as his equal by setting up a throne to his right. The shared motifs, lexical elements, and narrative contrasts inevitably produce an association between the two entry

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scenes and subtly lead to a transference of affects associated with the first scene to the second scene. To Bathsheba, Solomon is the displaced David, from whom she seeks compensatory gratification. Unfortunately, her intercessory request is eventually denied, making her last appearance in the Solomonic narrative, and also the rest of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, an unhappy and disappointing one.

Among the three shared narrative features observed in Bathsheba's entry scenes, the first two are also found in the Queen-of-Sheba episode. First, the Queen of Sheba's entry to Solomon's presence is introduced with the same libidinally charged בוא אל־ formula (10:2), forging an association with Bathsheba's entry scenes.[704] Nonetheless, the erotic connotation is still in force, even if varied in extent, in all three entry scenes. Second, the wish/desire motif is even more explicit in the Queen-of-Sheba episode. Similar to Bathsheba's two entry scenes, the paterfamilias of the royal house, Solomon, is the one who satisfies all the desires of the Queen of Sheba, who is explicitly said to have desired (10:1–2, 13). The social and gender differentials in the wish fulfillment remain the same in all three entry scenes. The main difference is that nowhere in the narrative is the Queen of Sheba said to have bowed and genuflected to Solomon. Moreover, unlike the בוא אל־ formula in Bathsheba's entry scenes, the Queen of Sheba is said to "have gone in to Solomon," rather than "to the king" or "King Solomon" (cf. 1:15; 2:19). The nuanced change in appellation, along with the absence of any sign of obeisance, may be a narrator's way to suggest the two sovereigns' equal status. In spite of these nuanced differences, the observed narrative similarities, namely the בוא אל־ formula and the shared motif of wish/desire, along with the social and gender differentials in the wish fulfillment, are sufficient to produce the effect of transference between these two female characters. After her second entry

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[704] While the erotic connotation of the formulaic entry in the Queen-of-Sheba episode has been repeatedly pointed out by commentators, its semiotic value has gone unnoticed in Bathsheba's entry scenes.

scene, Bathsheba ceases to appear in the Solomonic narrative and the rest of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The readers/auditors are not informed of what happened to her afterward. In view of the functional aspect of her existence, as an auxiliary character whose beauty has brought the beginning of David's downfall, whose political maneuvering has put Solomon on the throne, whose intercessory power has hastened Adonijah's demise, she may have vanished from the rest of the story because she has completed her "historical duty" and is never again needed in the narratives. She is "deceased" after the episode of intercessory request, if not in a literal sense, at least in a literary sense, namely she ceases to be in the sequential time of the narrative.

Bathsheba plays a pivotal role in her son Solomon's ascension. For Solomon, his mother is not only his closest kin but also his trusted ally and greatest benefactor, whose collaboration with Nathan in counterplotting against Adonijah's succession scheme has saved both of their lives from potential persecution of Adonijah in the future (in case he succeeded in the coup) and leads to his own ascension. Thus, it would not be exaggerated to say that he owes his mother everything that he owns, including his kingship, kingdom, and power. At the beginning of Bathsheba's entry scene to Solomon's presence (2:19), the narrator describes in minute detail Solomon's deferential and respectful attitude toward his mother. When she enters, Solomon seems to be exhilarated by her visit. According to the text, "[t]he king rose to greet her, genuflected to her, and seated her on a throne that he set for the Queen Mother, and she sat on his right" (2:19). The series of bodily gestures displayed by Solomon may be interpreted as a signification of the respectful and honored position that Bathsheba enjoys in accordance with her royal status as the king's mother. However, it is arguable that Solomon's filial piety is indeed genuine, rather than an ostentatious show put forth to fulfill a royal protocol, especially when the LXX variant is considered. Instead of genuflection, the LXX has "[he] kissed her fervently" (καὶ

κατεφίλησεν αὐτὴν; v. 19).[705] The emotive act of kissing reflects Solomon's genuine affection toward his mother and thus the sincerity of his warm welcome. Considering Solomon's subsequent unconditional grant to Bathsheba's yet-unarticulated request, the affective bond, as suggested by the kissing scene in the LXX, is a reasonable interpretation. The MT's de-sensationalization may be a "secondary revision" in an attempt to remove the emotional excess suggestive of Solomon's Oedipus (mother) complex.[706] With all considered, Solomon's initial display of generosity toward Bathsheba's request is likely to be grounded on the mother-son affective bond, and not merely a pretentious act to please his greatest benefactor or to satisfy a royal protocol. Adonijah's request to Bathsheba to intercede on his behalf may well be interpreted as his recognition of the potential influence that Bathsheba is capable of exerting on Solomon and his opportunistic intent to exploit the amicable mother-son bond to his advantage.

Bathsheba's intercessory act marks a decisive turn in her relationship with her son. As I have put forth, there are multiple ways to interpret Bathsheba's intent to intercede with Solomon on

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[705] The suggested meanings of καταφιλέω include "to kiss, to caress…especially an amorous kiss" (see LSJ, 919), "to kiss, to embrace" (see "καταφιλέω," in J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 2:247), and "*to kiss*" at parting from relatives, from a friend, as "a gesture of courtesy on meeting," or a "condescending gesture" (see "καταφιλέω," in Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. [Louvain, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2009], 387). Given that in the LXX the Greek verb καταφιλέω occurs frequently in parting and reunion scenes, especially between family members, and is often emotionally charged (see Gen 31:38; 32:1[MT 32:2]; 45:15; Exod 4:27; 1 Sam 20:41; 2 Sam 14:33), the verb carries a strong semiotic signifiance in these scenes. De Troyer ("Bathsheba and Nathan," 136–39) argues that the verb choice of καταφιλέω in the Old Greek version of 1 Kgs 2:19 conveys a sense of inequality, namely Solomon's being deferential to Bathsheba, as opposed to the choice of φιλέω in the Antiochian Text, which implies equality. However, the deferential reading of καταφιλέω is disputable. In 2 Sam 14:33, Absalom genuflected to King David, but it was David who kissed (κατεφίλησεν) Absalom. Thus, in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the subject of kissing (καταφιλέω) is not necessarily subservient to the object being kissed. From a psychoanalytic perspective, the Antiochian Text's emendation could be a "secondary revision," attempting to remove the possible reading of Solomon's oedipal desire towards Bathsheba made possible through the libidinally charged verb καταφιλέω.

[706] While the removal of elements that implicate Solomon's Oedipus complex may be considered highly speculative, a comparable attempt is not unattested in biblical scholarship. For instance, the editors of the *BHS* suggest a couple of emendations in Genesis 24:67 that practically removed Isaac's Oedipus complex from the text. Instead of "Isaac brought her [Rebekah] to Sarah his mother's tent" and "Isaac was comforted after [the death] of his mother," the amended reading has "Isaac brought her to the tent" and "Isaac was comforted after the death of his father [מות אביו]."

behalf of Adonijah for the latter's wish to wed the late king's last erotic object, Abishag.[707]

When Bathsheba requests Solomon for "one small favor" (שאלה אחת קטנה), he readily and

unconditionally promises to grant her yet-unarticulated request (v. 20). Solomon may have been

misled by Bathsheba's understatement, "one *small* favor," or perhaps he has never expected that

his closest kin and most trusted ally is going to intercede on behalf of Adonijah, a former throne

aspirant, at least not for the hand of the late king's last concubine in marriage, an act that would

inevitably reveal Adonijah's residual yet wishful ambition for power by seeking the deceased

king's exclusive erotic privilege. It is natural that Solomon interprets Bathsheba's unscrupulous

request as a breach of trust and a collusion with his enemies (vv. 21–23), which ultimately leads

him to revoke his promise to grant Bathsheba's request. In contrast to his initial submissive and

respectful gesture toward his mother, Solomon stands up firmly for his own interest. Bathsheba's

complicity in Adonijah's erotic and displaced ambitious desire alarms Solomon and makes him

realize the precariousness of social relations and political alliances, even those based on blood

ties and genuine affections. Not only does his former throne competitor still covet power, but

also Solomon's own trusted mother could become an inadvertent accomplice to his opponent's

ambitious cause. It appeared to Solomon that in order to consolidate his rule, the right thing to do

is to go against his own integrity, namely to revoke his promissory grant to his mother's request,

in order to eliminate all potential threats to the stability of his kingship.

Bathsheba's mediation for Adonijah leads to bloodshed in the royal house and her own

alienation from Solomon. If the affective bond between Solomon and Bathsheba is indeed as

genuine and strong as the text, in particular the LXX, suggests, then it is reasonable to posit that

Solomon's failure to fulfill his promissory grant to his mother may have induced a feeling of

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[707] See pp. 212-215 above.

guilt and regret irrespective of the legitimacy of the breach.

The Queen of Sheba, whose characterization is reminiscent of Bathsheba, appears as Bathsheba's Doppelgänger and took up the role as Solomon's surrogate mother after Bathsheba's "death." As I have shown, the two female figures bear strong resemblance to each other. They are associated by the prominence of their royal status in their respective country, the appellative and phonal components of their names, and the shared literary features of their narratives. The resemblance between the two characters effects a transference of affects. From the beginning of their encounter, Solomon has shown a predisposed rapport toward the Queen, treating her with great respect and diplomatic hospitality. He even attempts to satisfy all her wishes and desires unconditionally (10:2–3, 13). The Queen of Sheba stands out among all foreign dignitaries who travel to Jerusalem to pay Solomon a wisdom homage (5:14[Eng. 4:34]). Solomon's predisposed favoritism toward her may be interpreted as an extension of his filial piety for Bathsheba, and his predilection to satisfy all her desires a recompense for his failure to materialize his promissory grant to Bathsheba. On the manifest surface, the affects associated with Solomon's "late" mother could be effectively transferred to the Queen of Sheba due to the similitude shared by the two characters. The Queen's visit to Solomon provides an opportunity for Solomon to seek compensatory gratification for maternal love and to compensate for his regret and to redeem the guilt feelings from breaking his promissory grant to her "late" mother. Solomon's encounter with Bathsheba's Doppelgänger gives him with a second chance to rectify a regret compensatorily.

Conclusions

The Queen of Sheba functions more or less as a territorialized pecuniary and erotic (displaced ambitious) symbol within the Deuteronomist's signifying context. It stands as a metonym of southern Arabia well known for the production and distribution of exotic luxury

goods to the ancient Mediterranean and Southwest Asian world. Sheba and Tyre are on the

northern and southern extremities of the Solomonic Kingdom, their symbolic subjugation to the

Israelite king serving to enhance the portrayal of Solomon as a major power on the scene of

international politics and trade. The textual analysis of this chapter has elucidated the composite

nature of the Queen's characterization as a tributary, a suitress, and a surrogate mother to

Solomon. The Queen's visit is an occasion for Solomon, the metonymic Israel, to demonstrate

his superiority over Sheba, the metonymic Arabia, through a symbolic חידה-contest and to show

off every aspect of extravagant life at the Israelite court—the sumptuous feast at the King's

Table, the large number of officials and attendants, their exquisite attire, and the magnitude of

Solomon's sacrificial rite. Her purported eyewitness account of Solomon's famed (and

spectacular) wisdom and his magnificent kingdom serves as a rhetorical device to persuade the

readers/auditors of the credibility of the incredible. However, the Solomonic Kingdom as the

Queen has witnessed it is actually the idealized Persian empire in its displaced, disguised form,

an image stemming from the Deuteronomist's subjective experience and incorporated into

Israel's retrojected monarchic past through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification.

The Queen's diegetic admiration of Solomon, his god YHWH, and his magnificent kingdom may

be interpreted as a self-admiration of the metonymic Israel projected as the admiration from

others. Both projection and introjective identification observed in the Queen-of-Sheba episode

are part of the psychic mechanisms that produce this cultural fantasy.

The Queen-of-Sheba episode is filled with libidinally charged vocabulary and a considerable

number of empty signifiers that make the readers/auditors prone to eroticize the encounter

between the two sovereigns. The semiotic forces appearing in and out of the text lead to the

subtle allusion of the Queen as a suitress and a surrogate mother by taking up a part of the

persona of Bathsheba through the mechanism of condensation. The two characters are condensed through their prestigious status in court, name association, common traits, and the significant roles they play within the Solomonic narrative. The Queen of Sheba appears as Bathsheba's Doppelgänger. Solomon has never quite resolved his oedipal conflict. With his failure to materialize his promissory grant to Bathsheba (1 Kgs 2:13–24), it may be interpreted that the Queen's visit provides Solomon an opportunity to seek compensatory gratification for maternal love and make amends for his broken promise through his unconditional grant to the Queen's unspoken, unrevealed desire. A peculiar narrative aspect of the Queen-of-Sheba episode is that erotic content is present in its absence. Erotic material is expressed in terms of allusions by suggestion and omission through the use of empty signifiers. This presence in its absence is likely to be a psychic resistance to censorship, whether internal inhibitions or social taboos.

The Queen of Sheba functions as an eroticized metonym of Arabia and a symbol of international commercial success. Within the Solomonic narrative's dual signification of erotic privilege as territorial conquest, her role as a suitress may be interpreted as volitional submission, in which the conquered pursues its own subjugation in recognition of the superiority of the conqueror. It is in this political symbolism that the Queen of Sheba's role as a suitress is established. Erotic desire and ambitious desire run in tandem in this libidinally charged episode. The impulse toward eroticizing the encounter intensifies along with the political impulse toward conquering the Other, in this episode through the fantasized volitional sexual and political submission of the Queen.

CHAPTER 8

THE SOLOMONIC KINGDOM AS A SPECTOR OF PERSIAN EMPIRE

Introduction

The textual analysis in chapters 4 to 7 has been microscopic, focusing mainly on the semiotization and the significance of different themes, individual episodes, and individual characters. The focus of this chapter will be on the Solomonic Kingdom as a whole. I will trace the fantasy-sources of the Solomonic Kingdom and describe the fantasy-work. I have already argued at several points that some narrative details in the Solomonic narrative are identifiable in Egyptian, Neo-Assyrian and Persian forms of imperialism. I will argue in this chapter that the principal blueprint of the Solomonic Kingdom is the Persian empire and the principal psychic mechanism involved in the signifying process is introjective identification.

The Solomon narrative contains multiple allusions, including pithy hints and structural similitudes, to the Persian imperial apparatus. Many imperial ideologies, administrative policies, and exploitative practices tended to be longstanding and ubiquitous; therefore, they cannot be considered exclusively Persian phenomena. However, the Solomonic Kingdom does bear some imperial traits that are unique, specific, or more prominent in the Persian empire. These allusions to the Persian imperial apparatus stem from the Deuteronomist's familiarity with Persian imperial ideologies and administration. It can never be ascertained how conscious they were in utilizing allusions. It would be a misnomer to refer to any of them as a rhetorical device, which presupposes a certain degree of intentionality.

Allusion by analogy, as Freud explains, is not a comprehensive representation of an object,

but only fragmentary, associative highlights of its specific features.[708] Allusions are culturally

and historically specific. The Solomonic Kingdom's various allusions to the Persian empire

produce a simulacrum that only readers/auditors who were/are familiar with the Persian empire

could possibly recognize. Even so, because allusions are by definition implicit, disguised

references to an object, rediscovery of the hidden object of reference may still escape the minds

of the readers/auditors. To the first readers/auditor who had flesh-and-blood experience with

Persian imperialism, irrespective of their ability to recognize the hidden object, the allusions

would have constituted what Freud calls "the return of the familiar in an unfamiliar form."[709] The

Persian empire in which they lived returned in a fragmentary, distorted, and idealized form

through the literary world of the Solomonic Kingdom, which would have triggered transferential

reactions and affects associated with the real world they experienced.[710]

Allusions to Imperial Dominion

Territorial Vastness

The imperial dominion of the Solomonic Kingdom is depicted in three different formulae, in

terms of its overall, latitudinal, and longitudinal territorial vastness. The overall vastness of the

Kingdom is expressed as "from the River [Euphrates] to the land of the Philistines, and unto the

border of Egypt" (5:1 [Eng. 4:21]; LXX 2:46k; 10:26b), which covers all the land west of the

Euphrates to the southwestern Levant on the eastern Mediterranean coast and down to the border

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[708] Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, SE* 8:81–88. According to Freud (ibid., 172), allusion, as indirect representation, can occur in various ways, but it produces a similar effect of forging psychic (internal) associations with external ones. This could be achieved through many ways, such as "simultaneity in times, contiguity in space, similarity of sound."

[709] See Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'" [1919]*, SE* 17:217–52.

[710] Iser, "Indeterminacy and the Reader's Response in Prose Fiction," 7–8.

of Egypt. Solomon is said to have ruled over "all the kingdoms" (בכל־הממלכות ;5:1[Eng. 4:21]),

or according to LXX "all the kings" (πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν; 2:46k = 10:26b) in the dominion.

There are no specific border cities mentioned in this formula. It gives a rough idea that the

Solomonic Kingdom covers the territories traditionally belonging to the States of Israel and

Judah and promised by YHWH to Abraham (Gen 15:18).

The longitudinal formula expresses Solomon's territorial dominion from the west to the east.

According to 1 Kgs 5:4[Eng. 4:24], "For he [Solomon] had dominion over *all* Beyond-the-River

[= Trans-Euphrates, בכל־עבר הנחר] from Tiphsah [LXX 2:24f: Raphi] unto Gaza, over *all* the

kings of Beyond-the-River [בכל־מלכי עבר הנחר], and there was peace on *all* sides of Beyond-It

[מכל־עבריו מסביב]." This longitudinal dominion is marked by two border cities, Tiphsah and Gaza.

Gaza is a city on the eastern Mediterranean coast mentioned numerous times in the

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story; according to which it was one of the five Philistine cities conquered

by Joshua (Josh 10:41; 11:22; 13:3). As for Tiphsah, it has only two occurrences in the MT (1

Kgs 4:24; 2 Kgs 15:16), and its location is unspecified. However, Tiphsah is mentioned in Greek

literature as Θάψακος (Thapsacus), literally meaning "ford," as a river port located on the

western bank of Euphrates. This is the location where Cyrus II, Darius III, Alexander III and

their troops had crossed the Euphrates.[711] Although the river port may have been there in

antiquity, as Martin J. Mulder points out, the mention of the toponym in the Greek literature

betrays a late dating of the text.[712]

The latitudinal formulae express Solomon's territorial dominion from the north to the south.

According to the 1 Kgs 5:5 [Eng. 4:25; LXX 2:24g], "Judah and Israel lived in safety, each under

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[711] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I.4.11, 17; for a translation, see Xenophon, *Anabasis* (trans. Carleton L. Brownson; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* II.13.1, III.7.1–2; see also Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 192; *GTTOT*, §292.
[712] Mulder, ibid.

his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." The formulaic

expression "from Dan to Beersheba" is commonly used by the biblical writers to designate the

tribal unity and the territory of Davidic Israel from the north to the south.[713] Another latitudinal

formula of territorial vastness is mentioned at the end of the temple dedication. "A great

assembly from Lebo-Hamath to the Brook of Egypt" gathered in Jerusalem for a seven-day

festival (8:65). The Brook of Egypt has been identified with Wâdi el-ʿArîsh, by the town

Rhinocolura, which is mentioned by Herodotus (*Hist.* III.5) as Ienysus, a border town of Egypt a

distance of about three-day march from Pelusion.[714]

Both the overall and longitudinal formulae contain allusions to the Persian satrapy of the

Trans-Euphrates, in which Yehud was one of its ten regional administrative units.[715] The name

Ebir Nâri "Beyond-the-River" was used in reference to the land west of the Euphrates; thus, it

conveys a Persian perspective. The notion of the Euphrates as a natural border seems to have

stemmed from the naming of the Persian satrapy. In the subsequent Alexandrian period, the

Persian geographical reference was replaced by Aegeocentric expressions, such as "between the

Euphrates and the Greek sea" and "this side of the Euphrates."[716] Thus, the territorial formulae in

the Solomonic narrative convey a Persian geo-political perspective. Even though Solomon's

territorial dominion is demarcated with the border cities in the Levant and limited to the

Palestinian region, the explicit mention of Solomon's sovereignty over the "Beyond the River"

(5:1, 4[Eng. 4:21, 24]) conveys a wish of dominating the Persian satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates,

which constitutes a metonymic wish of taking the Persian imperializer's place.

The Trans-Euphrates was originally part of a larger satrapy that included Babylonia and the

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[713] For instance, see Judg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:10, 20; 2 Sam 17:11; 24:2; cf. 24:15.
[714] Anson F. Rainey, "Herodotus' Description of the East Mediterranean Coast," *BASOR* 321 (Feb 2001), 60–61.
[715] Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 6.
[716] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 837.

Trans-Euphrates.[717] It is listed in Herodotus (*Hist.* III.91) as the fifth satrapy under Darius I that covered the regions of Phoenicia, the so-called Palestinian Syria, and Cyprus but excluded Arabia, which was exempted from tribute requirements.[718] However, many historians of the Persian empire have pointed out that the disintegration of Babylonia and the Trans-Euphrates was unlikely to have happened during the reign of Darius I.[719] Many historians have suggested that the secession probably happened after Xerxes had quashed the Babylonian revolt in 484 B.C.E.[720] Cuneiform evidence suggests that by the time of the late fifth century B.C.E. the Trans-Euphrates was a satrapy in its own right with Bel-shunu (Belesys) as its satrap.[721] The transition in satrapal structure may have motivated regional governments vying for the dominant position in the Trans-Euphrates, a political tension that the book of Nehemiah alludes to (Neh. 6:1–19) and a political ambition that the Solomonic narrative could have gratified compensatorily. The approximate equivalence of the Solomonic territories to the mainland of the Trans-Euphrates reflects the Yehudites' wish of domination over the satrapal mainland and their claim of land entitlement over the vast territories, which are projected into the distant past.

Universal Dominion

In both the overall and longitudinal formulae of territorial dominion, (1 Kgs 5:1, 4[Eng. 4:21, 25]), Solomon appears as the Great King over all kings/kingdoms in his dominion. Solomon's co-existence with the dynasts and regional rulers in his dominion followed the Persian administrative pattern. The Persians were very practical and flexible in their

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[717] For textual evidence, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:815–16.
[718] Ibid., 51.
[719] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 543; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 77.
[720] See Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid Rule and Its Impact on Yehud," 181; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 240; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 543; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 100;
[721] Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 83.

collaboration with the local rulers. Rather than replacing the local authorities with their own officials, they chose to keep the status quo, co-existed with dynasts, client kings, chieftains, tyrants, and priest-kings, and accommodated different political systems, even democracy in the Greek states of Ionia.[722] As long as loyalty to the Persia king was pledged, the regular flow of imperial revenue guaranteed, and revolutionary sentiments contained among his subjects, the Persians were willing to grant the local rulers an extent of administrative power and territorial autonomy. However, the Persians could intervene in dynastic successions of these conquered kingdoms. There are instances in which the Persians displayed generosity and goodwill even to the son of a rebellious local king by putting the son on the throne of his father.[723]

This strategy of coexistence was overall successful in promoting the interests of the Persian empire, even though at times dynasts could take advantage of the delegated autonomy and join forces against the Persians.[724] The strategy served to minimalize the administrative, social, and economic disturbances for the conquered peoples, to forge continuity between the old and new regimes, to guarantee regular flow of imperial revenue without the excessive use of cost-ineffective coercion, and to establish a favorable image of the Persian king as a generous, beneficent ruler. In many cases, since the conquered people already had a well-established system before the Persians' arrival and were culturally more advanced than the Persians, it was

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[722] For the Persians' allowance for local democracy after the Ionian revolt (493–492 B.C.E.), see Herodotus, *Hist.* VI.43; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:230–31. The reasons for Persian support of local democracy must be deemed as a pragmatic measure and dictated by local circumstances.

[723] For instance, the case of Thannyras, son of Inaros the Libyan. Despite the fact that his father rebelled against Artaxerxes I and was eventually executed, the son was allowed to succeed to the throne with the pledge of loyalty to the Persian king. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 576–77.

[724] For more on the Persians' accommodation of local norms and monarchic traditions, see ibid., 766–67; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:850, n. 3; K.-J. Lee, *The Authority and Authorization of Torah in the Persian Period*, 63, 251; Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Imperial Policies and Provincial Governments," 271. For some cases of this accommodation policy and cases of local resistance against the Persians, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 489, 497–98; 575–76, 858; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire,* 1:181–87; 311, 350–86; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 100–01; M. M. Austin, "Greek Tyrants and the Persians, 546–479 B. C.," *The Classical Quarterly* 40/2 (1990): 289–306.

simply unrealistic to impose a new governing structure on these conquered societies. It was more

practical to integrate the conquered peoples' local political and cultural frameworks into the

imperial apparatus. The Persians' compromise of administrative uniformity must be viewed as an

imperial strategy to maintain the allegiance of the conquered peoples and thus its imperial unity.

In the Solomonic narrative, Solomon is textually elevated to a Persianized king, who maintains a

strategy of coexistence with all the kings/kingdoms within his realm.

Not only is the Israelite king Persianized to be a king over all kings in his imperial

dominion, he is also portrayed as the great subjugator of all kingdoms beyond its borders. All the

foreign potentates, whether named or not, are described as voluntarily submitting to King

Solomon by wisdom imperialism.[725] The Pharaoh, Hiram of Tyre, and the Queen of Sheba

voluntarily submit to King Solomon and acknowledge their inferiority by, respectfully, breaking

a longstanding royal taboo of marrying off an Egyptian princess, entering an unequal treaty of

fraternity and being exploited for resources and labor, and paying Solomon a tributary visit. In

addition, Solomon also symbolically emulates Hiram's bronzesmithery with his goldsmithery

and defeats the Queen of Sheba in a riddle contest.[726] Solomon's domination over these major

foreign powers reflects a psychic mechanism of introjective identification by portraying himself

in an image of the Persian king who had succeeded in subjugating Egypt, the coastal city-states

of Phoenicia, and Arabia. The text further emphasizes Solomon's universal dominance with his

symbolical subjugation all foreign potentates in "all the earth" (כל־הארץ; 10:24) through his

wisdom imperialism (5:14[Eng. 4:34]; 10:23–25).[727] 1 Kgs 10:24–25 pictures "all kings of the

earth" making their annual wisdom pilgrimage to venerate the embodied divine wisdom, each

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[725] See 1 Kgs 5:1–14[Eng. 4:21–34], 15–26[Eng. 1–12]; 9:14; 10:1–13, 14–29; LXX 2:46b, h.
[726] See Chapters 6 and 7.
[727] Note that "wisdom imperialism" is emphasized in 1 Kgs 4:20–5:14[4:34] and 10:14–29, the corresponding parts in the chiastic structure of 1 Kgs 1:1–12:24; see Figure 1.

presenting him with a gift. The ritual homage conveying an image of Solomon's universal

domination over various populations alludes to the Persian imperial festival and the

iconographical rhetoric of tributary procession by foreign delegations as a symbolic declaration

of imperial power by the Persian empire. Reliefs with the motif of foreign delegations

voluntarily bringing gifts to the Persian king are used to decorate the stairways of the Apadana

and that of the Palace of Artaxerxes I at Persepolis.[728] These tribute scenes depict the delegates'

voluntary gift presentation in a graceful and dignified manner, which stand in contrast with the

humiliating prostrated gesture depicted in the ancient Southwest Asian tribute scenes.[729] The

iconological image in 1 Kgs 10:25 belongs to the type of Persian tribute scenes. The gift

presentation from the delegates of the subject peoples, whether in ritual or in iconography, is a

rhetoric of imperial power. It serves to create an ideal image of the vastness of the imperial

dominion and the homogeneous unity of the subject populations under one great empire. The

tribute scene is an important iconological and iconographical motif propagated by the

imperializer to legitimate their imperial superiority. The Solomonic narrative follows this

imperial rhetoric to establish Solomon's universal domination with "wisdom" as the instrument

of subjugation.

Internal Factions and Local Revolts

The concentric structure of the Solomonic narrative has a complex thematic progression.[730]

The components of each thematic pair, though recognizable, do not follow a strict symmetrical

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[728] For the reliefs of tribute presentation from Persepolis, see Elsie Holmes Peck, "Achaemenid Relief Fragments from Persepolis," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 79 (2005): 28–29; for the theory of an imperial festival in the Persian empire, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 185–200; for Persian tributary procession, see ibid., 394; for the ideological significance of iconographical representation, see ibid., 177.

[729] Margaret Cool Root, "The Parthenon Frieze and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis: Reassessing a Programmatic Relationship," *AJA* 89 (1985): 112–13.

[730] See Figure 1.

or linear order. Also, the outer frames (ABC // C'B'A') and inner rings (DEFE'D') are connected with contrasting themes of internal factions and universal peace. Court-novels are employed as a major framing device for the concentric structure.[731] The hostility of Solomon's domestic and regional opponents in the outer frames produces a stark contrast with the universal peace that Solomon maintains with the kings of all the earth in the inner rings (3:1–11:13). Solomon's amicable diplomatic relations and the subservient, obsequious attitude of the foreign potentates are the primary narrative substance in the inner rings, whereas the outer frames focus more on internal politics—court intrigues, power struggles, domestic strife, and the regional revolts of Edom, Damascus, and the northern tribes. Following the preceding narrative of David's territorial expansion in 2 Sam 8:1–15, the animosity of Edom and Damascus is to be considered as regional politics. According to the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, these two neighboring countries had already been conquered by David and annexed into Israel (2 Sam 8:1–15). Foreign countries occur in the outer frames only in relation to internal politics. Whenever Egypt is mentioned in the outer frames, its role is restricted to the asylum host of Solomon's opponents in flight, Hadad of Edom and Jeroboam of Ephraim. In addition to the complex thematic arrangement, there is a secondary geographical constellation of internal and external politics. Solomon's subjugated tributaries (Tyre and Arabia) and the rebellious peoples among the conquered (Edom and Damascus) form two pairs of longitudinal poles in reverse direction (north-south vs. south-north). The Solomonic narrative progresses from internal politics to universal dominance, and finally returns to internal politics.

Solomon, from the outset of the narrative, has to deal with internal unrest in relation to his

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[731] The narrative begins with the throne competition between Adonijah and Solomon that leads to Solomon's bloody elimination of his internal opponents within the royal establishment (1:1–2:46; ABC). It ends with the rise of Solomon's regional adversaries, along with a recapitulation of David's bloody elimination of their predecessors, and then closes with the throne competition between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (11:14–12:24; C'B'A'). See Figure 1.

anomalous accession, and he eventually resorts to bloodshed in order to eliminate all potential threats to the throne. While he is successful in maintaining universal dominance, he is not able to eliminate the animosity among the conquered peoples (Edom and Damascus) in the imperial peripheries and the subjugated peoples (northern tribes) within the imperial borders. The political vicissitudes of the Solomonic Kingdom thus follow a concentric pattern that progresses from the highest degree of political unrest at the metropolitan center (Judah) to the highest degree of political stability at the kingdom's peripheries, with a progression of political instability from the peripheries to the metropolitan center (see Figure 2). The Israelite tribes, which stand closer to the metropolitan center, succeed in breaking free from the Solomonic regime, but Edom's and Damascus's potential threats remain dormant. The concentric structure of power dynamics partially reflects the political circumstances of the Persian empire. In general, threats to the present regime usually stemmed from within the imperial center. While local revolts erupted sporadically within the empire, they rarely threatened the unity of the empire.[732]

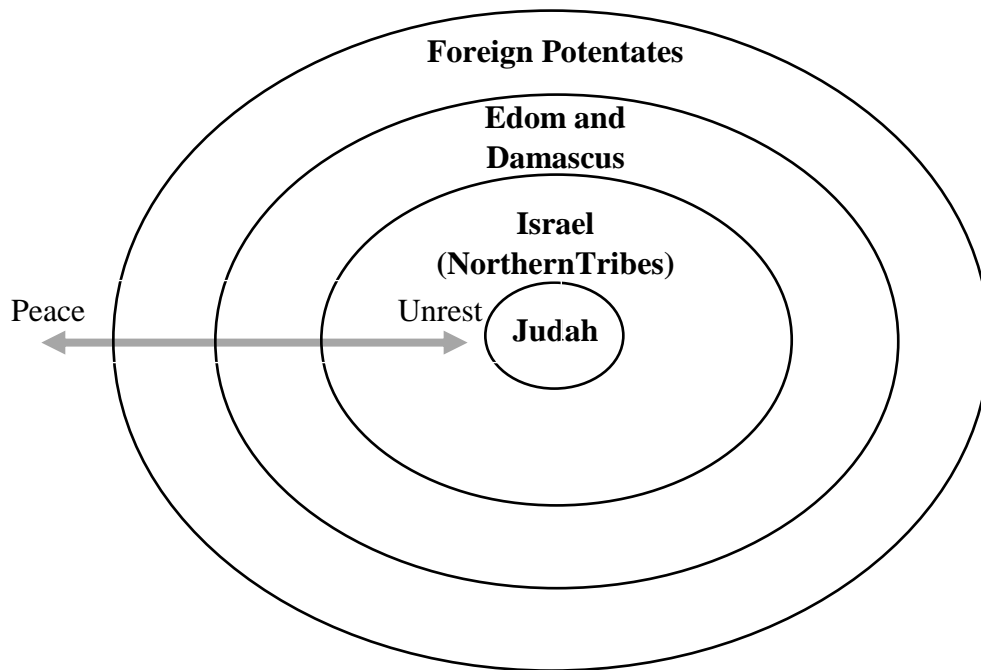[732] L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 100.

Figure 2. The Concentric Structure of Political Dynamics

An empire needs strenuous effort to be maintained and is always confronted with threats of revolutionary forces among the imperialized and internal factions among the imperial agents. Competition for the throne, palace intrigues, royal massacre, rebellions, treasons, and regional revolts—stock motifs in Greek historiography—are likewise prominent motifs utilized in the Solomonic narrative and the larger Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. The Solomonic narrative also contains the motif of dismissal and replacement of existing officials that is rare in Greek historiography. According to Amélie Kuhrt, this motif is only attested so far in the Persian history with Artaxerxes I's dismissal of officials.[733] Artaxerxes I punished the officials involved in the assassination of Xerxes, removed the disloyal, hostile officials, and gave their offices to his trusted friends.[734] Solomon's dismissal of Abiathar and Joab and replacement with Zadok and

[733] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:314, n. 3.
[734] Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XI.71.1–2.

Benaiah in their place (2:25–36) belongs to the category of rare motifs.

Persia's reactions to regional revolts were notoriously callous. Any acts that could threaten the sovereignty of the Persian government would have been suppressed or quashed. Soon after his accession, Darius had taken actions to crush revolts in almost every region of the Persian empire. His successors were likewise preoccupied with suppressing local revolts and reconquests. The potential rebellions from the conquered peoples, Edom and Damascus, and the Israelite tribes belong to the motif of regional revolts. The sophisticated political (hi)story of the Solomonic Kingdom is akin to the imperial rhetoric and the court-novels of Greek historiography.

Hadad of Edom and Rezon of Damascus are both described as the rising adversaries (שטן) of Solomon. The Hadad episode has already been treated in Chapter 5, and a word is in order now about the name "Rezon" (1 Kgs 11:23) before considering the significance of "Edom" and "Damascus" in the Deuteronomist's original signifying context. The name "Rezon" (רזון) is derived from the root רזן, meaning "ruler, potentate."[735] "Rezon of Damascus" is attested in the annalistic records of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.).[736] Based on the fact that Damascus's hegemonic prominence did not predate the early ninth century and the generic character of the name "Rezon,"[737] the historicity of "Rezon, son of Eliada" in 1 Kgs 11:23–25 cannot be presumed a priori. He could be a typological figure like the other named foreign potentates in the Solomonic narrative. The generic name "Rezon" carries a symbolic, metonymic significance for the general category of "Aramaean royalty," just like "Hiram" represents "Tyrian royalty."[738]

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[735] See Judg 5:3; Isa 40:23; Prov 8:15; 31:4.

[736] *ANET*, 283b; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 333. See n. 603 above for the plausible implication of the occurrence of "Rezon of Damascus" along with "Hiram of Tyre" and "the Queen of…Saba'" in the Neo-Assyrian records.

[737] Galvin, *Egypt as a Place of Refuge*, 90; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 134.

[738] See p. 315 above.

Edom and Damascus, located at the southern and northern extremities of the Solomonic

Kingdom, had different political significance during the Persian period. Edom was the Persian

Idumea, an emerging provincial district in the Trans-Euphrates with a growing number of

settlements and a larger military garrison in the fourth century B.C.E.[739] Damascus, located

midway between Egypt and Babylonia, rose to be one of the main satrapal seats of the Trans-

Euphrates, where the satrap oversaw the administration of smaller provincial districts of the

Trans-Euphrates on behalf of the Persian central authority.[740] The power dynamics portrayed

between Israel and Edom or Damascus may have stemmed from the internal political

competition within the satrapy. The dynamics reflect an ambitious wish of the Yehudite elite to

be the dominant power surpassing the rising power of Idumea and the well-established

Damascus in the fourth century B.C.E., which the text may have served to gratify

compensatorily.[741]

The main motif of the episode of Jeroboam (11:26–43) is defection. The motif of defection

is common in Greek historiography of the Persian empire.[742] Jeroboam (ירבעם), literally meaning

"the people will increase," was an Ephraimite collaborator whom Solomon appointed in charge

of the forced labor of the house of Joseph (v. 29). In contrast to the introduction of Hadad of

Edom and Rezon of Damascus, who are described explicitly as the divinely appointed

adversaries against Solomon (vv. 14, 23), the narrator describes Jeroboam as a defector in his

own right, who "lifted up his hand against the king" (vv. 26–27). It is not until later in Ahijah's

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[739] Briant, *From Cyrus and Alexander*, 716–17.

[740] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:439; Briant *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 487; Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 9; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 174.

[741] The establishment of the Persian province of Idumea is well attested with 1,000 Aramaic ostraca found in the region and generally dated to the early fourth century B.C.E. See Diana V. Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London and Oakville: Equinox, 2005), 243–45, 265–69

[742] For examples of the defection motif, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:395; 2:662, n. 8.

oracle (vv. 29–39) that Y<small>HWH</small> reveals his intent to grant Jeroboam's ambitious desire (v. 37) by setting him up as king after David's manner to reign over the ten tribes of Israel. The introduction of Solomon's adversaries marks the beginning of the downfall of the Solomonic Kingdom.

As I have delineated in Chapter 1, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story presupposes the democratic provenance and the desacralized view of kingship, which deviates from the dominant monarchic ideology of ancient Southwest Asia and stands closer to the Persian and Greek concept of kingship as a human institution.[743] Athenian democratic rule was established as a result of a popular resistance against the brutality and oppression of the tyrannical rule of the Pissistratids, one of the dominating aristocratic families.[744] After democracy was adopted by the citizens of Athens as the official constitution in 508 B.C.E., it was not received with unanimous enthusiasm. Various Greek writers had published treatises and scripts to express anti-democratic, pro-oligarchical, and pro-monarchical sentiments and critique the deficiencies and inefficiencies of democracy as a political system in the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C.E.

In this stream of the reactionary pro-oligarchical and pro-monarchical sentiments, the two presuppositions of monarchism put forth by Xenophon are to be noted for my purposes. Xenophon differentiates between monarchs and tyrants. First, he emphasizes the virtue of a monarch. A monarch rules with justice and goodwill, and he seeks the happiness and prosperity of the people, whereas a tyrant seeks to gratify his own desire at the expense of the people's happiness and in spite of their suffering. This is the main theme of Xenophon's *Hiero*, a pro-monarchical tract in the form of an imagined dialogue between Simonides and Hiero the tyrant.

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[743] See pp. 48-52 above.
[744] See John Thorley, *Athenian Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Chester G. Starr, *The Birth of Athenian Democracy: The Assembly in the Fifth Century B.C.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 5–31.

Second, he also points out that the basis of monarchism lies in popular consent. A monarch rules with willing subjects, whereas a tyrant rules over resentful subjects. Thus, while in support of monarchy, Xenophon underscores the importance of democratic consent as the fundamental legitimacy of monarchism.[745] These two presuppositions found in the currents of the anti-democratic debate in the Greek world are also traceable in the internal strife in the episode of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:26–43) and Rehoboam (12:1–24).

There is a clear distinction between monarchs and tyrants in the Solomonic narrative. Solomon the monarch is gradually replaced by Rehoboam the tyrant. Solomon is first portrayed as a just, wise, and virtuous king and a cult patron, under whom all Israelites prosper and live happily and all the kings of the earth willingly submit themselves (1 Kgs 4:20–5:1[Eng. 4:21]). The people's happiness and the voluntary submission of the kings of all the earth provide legitimacy for Solomon's rule. Before his decline, Solomon subjects an enormous portion of the Israelite population to corvée labor (מס; 4:6b; 5:27–28–32[Eng. 13–18]; 9:15; 12:18); however, this is described as a form of levy for his building projects and never as an oppressive policy. Solomon limits enslaved labor (מס־עבד; 9:21), or subjection to state slavery, only to the resident non-Israelites.[746] Statuary labor as a form of levy and slavery are generally accepted forms of labor utilization and social stratification in both the Mesopotamian and the Greek worlds. The Deuteronomist and the Yehudite readers/auditors enculturated in this milieu would have been

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[745] Victorino Tejera, *The Return of the King: The Intellectual Warfare over Democratic Athens* (Lanham, New York, and Oxford: University Press of America, 1998), 106. According to Tejera, Xenophon voiced these arguments in many of his works, including *Hiero*, *Memorabilia*, and *Oeconomicus*.

[746] For the distinction between מס and מס־עבד, see Isaac Mendelsohn, "State Slavery in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR* 85 (1942): 14–17; idem, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East: A Comparative Study of Slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine from the Middle of the Third Millennium to the End of the First Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949; repr., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978), 97–99; idem, "On Corvée Labor in Ancient Canaan and Israel," *BASOR* 167 (1962), 31–35; Mettinger, *Solomon State Officials*, 128–39. Cf. Alberto J. Soggin, "Compulsory Labor under David and Solomon," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1979), 259–68; Gösta W. Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine* (SHANE 1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), 36, n. 61.

accustomed to these social institutions and took their existence for granted. What the Deuteronomist indirectly challenged through the episode of Rehoboam was the implementation of an exploitative burden (סֹבֶל; 11:28) on the Israelites, who supposedly belonged to the dominating ethnicity. Labor exploitation of the Israelites comes only after the divine disapproval of Solomon as a form of imperial corruption towards a tyrannical state. In the book of Isaiah, סבל "exploitative labor" is explicitly associated with bondage, with the binding devices such as על "yoke" and מטה שכם "shoulder bar," and chastisement with שבט הנגש "rod of the exactor" (9:3[Eng. 4]; cf. 10:27; 14:25). In the Solomonic narrative, the association between exploitative labor, bondage, and chastisement is bridged through the mention of a bondage device, (הכבד) על "(heavy) yoke," and instruments of torture, שוט "whip" and עקרב "spiked whip" usually rendered as "scorpion" (1 Kgs 12:4, 9–11, 14). Thus, from the widely accepted form of labor taxation (מס), Israelites are gradually subjected to harsher and more exploitative labor (סבל). With the emergence of the oppressive policy on his own people, the Israelite king is gradually transformed from a monarch to a tyrant. Solomon's tyrannical image further develops in 11:40 when he persecutes Jeroboam and seeks his life (11:40). Rehoboam continues this tyrannical image of Solomon by vowing to subject the Israelites to exacerbated exploitative labor (12:4–5, 14–15). At the end of the Solomonic narrative, Rehoboam's tyrannical image culminates when he contrives military action against his own kinsmen in 12:21–22. This contrast between forced submission by means of coercion and the maintenance of the people's happiness is also highlighted in Xenophon's differentiation between tyranny and monarchy.[747]

Xenophon's view of popular consent as the necessary basis for monarchism is implied in the Solomonic narrative (in particular, 1:39–40; 12:1–20). Solomon enjoys popular consent to a

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[747] Xenophon, *Hiero*, XI; for a translation, see Xenophon, *Scripta Minora* (trans. E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925), 2–57.

universal extent, but his son Rehoboam's legitimacy, in spite of the tradition of dynastic

succession, is questioned by "the entire assembly of Israel" (כל־קהל; 12:12) or "the people"

(LXX: ὁ λαὸς). Except that the tribe of Judah, along with the Benjaminites, willingly follows the

house of David (12:16–20), the rest of the Israelites rejects Rehoboam's rule. The assembly of

Israel has the power to negotiate with Rehoboam for burden alleviation (12:3), to recall the

previously exiled Jeroboam (12:3[missing in LXX]), to replace Rehoboam the tyrant with the

appointment of Jeroboam as the king over Israel (12:20). Thus, the text presupposes that the

legitimacy of monarchism rests on popular consent, just as the Greek monarchists of the fifth and

fourth centuries assumed. This presupposition is not likely to have arisen before the realization

of Athenian democracy in the late fifth century B.C.E. In sum, the text presupposes both

differentiation between monarchs and tyrants and popular consent as the basis for the legitimacy

of monarchism, in a way presupposed by the anti-democratic Greek writers in defense of

monarchism. Considering the Persian signifying context of the Solomonic narrative, the

ambitious desire for a qualified monarchism with popular consent, as the text indicates, signifies

also a resistance against the absolute regime of the Persian empire, whose dynastic tradition

would have subjected the Yehudites at the risk of despotism. Thus, as a whole, the Solomonic

narrative reflects an ambivalent attitude toward the Persian empire, which was both desired and

critiqued by the Deuteronomist.

Allusions to Imperial Administration

Imperial Officials

The Solomonic Kingdom's high officials listed in 1 Kgs 4:1–6 include priests, scribes, royal

herald (מזכיר), commander of the army (על־הצבא), official in charge of the district prefects (על־

הנצבים), King's Friend (רעה המלך), official in charge of the palace (על־הבית), and official in charge

of the corvée labor (על־המס). Traditional scholarship has tended to search for the imperial

prototype of the Solomonic state officials in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian imperial

administrative structures around the time of the tenth century B.C.E.[748] As a result of these

comparative studies, many court titles in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian imperial apparatuses

are thought to be equivalent to the Solomonic court positions. There are a few issues regarding

this kind of comparative approach. First, it is often based on the a priori assumption of the

historicity, or the historical trustworthiness, of the Solomonic narrative, which as I have been

arguing cannot be taken for granted. Second, the general, vague court titles, while confined to

particular categories, bear marks of generalization, selective representation, and schematization.

As a result, they are very malleable and susceptible to different interpretations. The simplicity

and high selectiveness of the Solomonic administrative short list bespeak its representational and

metonymic nature. The possibility that the short list is a literary construct within the larger

Solomonic cultural fantasy, irrespective of the degree of its realism, cannot be ruled out. Third,

since the short list is so general, it may be argued that any imperial apparatuses of ancient

Southwest Asia, including the Persian empire, would have had the practical necessity of

installing these categories of court officials.[749] The list reflects a general administrative structure

of longstanding imperial practices, and it does not contain any datable unique court titles. It

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[748] For the works arguing for the continuity between the Egyptian and Israelite administration, see bibliography in n. 194 above. For the similarities between the court titles found in ancient Southwest Asia, in particular the Neo-Assyrian empire, and Israel, see Jana Pečírková, "The Administrative Organization of the Neo-Assyrian Empire," *ArOr* 45 (1977): 211–28. For a recent systematic comparison of Israelite, Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Akkadian state administration and their royal functionaries, see Nili S. Fox, "Royal Functionaries and State-Administration in Israel and Judah during the First Temple Period," Ph.D. diss. The University of Pennsylvania, 1997.

[749] For a similar view, see Donald B. Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium: I. The Taxation System of Solomon," in *Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World: Presented to Professor F. V. Winnett on the Occasion of His Retirement 1 July 1971* (ed. J. W. Wevers and Donald B. Redford; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 144.

suffices to say that any Egyptian or Mesopotamian administrative resemblance identified in comparative studies may be regarded as coincidental and cannot be used as a historical anchor or dating evidence.

Systematic comparative studies between the Solomonic state officials and the Persian counterparts have not been conducted, and a thorough comparison is beyond the scope of this study. In this section, I will briefly show the resemblance of the Solomonic administrative structure to the Persian counterpart, arguing that such administrative structure would have been conceivable by the first readers/auditors, who would have associated the former with the latter through their analogizing ability, namely their ability to associate the text with the current historical situations and signify the text according to the reminiscenses of things from their subjective experience. The purpose of identifying the Persian analogous court positions is not for dating the text, which I already did in Chapter 1 by the more sensible and reasonable method of positing the text within its larger literary and cultural milieu. The identification is intended to show that the categories of Solomonic court officials are absolutely conceivable by the first readers/auditors within the Persian signifying context.

First, "priest" is listed first among the Solomonic state officials, and four persons were assigned the title (1 Kgs 4:2, 4, 5). According to the Greek historians, the Magi, the Persian priests, were core members of the Persian king's entourage. The king was always accompanied by the Magi, who functioned as the authority in cultic matters and the ritual experts responsible for sacrifices, libations, incantation, chanting, and divination.[750] The Magi are mentioned several times in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets as the recipients of rations and offerings on behalf of

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[750] See Herodotus, *Hist.*, VII.37, 43, 113, 191; Xenophon, *Cyr.*, VII.3.1; 5.35, 57; VIII.1.23; 3:11, 24; see also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 245–47, 916.

the gods.[751] In addition, in the Persian court, the Magi were literati and were considered people

of wisdom. They were responsible for the dissemination of medicinal knowledge and the oral

transmission of legends, hymns, myths, royal propaganda, and "veritable depositories of the

collective memory."[752] They were also entrusted with the education of children at the royal court,

and according to Plutarch (*Artaxerxes* III.1–2)[753] the Magi officiated the royal investiture for

Artaxerxes II.[754] Thus, "priests" also played key roles in the Persian empire.

The second Solomonic court position listed in 1 Kgs 4:3 is "scribe" (ספר). The job

description of the two scribes mentioned in this verse is not specified. It is beyond doubt that the

Persians needed to employ many scribes, including those among the subject peoples, in

preparation of letters and inscriptional works, to translate official documents, to produce

administrative records, and to keep land registry and inventory of economic transactions and

resource distribution. Head officials were assigned to oversee the work of the subordinate

scribes. For instance, several demotic documents mention a Persian court title *senti*, generally

thought to designate the "director of the fields" or "he who directs the king's scribes who count

everything," as Briant puts it.[755]

The third court title is the royal herald (מזכיר), which occurs a few times in the

Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story (2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 18:18, 37). The court title מזכיר

is attested in a Moabite seal, impressed with "*plṭy*, son of *m'š*, the *mazkîr*," found in a cave in

continuous use from the mid-eighth century B.C.E. to the early Hellenistic period.[756] It has been

dated paleographically to the eighth or seventh century B.C.E. Lexically, מזכיר is a hiphil

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[751] See Nos. 757–59, 769, 772, 2036 in *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, trans. by Richard T. Hallock.

[752] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 330.

[753] For a translation of *Artaxerxes*, see Plutarch, *Lives*, 11:127–204.

[754] Ibid., 330, 523.

[755] Ibid., 413.

[756] Mahmud Abu Taleb, "The Seal of plty bn m'š the mazkīr," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101/1 (1985): 21–29.

participle of the verbal root זכר with the basic qal meaning of "to remember." מזכיר has been traditionally rendered as "recorder" based on the mention of written records in the late biblical texts (Esth 6:1; Ezra 4:15; Mal 3:16).[757] Although מזכיר is never explicitly mentioned in these texts, the court position of an archivist or a recorder may be inferred. However, through his analysis of all forty occurrences of the hiphil stem of the verb in the Hebrew Bible, Tryggve N. D. Mettinger has concluded that the hiphil stem carries a basic meaning of "to proclaim" or "to utter"; this provides further philological support for rendering מזכיר as "royal herald" or "speaker." As early as the 1940s, biblical scholars proposed this view based on the purported Egyptian counterpart *whm.w*, namely "speaker," "spokesman," or "herald."[758]

The LXX renders the nine occurrences of the court title מזכיר with four different terms ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων (2 Sam 8:16), ἀναμιμνήσκων (2 Sam 20:24; 2 Kgs 18:18, 37), ὑπομιμνήσκων (1 Kgs 4:3), and ὑπομνηματογράφος (Isa 36:3, 22; 1Chr 18:15; 2 Chr 34:8). Except the last term that conveys unambiguously the office holder's main duty in writing rather than speaking, the other three terms presuppose only his official nature of keeping memorials, whether as written records or oral traditions, or bringing up reminders of some sort. The multiple renderings of the term in the LXX reflect diachronic differences in the meaning of מזכיר with reference to the translators' signifying contexts. The translators of Isaiah and the Chronicles understood מזכיר primarily as a scribal position, while the translators of Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story understood it primarily as an office in charge of bringing up memorials and reminders. The meaning of the court title conveyed by the LXX translators of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is compatible with

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[757] H. Eising, "זָכַר," in *TDOT*, 4:75–76.
[758] Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials,* 19–24, 52–62; de Vaux, "Titres et fonctionnaires," 395–397; Joachim Begrich, "Sōfēr und Mazkīr: Ein Beitrag zur inneren Geschichte des davidisch-salomonischen Großreiches und des Königreiches Juda," *ZAW* 58 (1941): 16-20; Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, 28.

the rendering of "royal herald" or "speaker." It has been pointed out that the position of royal

herald is attested in ancient Southwest Asia, the Levant, and Egypt; therefore, it would be

reasonable that the Israelite states had installed the office as well.[759] Noteworthy, a similar court

position existed in the Persian period as well. Herodotus mentions of royal heralds (κήρυκες)

delivering royal messages to all parts of the Persian dominion, sent in advance to negotiate with

the subject populations or the enemies before the Persian troops arrived, or sent to announce the

king's imminent arrival.[760] The royal heralds are respected Persian officials. Shall a subject

population express animosity against a royal herald, they would be repaid with manifold

retaliation. According to Herodotus (*Hist.* III.14), Cambyses executed 2,000 Egyptians in

retaliation for a royal herald murdered by the Egyptians in Memphis. If Mettinger and other

scholars are correct that מזכיר in 1 Kgs 4:3 is a royal herald, then the Persian equivalent would be

κήρυκας.

The fact that the LXX never rendered מזכיר as κήρυκας may have been a diachronic issue.

Unlike the Neo-Assyrian kings, the Achaemenid kings had neither annalists nor court

historiographers to keep records of their mighty feats. Record-keeping was primarily for

administrative purposes and inscriptional works for the dissemination of royal propaganda. It

was not until the time of Alexander III were court historiographers followed the Great King in

his military expeditions.[761] After the time of Alexander, מזכיר may have gained another layer of

meaning that includes the duty of keeping written records. In sum, מזכיר as a court position is

entirely conceivable in a Persian signifying context.

The fourth court title, the commander of the army (על־הצבא), belongs to an important

[759] See Fox, "Royal Functionaries and State-Administration in Israel and Judah during the First Temple Period,"186–87.

[760] Herodotus, *Hist.*, III.61–62; VI.47, 95; VII.32; see also Briant *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 157–58, 189, 754.

[761] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 5–7, 177.

category of high officials in empires throughout the ages, and the Persian empire was no exception. While other administrative positions may be taken by Persians' foreign collaborators, the positions of military commanders (στρατηγοί) and garrison commanders (φρούραρχοι), who were responsible to lead the royal army or territorial troops, were restricted seats for the Persians.[762] Also, according to the Persian imperial ideology of the warrior king, the commander-in-chief was none but the Persian King, whose intellectual and physical abilities made him alone deemed worthy of the position.[763] In the Solomonic text, King Solomon is demilitarized and removed of any military title and attributes in relation to the king's physical prowess. The text has repeatedly emphasized the universal peace enjoyed among Solomon's subjects. Because of the voluntary submission of the surrounding countries to Solomon's wisdom imperialism, King Wisdom simply has no need to resort to coercion. The Deuteronomist did not retain the commander of the army in the Solomon's cabinet for practical purpose. Such position would have been redundant or at least nominal until the universal peace is shattered after Solomon's death. Military posts are retained nominally because they composed an essential part of any imperial apparatus.

The fifth Solomonic court title is the "overseers of prefects" (על־הנצבים). The term נצבים is used elsewhere in the Solomonic narrative to designate Solomon's twelve district prefects (1 Kgs 4:7; 5:7[Eng. 4:27]). The expression שרי הנצבים (5:30[Eng. 16]; 9:23) would then be best interpreted as a reference to the subordinate officials under the district prefects,[764] and the court title על־הנצבים would be a reference to the person who is in charge of the district prefects, namely their superintendent. This court position finds its Persian equivalent in the satrapal inspectors—

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[762] Ibid., 340–43, 351–52.
[763] Ibid., 212–13, 227.
[764] See Mulder, *1 Kings Volume 1: 1 Kings 1–11*, 166.

an institution set up by the Persian empire to monitor and ensure the loyalty of the satraps and

regional officials. A satrapal inspector would go around in a tour of duty with an army to check

on the satrapal and provincial officials, to suppress any resistance in case of growing rebellious

sentiments, and to ensure that the local administration was in order, namely taxes were paid and

social order was maintained.[765] According to the Aramaic documents from Egypt, the Persian

term for satrapal inspector was *gaušaka*, which as argued by some scholars is equivalent to the

King's Eye or the King's Ear, an effective Persian intelligence service, mentioned by the Greek

historians.[766] Because of the effectiveness of the Persian institution of the King's Eye, the

Athenians of the fifth century were said to have modelled their own imperial overseer, the

Episkopos, after it. While the institutional status of the King's Eye or Ear is disputed, the office

of satrapal inspector undoubtedly existed so the Persian King would have been informed of

regional issues even in the peripheries of the empire. For the first readers/auditors, the Solomonic

overseer of the district prefects would be analogical to a satrapal inspector.

The sixth court title, the King's Friend (רעה המלך), belongs exclusively to the Davidic-

Solomonic period (2 Sam 15:37[LXX: 15;32]; 16:16) in the biblical texts. The expression "the

friend of the king" is known from the Middle Kingdom to Ptolemaic Egypt and is attested in the

el-Amarna letters, even though its official status has been disputed.[767] The title "King's Friend"

is also an attested official Persian court title. According to Briant, it was one of the most coveted

court titles because of the prestige and privileges associated with it.[768] This title may be held by

multiple trusted imperial officials at the same time, with an internal hierarchy formed with

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[765] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 343.
[766] See pp. 135–136 above and n. 327 for sources.
[767] EA 228.11; see Herbert Donner, "Der 'Freund des Königs,'" *ZAW* 73 (1961): 269–77; Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 63–69; Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, 28. Angelo Penna ("Amico del Re," *Rivista Biblica* 14 [1966]: 459–66) argues against the official status of the "King's Friend" in Egypt.
[768] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 308, 321–22, 780.

respect to the extent of royal favor they each received.[769] The Persian King had a constant

Council of Friends, who accompanied him in the "itinerant state." The Persians had multiple

imperial centers (Ecbatana, Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon) to which the royal court travelled and

took periodical residence. Briant calls this routine relocation of the Persian court "an itinerant

state."[770]

The seventh court title, the "overseer of the palace" (על־הבית), is also conceivable in the

Persian signifying context. According to the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, a prominent official

named Parnaka, who was a paternal uncle of Darius I, was in charge of the entire administration

of the Persepolis establishment between 506 and 497.[771] The prominence of his office is inferred

by the frequent appearance of his name in the Persepolis documents and the substantial amount

of daily ration he received (2 sheep, about 90 liters of wine, and about 180 liters of flour).

Parnaka was responsible for distribution of rations and resources to various people. He had under

his supervision the head scribe Ziššawiš, who executed his orders in the name of Darius, and a

group of lower-ranking officers and subordinate scribes.[772] The position that Parnaka held would

be parallel to the position of the overseer of the palace in the Solomonic list of court officials.

The last Solomonic court title is the overseer of corvée labor (על־המס). As I have mentioned

earlier, corvée labor (מס) is a form of levy imposed on all inhabitants of the subjected peoples,

and it is different from state slavery (מס־עבד; 9:21), which Solomon applied only to non-

Israelites. Only when corvée labor became oppressive and tyrannical, the term סבל "exploitative

labor" (11:28) was used in lieu of מס "corvée labor," and the Israelites began to ask for burden

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[769] For some examples of the King's Friend(s), see Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XII.4.4–5; XIV.98.1; XVII.39.2.

[770] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 84, 187–88.

[771] Ibid., 353, 425.

[772] Ibid., 425.

alleviation.[773] In the Persian empire, exemption from corvée labor was only granted to a very

limited number of people. The "sacred gardeners" of the Temple of Apollo in Aulai were said to

have been granted the exemption from corvée labor as a royal favor.[774] Artaxerxes I is said to

have expanded the exemption further and forbidden the satrapal governments from subjecting the

temple personnel to levy and taxes.[775] However, Lester L. Grabbe points out that the evidence for

temple tax exemption is meagre, and generally even temples were subjected to all forms of taxes

in kind and services.[776] Thus, such a case as the cultic functionaries of Apollo was rare in the

Persian period. As I have pointed out, corvée labor was a widely accepted form of tax obligation

in the ancient world, whose legitimacy would have been taken for granted by the peoples.[777] In

the Solomonic narrative, the northern Israelites do not challenge the institution of corvée labor,

but only the tyrannical labor exploitation. Note that the Israelites do not ask for an exemption,

but only for alleviation, which reflects their acceptance of the assumed legitimacy of corvée

labor as a form of tax obligation. The subjugated Israelites accept this form of conscription but

reject its development into tyrannical exploitation of the Israelites, who supposedly belong to the

privileged dominating ethnic group.

During the Persian period, because of the massive building projects and agricultural

intensification, the conscripted laborers were required to work in the construction sites,

workshops, and the fields.[778] From the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, we know that the workers

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[773] See pp. 409–410 above.

[774] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 402.

[775] Ibid., 504.

[776] Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (Library of Second Temple Studies 47; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 215.

[777] According to Soggin ("Compulsory Labor under David and Solomon," 267), corvée labor as a form of levy was a commonly practiced institution in the Syro-Palestinian city-states in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E., with textual evidence form Alalaḫ, Ugarit, and the el-ʿAmarna texts.

[778] For examples of the conscription of massive labor from vast groups of subject populations for building projects, in agricultural fields, and for the maintenance of irrigation works, plantations, highways, and palatial establishments, see Wouter Henkelman and Kristin Kleber, "Babylonian Workers in the Persian Heartland: Palace Building at

were grouped into *kurtaš* "workers" units.[779] The *kurtaš* was a heterogeneous labor system that involved nearly all peoples of the Persian empire, men, women, and children, grouped in ethnically diverse settings. It included the conscripted laborers from the subject populations, the deportees of the conquered populations and even a limited number of Persians.[780] Officials called the *kurdabattiš*, viz. the *kurtaš* heads, were assigned to be in charge of the *kurtaš* production, maintaining the workers' efficiency and distributing rations to the workers. The *kurdabattiš* were also in charge of supervising the work of the craftsmen, masons, and building-trade associates in construction sites.[781] The Persian *kurdabattiš* would be a close parallel to the Solomonic overseer of corvée labor.

The parallels between the Solomonic high officials listed in 4:1–6 and the Persian imperial officials suggest that the Yehudite readers/auditors would have no problems identifying the Solomonic administrative structure as an analogue to the Persian counterpart. Even though they had no direct contact with the Persian overlords, they would have heard of the legends and stories of the Persian empire. In addition, because the satrapal and provincial courts were modelled after the royal court, the Solomonic administrative structure would have been familiar to them even on a regional level.[782] What they encountered in the regional government was a miniature model of the Persian central administration. The similitude between the Persian administrative system and the Solomonic one would have produced a sense of familiarity, even if the association between the two did not happen in a conscious state.

Matannan during the Reign of Cambyses," in *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007), 163–76.

[779] See Hallock, trans., *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, 9, 29, 34, 37, 34, 44.

[780] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 426–37.

[781] Ibid.

[782] Ibid., 345–47.

The Twelve Prefects

Solomon divides his kingdom into twelve administrative districts and appointed each a

prefect (נצב) in charge of the regional government. Each prefect is responsible for one month's

provisions for the royal house that includes not only the royal kinsmen and servants but also

anyone who came to the King's Table and the king's horses (1 Kgs 4:7–21; 5:6–8[Eng. 4:26–

28]). Thus, the division into twelve districts is described as a taxation system. As it has been with

the short list of the Solomonic administrative high officials in 4:1–6, biblical scholars have been

preoccupied with finding the prototype of the Solomonic system of twelve prefects with the

unwarrantedly presumed historical trustworthiness of the Solomonic narrative. This has led to

the development of a theory of Israelite mimicry on Egyptian administration model and

eventually a reversed theory.

An Egyptian prototype for the Solomonic system of twelve prefects is first proposed by

Donald B. Redford and subsequently subscribed by many scholars.[783] According to a stele

discovered in the temple Arsaphes in the Herakleopolitan nome, Pharaoh Shoshenq I (biblical

Shishak) restored the daily sacrifices in the sanctuary and imposed on the local population a levy

system, in which the nome was divided into twelve districts. Each district was responsible for the

expenses of a month's sacrifices. The text even specifies the amount the officials and the towns

were required to contribute. This rota system was remarkably similar to Solomon's system of

twelve prefects. Redford proposed that Solomon modelled the Israelite taxation system after

Shoshenq's levy system.[784] A major issue with this theory is its anachronism. It would require

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[783] Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium: I. The Taxation System of Solomon," 141–56.

[784] Ibid., 153–56; Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: IV. Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 118–21; Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament*, 165–67.

Shoshenq to be either pre-Solomonic or contemporaneous to Solomon. However, according to the biblical chronology, Solomon would have been contemporaneous to Shoshenq's predecessors, either Siamun (979–960 B.C.E.) or Psusennes II (960–946 B.C.E.).[785] Alberto R. Green thus revised Redford's thesis and argued for a reversed influence, namely it was Shoshenq who imitated the Solomonic twelve-month levy system, which the Pharaoh supposedly learned from Jeroboam during his refuge in Egypt.[786]

All of these readings presuppose to a large extent the historical trustworthiness of the Solomonic narrative. What may be reasonably asserted based on the epigraphical evidence of the Herakleopolis stele is that a monthly rota system of levy collection, similar to the Solomonic one, was already in existence, even it was implemented for a totally different reason, namely to pay for sacrificial offering at a temple. However, how the Egyptian and the Israelite systems relate to each other remains a moot question. Considering that the restoration of sacrificial rites at the temple of Arsaphes was monumental, thus a publicized event, and that the temple was in use even in the Roman period, it is plausible that knowledge of the twelve-month rota system was publicized and continued to be disseminated among the subsequent generations. In addition, should the system prove to be effective, Herakleopolis might not be the only nome that adopted the model, expanding the geographical scale of its use. The longevity of the temple of Arsaphes and the publicity of Shoshenq I's levy system suggest that it is plausible for a person in the Persian period to be cognizant of the rota system.

Even without assuming a priori the historicity of the Solomonic Kingdom, this kind of comparative studies may still be illuminating in a sense that it traces the historical development of a rota system, based on which a plausible scenario of the literary production may be

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[785] Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, 31–33.
[786] Alberto R. Green, "Israelite Influence at Shishak's Court," *BASOR* 233 (1979): 59–62.

reconstructed by tracing any historical identifying elements. The similitude between the Solomonic administrative system and an attested historical counterpart, instead of corroborating the historicity of the Solomonic Kingdom, provides, at the very least, the historical evidence for plausible textual provenance, namely its fantasy-source. The attested system would have been something known to the Deuteronomist through received traditions or their personal experience and became the Deuteronomist's source of inspiration. Through received traditions, oral or written, the Deuteronomist may have had first-hand experience with or learned of a rota-based levy system for the provisions of the royal house, and the idea became building block for the Solomonic Kingdom. I will argue that the system of twelve prefects was indeed perceivable by the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors within the original signifying context. The system bears a few analogical aspects to the Persian administrative system and ruling ideology.

Herodotus mentions of a rota system of levy that Cyrus II imposed his entire Asian provinces after he conquered Babylonia. It was instituted for the purpose of paying the provisions for himself and his army.

> All the land ruled by the great King is parcelled out for the provisioning of himself and his army, besides that it pays tribute: now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four out of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight.[787]

While Herodotus (*Hist.* I.192) does not provide the details of how the Babylonians or the Asians were going to share the four months or the eight months of levy, presumably the load was divided among the provinces and the towns. This rota system is more similar to the Solomonic one than the Shoshenq one. Like the Solomonic counterpart, it is a monthly based rota system of levy for the purpose of furnishing food provisions for the king and his army, namely those who were with him in military expeditions. They were likely to have been collected through royal

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[787] Herodotus, *Hist.* I.192 (Godley, LCL).

staging posts and supply depots that the Persians set up throughout Asia in major highways and routes. Food provisions and other resources were brought in for the support of the traveling royal house and the convoys.[788] The levy may have also been paid through the King's Table, which was considered a form of levy or an obligatory hospitality the Persian king imposed on the local communities.[789]

The members of the royal house, the royal kinsmen, and the king's officials moved along with the Persian king to reside periodically in the imperial capitals of the "itinerant state."[790] The mobile King's Table was occasioned by the moving court, as well as military campaigns. According Greek tradition, when the royal court was migrating, the entire kitchen staff went with them.[791] Herodotus (*Hist.* VII.32) mentions that every time Xerxes was about to arrive at a town, royal heralds were sent to inform its inhabitants of the imminent arrival of the royal procession and order preparations to be made for the King's Table. Wouter Henkelman points out that the King's Table did not strictly mean an actual banquet consumed before the king; rather, it was an institution through which provisions were distributed to different sectors of the royal house, including the royal personnel, the courtiers, and the guards even when they were away from the presence of the king. Through the King's Table, royal resources were redistributed to royal servants of different ranks, as I pointed out earlier.[792] This broader sense of the King's Table is supported by textual evidence from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets and classical sources.[793]

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[788] For examples of staging posts and supply depots set up by the Persian kings, see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 157, 528; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 108; Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.25, 59. Incidentally, this view of the rota system as a postal network for the provisions of royal convoys was proposed by Franco Pintore ("I dodici intendenti di Salomone," *RSO* 45 (1970): 177–207) although he did not consider the Persian context of such a system.

[789] Wouter O. Henkelman, "'Consumed before the King'," 688; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 713; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:711–13.

[790] See n. 770.

[791] Xenophon, *Anab.* IV.4.21; Plutarch, *Alexander.* XXIII.5; Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.186–87; IX.82.

[792] See pp. 370–372 above.

[793] See n. 678 above.

Furthermore, as Henkelmann points out, "Polyaenus [*Strat.* IV.3.32] stipulates that requisitions for the King's Table not only included vast amounts of commodities for the members of the court, but also barley, and straw for the livestock travelling with the court."[794] This matches the portrayal in the Solomonic narrative.

The Solomonic rota system of levy is an allusion to the Persian itinerant state and the mobile King's Table. It is explicitly stated, "These prefects [נצבים] supplied King Solomon and all who came to King Solomon's Table [אל־שלחן המלך־שלמה], each in his month; they let nothing be lacking" (1 Kgs 5:7[Eng. 4:27]; LXX: 5:1). The prefects also supplied barley and straw for Solomon's livestock, namely "for the [riding] horses and chariot horses" (לסוסים ולרכש; 5:8[Eng. 4:28]). These two verses produce an image of the districts each taking turn to supply Solomon and presumably those who travelled with him, his entourage and horses. The text does not state whether the provisions for the King's Table are sent to the imperial center or the king and his entourage are received by the prefects in their cities under their supervision. However, through the Yehudite readers'/auditors' analogizing ability, namely associating the text with their own subjective experience, the picture portrayed in 5:7–8[Eng. 4:27–28] was likely to be interpreted as an itinerant court with the mobile King's Table, a form of local tax, for which each prefect was responsible.

I will argue that the Solomonic rota system contains second and third allusions to the Persian imperial administration, namely the exclusion of the ruling ethnicity (the Judahites) from the rota of the subjugated peoples (the Israelites) and the non-mention of the prefect over "the land" (הארץ). Albrecht Alt in his 1913 article recognized that the system of twelve districts was composed of only northern territories of Israel, with Judah excluded from the list.[795] In other

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[794] Ibid., 685.
[795] Albrecht Alt ("Israels Gaue unter Salomo," *Kleine Schriften* 2 [1913]: 76–89) also suggested that the

words, 1 Kgs 4:7–19 presupposes the separation between the North (Israel) and the South (Judah), and, according to Alt, this textual feature would not allow the text to be dated before the time of Josiah's expansionistic reform (ca. 622 B.C.E.).[796] Alt, as well as his contemporaries, did not consider the plausibility that the Solomonic list of twelve fiscal districts may have actually stemmed from a much later time.[797]

However, some scholars, based on some textual "anomalies," do not agree with the view that Judah was excluded from the list of the twelve fiscal districts. Districts six and twelve appear to be doublets (4:13, 19a). Not only are both prefects' names alike (בן־גבר "Ben-Geber" and גבר בן־ארי "Geber the son of Uri"), but both districts happen to be in the Transjordan land of Gilead. Thus, one of them appears to be an inserted variant. Moreover, the jurisdiction of the unnamed prefect (v. 19b) appears as "the land of Judah" (γῇ Ιουδα) in the LXX, whereas the MT simply has "the land" (הארץ). Some scholars argue that either district 6 or district 12 was not on the original list, and the mention of "the land of Judah" in the LXX supports the reading of Judah as the twelfth district with an unnamed prefect.[798] Nevertheless, the idea that either district 6 or district 12 was subsequently inserted is not supported by textual variants, as the two districts were persistently present in the manuscripts. Therefore, the "doublets" are best treated as integral parts of the Solomonic narrative.

administrative districts were divided based on tribal boundaries and the major cities within the districts. There are numerous suggestions provided to explain the principle behind the district division. Besides Alt's theory of tribal boundaries, for other theories see G. Ernest Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967): 58–69; Pintore, "I dodici intendenti di Salomone," 177–207; Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 111–27.

[796] Alt, "Israels Gaue unter Salomo," 76–89. This view is shared by many scholars; see for instance Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 96–98.

[797] Most of the identified sites in the list (1 Kgs 4:7–19) have a long history of settlement, with archaeological remains datable to Neolithic or the Bronze period through the Persian or Roman period. In other words, most of them were occupied during the Persian period. Therefore, the possibility that the list was composed in the Persian period should not be ruled out and must be given consideration.

[798] See William F. Albright, "The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah," *JPOS* 5 (1925): 28; Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 121–22; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, 121–22; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 135.

However, if the doublets are integral to the text and the LXX reading is preferred, this would make the "land of Judah" the thirteenth district, which contradicts the introduction of "twelve prefects over all Israel" (v. 7). An attempt to resolve the contradiction is made by suggesting that v. 19b is a late insertion and the land of Judah was not included in the original list—a view with no textual variants in support.[799] If the MT reading is preferred and the land is taken as a reference to the entire dominion of the Solomonic Kingdom, then the unnamed prefect must be interpreted as the "head prefect" (נציב אחד), namely Azariah mentioned in v. 5.[800] However, it goes beyond what the text warrants to read נציב אחד as the "head prefect," a reading that would require a displacement of אחד "one" or "first" with הראש "head," which has no linguistic basis. These attempts to resolve the internal textual contradiction amount to "secondary revision"; it reflects scholars' uneasiness to accept inherent contradictions. Emendation in such cases amounts to rationalization, namely to produce a more consistent picture devoid of contradictions, even without textual support. The attempt should be made to read all the textual elements in v. 19 as integrals rather than "anomalies." I will argue that when these textual elements are read with respect to the original signifying context, they reflect the ruling ideology of the Persians. What appears to be perplexing to modern scholars would have made good sense to the first readers/auditors.

The Persians never considered their home territory, namely Persis (Fars), as a satrapy since it was not conquered and thus was not subjected to tribute imposition (Herodotus, *Hist.* III.97). From a political-ideological perspective, tribute imposition bears the symbolic significance of submission. Thus, Persis, being the unconquered country, would never be required to pay tribute. Because the king was regarded the head official in charge of the home territory, even if he had a

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[799] See Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 123.
[800] See Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 186.

deputy executing orders on his behalf, his deputy would not be named as the official in charge of the home territory.[801] As I have pointed out earlier, according to Herodotus (*Hist.* I.197) Cyrus II imposed a rota system of levy on the Babylonians and the Asians, who took turn to supply provisions for the king and those who were with him, but he did not impose the same on the Persians. Persis seemed to have been exempted from tribute and monthly provisions for the sustenance of the king and his army. This is not to say that the home territory was not subjected to other forms of royal exaction, but only that they were not liable for fiscal burdens targeting the subjugated populations.[802] For instance, the Persians were subject to *baziš* (a tax on sheep and goats) but exempted from the regular tax of *phoros*, which was imposed on the subject peoples.[803] Persians were keen to set a social and political boundary between themselves and the subject populations. They never listed themselves among the conquered peoples or tributaries iconographically or iconologically. Even in country lists, Persia is either listed at the top, or it is absent in order to maintain the sociopolitical hierarchy between the *ethno-classe dominante* (the dominating ethnicity) and the subjugated peoples.[804]

The Solomonic system of twelve districts reflects several key elements of the ruling ideology of the Persians. First, Judah, namely the home territory, was excluded from the particular form of tax obligation. Only the northern territories, namely Israel, were subjected to the rota system of levy. J. Alberto Soggin aptly observes that the division reflects an exploitative, hierarchical relationship between the South and the North. The South regards the North as the

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[801] From Persepolis Fortification Tablets, we known that Parnaka who ran the entire administration in Persepolis executed orders on behalf of Darius I and sealed the documents in the latter's name. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 425.

[802] See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:670, 677, n. 28; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 183, 397–98; K.-J. Lee, *The Authority and Authorization of Torah in the Persian Period*, 134.

[803] D. M. Lewis, "The Persepolis Fortification Texts," in *Center and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop* (ed. Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt; Achaemenid History 4; Leiden: Nederlands instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), 5.

[804] Ibid., 181.

"conquered land to be exploited" and divides the North into fiscal districts for the purpose of extraction, while the South seemed to be exempted from taxation (in the form of furnishing a month's provisions for the royal house).[805] This is reminiscent of the actual socioeconomic hierarchy between the Persians and their subjugated peoples. Second, within the original signifying context, the first readers/auditors were likely to interpret "the land" in 1 Kgs 4:19b to mean "the home country," namely Israel proper or Judah. The absence of the prefect's name would have been natural for the first readers/auditors since only the Great King would be considered the head of the home territory and his deputy only executed orders on his behalf behind the scenes. In other words, the exclusion of Judah from the rota list and the non-naming of the perfect over the land in the portrayal reflect an attempt to uphold the privileges of the *ethno-classe dominante*, namely Judah, and Solomon's irreplaceable role as the head of the home country. These ideological preferences are consistent with the Persian ruling ideology. The exclusion amounts to the Judahites' claim of a privileged position over the northern Israelites, who were subtly portrayed as the subjugated populations within the larger ethnic category of Israelites.

The list of twelve prefects contains one more allusion to the Persian empire. The patrimonial tradition of the district office is implied through either the formulaic naming of בן־PN , literally "son of PN" (vv. 8–11, 13) or the genealogical expression "PN_1, the son of PN_2" (vv. 12, 14, 16–19a), with the exception of district 8 (v. 15). The expression בן־PN also signifies "a descendant of PN," implying that the district offices followed the tradition of dynastic succession. This picture is consistent with the Persians' regional administration.

In the Persian period, satrapies and provinces were normally hereditary, with the exception

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[805] Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 90–91.

that major satrapies were granted to the members of the royal house instead of passing on as a patrimonial estate.[806] The Persians adopted the policy of accommodation, allowing satrapal and provincial dynasties to coexist with the central authority.[807] Textual evidence for such a policy is plentiful. For instance, a son of Megabyzus may have inherited the satrapy of Trans-Euphrates from his father.[808] Samaria, a primary province in the satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates, was ruled by a dynasty at least from the time of Artaxerxes I to Darius III.[809] It is reasonable to assume that the first readers/auditors, being the inhabitants of Yehud, knew about these cases of dynastic rule and were familiar with the idea of satrapal or provincial dynasty. Through their ability to analogize, they could easily associate the twelve hereditary districts of the Solomonic Kingdom with the satrapal and provincial dynasties under the strategic rule of the Persians.

Both the Solomonic court titles and the system of twelve districts contains numerous allusions to the administrative structure of the Persian empire and its ideology of domination. However, the Solomonic Kingdom was never portrayed in a way that explicit parallels to the Persian kingdom can be recognized unambiguously on the manifest surface. The system of twelve districts may be reminiscent of the satrapal system of the Persians, but the former is only a disguised, distorted form of the latter. Vocabulary that would hint at the Persian empire being the possible blueprint for the Solomonic Kingdom is *almost* absent. For instance, the term used to describe the district officials is *almost* consistently נציב/נצב (1 Kgs 4:5, 7, 19; 5:7[Eng. 4:27], 30[Eng. 16]; 9:23). The term פחה used in 10:15 may be considered a "slip of the tongue," if it is a reference to נציב/נצב. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, this term is regularly used to designate

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[806] Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 171; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 83. For instance, Achaemenes, Xerxes's brother was appointed satrap of Egypt; see Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.7; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:248, 321, n. 5.
[807] See pp. 68, 399–401 above.
[808] Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 171. For more examples, see Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 166, 201; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:330.
[809] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 587.

satraps and regional governors in the Persian period.[810] Alternately, the occurrence of פחה in 10:15 may be interpreted as evidence of a dimorphic division of tax districts.

The narrator describes the various sources of imperial revenue, among which gold was received from "the kings of Arabia and the satraps/governors [פחות] of the land," describing the Solomonic Kingdom in explicit terms of the Persian empire. The text is not explicit on whether "the satraps/governors [פחות] of the land" in 10:15 were identical to the district prefects mentioned earlier in the Solomonic narrative. As I have pointed out, Cyrus instituted a rota system of levy in which the Babylonian and Asian countries were divided into three large districts, each responsible for four months of provisions for the king and his company. The נצבים in the Solomonic text would be the equivalent to the officials in charge of these fiscal districts. However, Herodotus (*Hist.* III.89–94) described another larger tribute system set up by Darius I, in which the subject peoples, including the Babylonians and the Asians, were divided into twenty satrapies.[811] This larger system covered all Persian dominion except Persis (Persia proper). Inferring from Herodotus's description, a dimorphic fiscal system of levy and tax was conceivable in the Persian period. This implies that the first readers/auditors should have no problems in differentiating the official titles פחה from נציב/נצב and accepting the concurrence of both offices. Furthermore, the land of Arabia is singled out and differentiated from the satraps/governors of the land in 10:15, which is the situation described by Herodotus (*Hist.* III.89–94) after he lists the twenty satrapies. The Persian king did not impose a monetary tribute on the Arabians, who instead paid the Persian king tax in kind, namely a thousand talents of frankincense annually (Herodotus, *Hist.* III.91,97). Thus, the differentiation drawn in 10:15 may be interpreted as an allusion to Arabia's unique tributary position among the Persians' subject

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[810] See p. 54 above.
[811] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 484–85.

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populations.

Israelites as the Privileged Ethnicity

Regarding "ethnicity" as a category of social differentiation, anthropologists and sociologists in the past few decades have advanced from a concept of ethnicity as cultural difference to an instrumental model of "ethnicity as the organizing principle" of cultural units.[812] Fredrik Barth defined ethnicity as "a social boundary" drawn on the basis of genealogies, cultural traits (such as language, religion, and social customs), and phenotypical characteristics.[813] As an organizing principle, "ethnicity" is a fluid and malleable concept that must be examined within the social, political, and cultural setting. In this section, I will argue that the organizing principle of ethnicity within the Solomonic narrative finds its parallel in the Persian counterpart.

Dahyu, the Persian equivalent for the term "ethnos," is a territorialized concept. The Persians conceptualized the subject peoples in terms of ethnic groups based on their place of origin.[814] The term *dahyu* is used in royal inscriptions to describe either a community or the territory where the community resided.[815] According to Herodotus, there were eighty ethnic groups in the Persian empire. The category played a key role in the Persian imperial apparatus and ruling ideology, particularly in the management of multiethnic subjects. As an organizing principle, ethnic boundaries were applied to define the social, economic, and political privileges and obligations that each ethnic group had within the dominion. *Kurtaš* workers, conscripted

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[812] Kenton L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel: Prolegomena in the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 18.

[813] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); see also Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel*, 3.

[814] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:801–02.

[815] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 393.

laborers, mercenaries, and garrisons were organized in terms of their ethnicities.[816] Deportees were relocated into settlements composed of inhabitants mainly from their own ethnic group. The cultural advancement and potential contributions of each ethnic group were utilized in the interests of the Persian empire. The ethnic boundaries were applied in the determination of fiscal districts, as well as the types of tax obligation and amount of taxes for which each subject people was liable. Persis was exempted from tribute, forced labor, and taxes imposed on the conquered peoples.[817] Ethnic identities also determined the extent of socioeconomic opportunities and political advancement that one can reach within the Persian administration and military organization. While the elites of the subject populations may receive royal favors and had access to regional administrative positions and occasionally high offices, as a general rule positions of political influence—such as those in the central administration, satrapal government, and military commands—were restricted to the Persian aristocrats.[818] Even though the Persians did not claim cultural superiority over the conquered populations,[819] their entitlement to social and political privileges, based on their status as the *ethno-classe dominante*, perpetuated social, economic, and political disparity along ethnic lines. In sum, the ethnic boundaries were maintained in order to uphold the social, economic, and political privileges of the *ethno-classe dominante*.

Within the dominating ethnicity of the Persians, there were finer ethnic boundaries. The Persian ethnicity in a broad sense includes peoples from the countries of Persia, Media, and Elam, who were related through a shared history and their cultural and linguistic heritage. The

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[816] For instance, see Herodotus, *Hist.* VII.23.1, 4; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:818; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 410, 437, 506–07
[817] See pp. 428–429 above.
[818] See Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 229; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:623; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 350–52; see also p. 417 above.
[819] See p. 191 above.

word *arya* "Aryan" in some royal inscriptions refers to this heterogeneous group of people.[820] In a narrower sense, "Persians" may designate the sub-group "Persia-Media"; the pair was even more closely related culturally (see Est 1:18). In an even narrower sense, "Persians" refer also to the Achaemenids, namely the particular Persian aristocratic pedigree that rose to hegemonic status throughout the empire. Briant refers to the Achaemenids as the "Aryan of Aryan stock,"[821] suggesting their eminent position among the Persians. In sum, even within the Persian ethnicity, there existed finer ethnic boundaries that define the socioeconomic and political status of its different members.

The idea of an *ethno-classe dominante* and the notion of ethnic divisions as a political-ideological category for the distribution of socioeconomic and political privileges and liability of obligations are clearly operative in the Solomonic narrative, in which "ethnicity" also appears as a territorialized category of social differentiation. As I have just shown, in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 the "Israelites" (the northern territories) were portrayed as the subjugated peoples of Judah, the latter being the ruling ethnicity, "the Israelites of the Israelites," the chosen tribe of all the Israelite tribes (11:32). Thus, the notion of finer ethnic divisions within the *ethno-classe dominante* is implicit in the text.

"Israel" is a highly unstable signifier in the Solomonic text. It is used predominantly in a broad sense to signify the entire Solomonic Kingdom, including the northern territories and Judah, occasionally as well as the conquered peoples in the surroundings.[822] In the MT, at least seventeen times it is used exclusively to signify the northern territories, even when it is qualified

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[820] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 180–82.
[821] Ibid., 180.
[822] See the section "Allusions to Imperial Dominion" of this chapter for detailed analysis. Noteworthy is that in 1 Kgs 6:1–11:25, the central part of the Solomonic narrative, only "Israel" in this broad sense occurs and never once "Judah."

with כל "all" (4:7; 11:37; 12:1, 3, 16–24; and arguably also 5:27[Eng. 13]). The distinction

between Israel and Judah is further reinforced by the mention of Judah and Israel in conjunction

(1:35; 4:20; 5:5[Eng. 4:25]).[823] This implies that the Deuteronomist considered Judah as a part of

Israel, yet it was differentiated from the rest of Israel as the "home country," where the imperial

center was located. According to the Solomonic narrative, Israel, in turn, represents the

subjugated peoples within the principal territories. Judah is privileged over the northern

territories and exempted from tribute and the rota system of levy. The northern Israelites, being

part of the peoples composed of the ethnic group "Israel" in the broad sense, are privileged over

the conquered ethnicities remaining in the country and exempted from enslaved labor (מס־עבד;

9:21), even though corvée labor (מס; 5:27[Eng. 13]) is imposed as a form of levy.[824]

In addition, the prestigious positions of political influence within the state administration

and military commands were restricted to the Israelites in the broad sense (9:22–23 [LXX:

2:35]). Thus, Judah (the Israelites of the Israelites), Israel (the Israelites in the broad sense), and

other conquered peoples form an ethnic hierarchy that defines the social, economical, and

political privileges and obligations each ethnic division is assigned. As I have argued in Chapter

5, the erotic privileges enjoyed by Solomon, Jeroboam, and Hadad of Edom with respect to their

wives' position of prestige in the Egyptian court form a metonymic representation of this concept

of ethnic hierarchy. In addition, I have also argued in Chapter 6 that Solomon did not uphold

cultural superiority over the Phoenicians and implicitly acknowledged their cultural and

technological advancements and utilized them to his imperial cause.[825] This aspect of the

Solomon Kingdom is also reminiscent of the Persian empire. Like the Persian empire, the

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[823] With the exception of 1:35, "Judah" always precedes "Israel." This "normal" order bespeaks the hierarchical
relationship between the two ethnic-territorial entities in the psyche of the Deuteronomist.
[824] See pp. 409–410 above.
[825] See p. 357 above.

administrative structure of the Solomonic Kingdom reflects the ideology of ethnic hierarchy based on the positions of dominance, yet cultural superiority is not presupposed. The general portrayal of the Solomonic Kingdom produces a verisimilitude. The ethnic hierarchy between Judah, Israel, and the conquered peoples is reminiscent of that between the Achaemenids, the Persians (in the broader sense), and the peoples conquered by the Persians. To the first readers/auditors, this hierarchical structure of ethnic divisions would be analogical to the ethnic hierarchy within the Persian empire and thus produce a sense of familiarity, even if they were not conscious of the link.

Reward and Punishment System

I have already discussed in detail the convergence of the Solomonic patron-client system with the Persian counterpart, as a part of my argument for the psychic mechanism of introjective identification in the fantasy-work of the Solomonic Kingdom.[826] The Persian king utilized a variety of rewards (such as royal gifts, royal favors, positions of honor, court titles, and land grants) as the bait for his clients' loyalty and services. I will only supplement this part of my argument by pointing out an additional reward mechanism observable in the Solomonic Kingdom and yet also found in the Persian empire, that is the marriage to the king's daughter as a royal gift. Two prefects named in the list of the twelve prefects are explicitly described as Solomon's sons-in-law (1 Kgs 4:11, 15). Since their relationship with Solomon is that between a client and a patron-king, their marriage to the king's daughter would most likely be considered a royal gift, a promotion to a prestigious social position of royal kinsmen enjoyed only by a selected few.

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[826] See pp. 318–324 above.

1 Sam 18:1–27 mentions of two royal grants of marriage to King Saul's daughters. Saul

offers his elder daughter Merab in marriage to David as a reward should David prove his

valiance by vanquishing the Philistines. The omniscient narrator reveals to the readers/auditors

that Saul's unspoken intent is to eliminate David through the Philistine army. David's immediate

response to Saul's "favor" is the feeling of undeservedness and inferiority stemming from his

humble background (v. 18). After Merab is granted to another official, Saul attempts the same

ruse a second time. He uses his other daughter, Michal, as a bait this time. David for the second

time expresses the feeling of undeservedness and inferiority and possibly intimates his inability

to reciprocate with a bride gift that would befit a royal princess (v. 23). Saul then requests a bride

gift of one hundred foreskins of the Philistines—a bride gift of service instead of luxury goods.

Presumably Saul does not expect David to accomplish such an enormous mission and regards it

as a snare to bring about David's downfall. In the end, David pays what is demanded and marries

Michal. This episode illustrates that, within the Deuteronomist's signifying context, marriage to

the royal princess is considered a great prestige. It is a royal gift granted to a person in the

highest social echelon or to a person who has wrought great services to the king. The honor and

privileges associated with the position of the royal son-a-law are strong enough to induce a

motive in David to attempt a suicidal mission of killing one hundred Philistines single-handedly.

Many Persian officials were granted marriage to a royal princess.[827] It was a royal favor

granted almost exclusively to the Achaemenids, with a considerable number of them from the

king's kinsmen. However, a few non-Persians were given the honor, mostly collaborators from

the subject populations who had proven their loyalty and wrought valuable services to the

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[827] For instance, Gobryas, Darius I's commander (see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 309), his son Mardonius (see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 1:230), and Ariobarzanes, satrap of Dasyleium (see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 412–13).

king.[828] Therefore, considering the original signifying context, the Yehudite readers/auditors were likely to have interpreted the prefect-princess unions (4:11, 15) as royal gifts. These prefects are presumably either Israelite aristocrats of high standing, or they have provided valuable services to the king. Like the Persian king, Solomon uses reward and punishment as a part of the patron-client system to sustain or motivate the loyalty of his officials. He has granted twelve towns to Hiram (1 Kgs 9:11) and royal gifts of undisclosed content to the Queen of Sheba (10:13). Food provisions are redistributed through the King's Table as a way to dispense royal favor to those who have demonstrated their "loyalty" (חסד), such as the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite have done to David (2:7; 5:7[Eng. 4:27]); LXX 5:1).Solomon punishes the officials of dubious allegiance in accordance with his father David's deathbed wishes. In sum, the biblical Solomon behaves exactly in the way that the first readers/auditors would have expected his historical counterpart, the Persian King, to have done with respect to personnel management.

Imperial Revenue

The Solomonic Kingdom shows an economic structure that characterized an early empire, which is defined as a sociopolitical organization that has brought together several early states under the hegemony of a central-state.[829] In this case, Judah is the center-state that annexed the nearest territories of Israel in the north through their voluntary submission (2 Sam 5:1–3), conquered the states in the inner peripheries, including Edom and Damascus (1 Kgs 11:14–25; 2 Sam 8:3–14), and subjugated the furthest states in the outer peripheries, such as Tyre and Arabia,

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[828] For instance, Themistocles the Athenian, Demaratus the Lacedaemonian, and Eshmunazar of Sidon; see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 629–32.

[829] Henri J. M. Claessen, "Tribute and Taxation or How to Finance Early States and Empires," in *Le tribute dans l'Empire perse: Actes de la table ronde de Paris, 12–13 décembre 1986* (ed. Pierre Briant and Clarisse Herrenschmidt; Paris: Peeters, 1989), 45–59, in particular 46.

through the potentates' voluntary presentation of tribute and gifts (9:14; 10:10, 23–25). Typical of an early empire, its income is drawn from both organized, state-run trading expeditions (horse and chariot trades and naval expeditions)[830] and a well-established system of tribute and taxation.

As I have shown earlier in this chapter, the home territory, namely the center-state, and the peripheries were subjected to different types and different amounts of tax obligations. In the Solomonic narrative, while the Israelites are subject to corvée labor, they are exempted from enslaved labor, which is imposed on the non-Israelite populations.[831] However, the Israelites of the North are considered the subordinate ethnic groups within the center-state, and are deprived of the privileged positions enjoyed by the Judahites of the South, which the text describes as the core of the *ethno-classe dominante*. The Israelites of the North are considered Judah's subjugated peoples and are subject to the rota system of furnishing provisions for the King's Table. However, only the countries in the peripheries are described as tributaries who voluntarily presented gold and gifts to the Israelite king. Besides all these forms of taxation, the text also intimates that there exists a "satrapal" system of taxation, but the kings of Arabia are mentioned as a regional entity separate from the rest of the "satraps" (פחות; 10:15). I have argued that this complex system of extraction is reminiscent of the Persian economic system. I will supplement two more textual observations regarding the Solomonic system of extraction that I have hitherto not mentioned.

First, in the summary of imperial revenue (1 Kgs 10:14–15), we learn that taxes are imposed on "the men of trade and the profit [made by] the merchants" (מאנשי התרים ומִסְחַר הרכלים; v. 15),[832] which compose a part of the imperial revenue apart from the regular income of 666

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[830] See Chapters 5 and 6.

[831] See pp. 409–410 above.

[832] I follow the emendation suggested by Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner (*HALOT*, 750) to read וּמִסְחַר instead of the MT's וּמִסְחַר. Boer (*Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, 172–73) proposes reading the last component

talents of gold that Solomon receives annually. These taxes are likely tariffs and customs collected from the itinerant traders and merchants. Thus, this verse reinforces the image of the Solomonic Kingdom as an empire with a well-established trading network and an organized system of commercial taxes.

Second, another source of revenue is from the acquisitions brought back by naval expeditions (10:22). Among these valuable acquisitions are gold, silver, an exotic plant (אלמגים עצי "almug wood"), precious stones, ivory, and exotic animals (קפים "apes" and ותכיים "peacocks"; 10:11–12, 22). The text does not specify the source of all these acquisitions,[833] and thus it invites the readers'/auditors' transferential readings. They may be valuable imports or tribute and gifts presented by foreign potentates from faraway countries. Considering that the two Hiram-fleet texts are used to frame the summary of Solomon's imperial summary (both tribute and commercial taxes) in vv. 13–15 and the description of Solomon's wealth-hoarding practices in vv. 16–21 and the two toponyms "Ophir" and "Tarshish" symbolizes gold acquisition and merchant activities,[834] the first readers/auditors could have interpreted these acquisitions either way. Whether they are tribute and gifts presented to Solomon or rare, exotic imports brought back from faraway countries, the emphasis is on the acquisitions of rare, exotic species, which is characteristic of imperial aggrandizing discourse. The Assyrian and Egyptian kings publicized their receiving exotic plants and animals from their subject peoples.[835] Following their Assyrian and Egyptian predecessors, the Persian King also gathered rare, exotic

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as סחר (meaning "commercial activities"; see *HALOT*, 750). Boer takes the expression ומסחר הרכלים to mean in a derogatory sense "one who bustles about, a traveler, a middleman who acquires the exotic goods desired by the politically powerful and wealthy." While the alternative reading is possible, the derogatory sense risks an overinterpretation.

[833] Boer (*Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel*, 169) has correctly noted this narrative gap.

[834] See n. 637 above.

[835] For epigraphical evidence from the Middle Assyrian empire, see Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2:§46; from the Neo-Assyrian empire and ancient Egypt, see Elat, "The Economic Relations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire with Egypt," 22.

species from the subjugated peoples and maintained some species needing special climatic conditions in the royal paradises, viz. the royal resorts and hunting preserves.[836] Thus, the acquisition of exotic species, whether through tribute or import, became a sign of imperial strength and affluence, as well as a recognized characteristic of a Great King.

Solomon in the Image of the Persian King

The Wise and Just King

The portrayal of Solomon as a king of wisdom and justice, chosen and favored by YHWH to execute justice on behalf of YHWH, converges with the longstanding imperial ideology of ancient Southwest Asia and Egypt that emphasizes these kingly attributes or divine qualities bestowed on the king. Solomon is portrayed as a king of divinely endowed wisdom, surpassing all men and famed sages of the Mesopotamia and Egypt, and he excells in all spheres of wisdom. He executes justice and metes out reward and punishment to David's officials according to each's merits and failings and re-establishes the order of the kingdom at the beginning of his reign. Such imperial ideology is also identifiable in the Persian empire. One of the inscriptions found in Darius I's tomb at Naqš-i-Rustam (*DNb*), which is later repeated by Xerxes in an inscription erected at Persepolis (*XPl*), reads,

> A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this excellent work which is seen, who created happiness for man, who bestowed wisdom and efficiency on Darius the King. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahura-Mazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend of right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak. … The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward. Who does harm, him according to the damage thus I punish. It is not my desire that a man should do harm; nor indeed is that my desire, if he should do harm, he should not be punished."[837]

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[836] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 200–03; for instance, see Aelian, *De natura animalium* VII.1; for a translation, see Aelian, *On Animals, Volume II* (trans. A. F. Scholfield; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Quintus Curtius, *The History of Alexander*, V.2.10.
[837] *DNb*, §§7–8a, 8c; cited from Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 212; for the just-king ideology in the Persian

Darius I is portrayed as a king with divinely bestowed wisdom, who dispenses reward and punishment accordingly. Similarly, on the Bīsitūn Inscription of Darius I (*Db*), the king describes himself as a good king who rewards and punishes men according to justice.[838] The gigantic Bīsitūn Inscription was engraved on the cliff after Darius had quashed a series of local revolts, reestablished order, and consolidated his power in the Persian empire in the beginning of his reign. A relief that accompanies the inscription portrays Darius trampling the imposter king Gaumata, with nine dwarfed liar-kings lined up in bondage in front of him. Both the inscription and the accompanying relief utilized traditional imperial ideology as an ideological means of legitimating Darius I's anomalous ascension. The motifs in the beginning episodes of the Solomonic narrative—Solomon's consolidating the empire with the elimination of the treacherous officials, Solomon's desire for wisdom, and the subsequent wisdom-judgment (1 Kings 2–3)—together produce an image of a wise and just king, favored by YHWH. This image of Solomon is produced after the imperial ideology that was still dominant in the Deuteronomist signifying context. Inevitably, to their first readers/auditors, Solomon would have been analogically identified as the Persian King.

The King as an Intermediary with the Deity

The priest-king ideology, another longstanding ancient Southwest Asian imperial ideology, is identifiable in the Solomonic narrative. In the temple dedication ceremony (1 Kgs 8:1–66), Solomon appears as the head of the cult who officiates the entire ceremony and the intercessor between the people and YHWH offering blessings and prayers on behalf of all the assembly of Israel (כל־קהל ישראל; vv. 14, 22, 55). In addition, he plays a very prominent role as the sacrificer

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empire, see ibid., 212–13; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:471–72.
[838] See p. 318 above.

in the text. While priests are mentioned in the text, remarkably, never is a priest said to have offered sacrifices to Yhwh. Adonijah the throne pretender sacrifices sheep, oxen, and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, and a feast is offered to the royal princes and officials afterward (1:9, 19, 25).[839] The people sacrifice in the high place before the temple is built (3:2), and "all the congregation of Israel" [כל־עדת ישראל] or "all Israel" join Solomon in offering a countless multitude of sacrificial animals during the temple dedication ceremony (8:5, 62). Solomon's foreign wives offer incense and sacrifices to their own deities (11:8). Besides these incidents, the text portrays Solomon as Yhwh's leading sacrificial agent (3:4, 15; 8:5, 62–63, 64–65; 10:5). In sum, no priests give sacrifices in the text, but Solomon is more or less described as the priest-king.[840]

While the Persian King was technically not identified as the priest-king, they did take up prominent cultic roles. During military expeditions, the Persian King was the intermediary between the deities and the army, who made sacrifices to the deities before the campaign, as directed by the Magi.[841] If the king was absent, the sacrificial rite would be omitted. Thus, as Briant points out, the sacrificial rite was intended less to honor the gods than to exalt the power and benevolence of the king. During the festivals of Mithra, thousands of horses were offered to the deity. After the sacrificial rite, the participants partook of the meat in a feast.[842] Thus, the Solomonic narrative's emphasis on Solomon's role as the official sacrificer converges with the image of Persian King as described in the classical sources. As I have argued in Chapter 3 through my analysis of the intensifying devices, the multitudes of sacrificial animals offered by

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[839] Note that the text does not reveal the identity of the divine recipient of Adonijah's offering (another narrative gap that invites transferential reading).

[840] See also Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 495–96.

[841] Xenophon, *Cyr.* VIII.3.24; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 246

[842] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 246–47.

Solomon are better interpreted as an indicator of Solomon's imperial strength, a sign of the extravagance and power of the Solomonic Kingdom in the cultural fantasy.[843] This is similar to the notion of the sacrificial rite as a showcase of the Persian King's power and benevolence. To the first readers/auditors, the image of Solomon as the divine intermediary and the official sacrificer would have constituted an allusion to the Persian king.

The King as a Builder

The King as a builder is another typical imperial ideology in the ancient empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt. [844] The Persian kings adhered to this ideology and endeavored to be builder-kings par excellence. Their construction projects included structures as small as workshops, streets, cisterns, walls, monuments, irrigation canals, the Suez canal, paradises (royal parks), royal tombs, district centers, temples of gods, palaces, fortresses, and as big as capital cities.[845] Following this builder-king ideology, Solomon is portrayed as a variegated builder, whose building projects include a palace, a temple, the city wall, the Millo,[846] district centers (Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-horon, Baaltath, Tamar/Tadmor), depot cities, chariot cities, cavalry cities, and high places for his foreign wives' deities (1 Kgs 3:1; 5:15[Eng. 1]–8:66; 9:15–19, 24; 11:7, 27).[847]

For the Persian empire, infrastructures, public buildings, and elaborate royal centers were not just erected for administrative and practical necessity and for the maintenance of social order

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[843] See p. 171 above.
[844] See Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, 6–9.
[845] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 165–203, in particular 174 for Darius I's construction of the Suez Canal; Lloyd, "Darius in Egypt," 99–105.
[846] Millo (מלוא), literally meaning "filling up," may have been a rampart or foundation for an architectural structure. See Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 78.
[847] The LXX (10:25) includes the chariot cities and Jethermath.

and territorial control, but they also bear political, ideological significance.[848] They were the concrete iconic, awe-inspiring expressions of imperial strength and the empire's symbolic claim of territorial domination. The Persian Kings' building activities served as a means of legitimating the imperial authority over the subjugated peoples and in turn justifying the imperial mode of extraction. Palaces and temples were extravagantly decorated, with wall reliefs and monumental inscriptions that emphasize the superiority of the Great King and the inferiority of the subjugated peoples. The lists of craftsmen and laborers from different subject peoples and countries appear on the foundation charters and/or monumental inscriptions in Bīsitūn, Susa, and Persepolis; relief sculptures depict throne-bearers and orderly tribute presentation from different subject peoples at numerous imperial sites.[849] They represent the Persian King as a protector and benefactor venerated and desired by the subject peoples and as the patron of the cult, the chief caretaker, restorer, and extender of the temples, whose rule was mandated by the gods.[850] Royal beneficence to the subject peoples was a means of exchange of loyalty, support, and hence stable imperial revenues among the subject peoples. The empire's architectural splendors with exquisite decorations amounted to ideological space, visual publicity and declaration of imperial power and universal domination. Following the Persian kings' use of ideological space, Solomon's variegated building activities may be interpreted as a spatial declaration of Solomon's imperial power and universal dominion. They constitute an introjective identification, in which the Persian King's ostentatious display of imperial power is incorporated into the Solomonic Kingdom.

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[848] For the administrative and sociopolitical significance of regional temples, see Kenneth G. Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBLDS 125; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1992), 141–42.
[849] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 172–78; see also p. 332 and p. 354 for the "foundation charters" erected by Darius I in Susa.
[850] See Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, 1–26; Carol L. Meyers, "The Israelite Empire: In Defense of King Solomon," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 22/3 (1983): 412–28.

Among Solomon's building projects, the Jerusalemic temple-palace complex stands out as the core of the concentric structure of the Solomonic narrative (5:15[Eng. 1]–8:66), suggesting the symbolic significance of the temple-palace complex in the cultural fantasy.[851] Scholars in the past few decades have attempted to locate the prototype of the Solomonic temple through comparative studies. Generally, the oblong, tripartite structure is identified as a Syrian-Palestinian temple model commonly found in the Levantine region.[852] However, the discovery of similar models does not prove the historicity of the Solomonic temple, since similar structures identified in the Syrian territory have been dated from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period.[853] In addition, the large columns and capitals of the Solomonic temple are reminiscent of the Persian-style architecture rather than one in an early Iron Age.[854] Thus, the Solomonic temple seems to be a composite building bearing the realistic characteristics of a longstanding model of the Syrian-Palestine temple yet embellished with Persian-style architectural features.

As for the Solomonic palace, its architectural design bespeaks anachronism. As Liverani has pointed out, a tenth-century royal palace would have been similar to the Megiddo palace type of the Late Bronze Age or would have followed the Syrian model *bit ḫilāni*. However, the Solomonic temple represents the Achaemenid palace model of the sixth and fifth centuries centered around a columned structure known as the *apadana*, such as those found in Susa and Persepolis.[855] Although Liverani does not dismiss the possible historicity of the Solomonic temple and palace, he stresses such an enormous scale of a temple-palace complex in tenth-century Jerusalem is simply historically implausible. To him, the anachronism stems from the

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[851] See Figures 1.

[852] See Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 329; Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 234; Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 81–82.

[853] Mulder, *1 Kings: Volume 1 / 1 Kings 1–11*, 234.

[854] Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 329.

[855] Ibid., 327–38; see particularly 328 for a side-by-side comparison of the floor plan of the Solomonic palace and the terrace of Persepolis constructed during the reign of Darius I.

exiles' memory of the Josianic temple mixed with the added features of the contemporary architecture of the Persian period.[856] From a psychoanalytic perspective, the entire Solomonic temple-palace complex may be interpreted as a disguised, distorted form of the Persian imperial building, introjected into the Solomonic Kingdom and bespeaking the Yehudites' wish to be the Persian imperializer.

The preparations of the Solomonic temple also bear a couple of allusions to the building activities in the Persian period. First, the hiring of foreign craftsmen and indentured laborers to transport Lebanese timber for Persian construction projects is attested. Masons, carpenters, and Phoenician timber-porters were hired for the building of the Jerusalemic temple and paid with the funds allocated by Cyrus II (Ezra 3:7). As I pointed out in Chapter 6 with the foundation charters at Susa, Darius I hired craftsman and builders from different subject peoples for the construction of the Susa palace.[857] He also hired the Ionians and the Carians to transport Lebanese timber from Babylon to Susa.[858] Thus, Solomon's hiring of foreign craftsmen and laborers may be interpreted as an allusion to the Persian King's practices. Second, the mention of transporting the timber by sea to a designated place (1 Kgs 5:23[9]) reflects a well-established Phoenician practice of utilizing rafts for the purpose of traversing and transporting goods along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea,[859] which undoubtedly was also practiced in the Persian period. Antigonus, in his preparations for naval expeditions against Ptolemy in 312 B.C.E., is said to have hired eight thousand timber handlers and one thousand beasts of burden to transport Lebanese timber by sea to the shipyards.[860] The portrayal of Solomon's building

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[856] Ibid., 327–29.
[857] See also p. 332 and p. 354.
[858] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 166–67.
[859] Woolmer, *Ancient Phoenicia*, 92.
[860] Diodorus, *Lib. Hist.* XIX.58; see Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 379. Note that in preparation for the temple construction Solomon conscripted thirty thousand Israelites, seventy thousand burden bearers, and eighty thousand stonecutters (5:29 [Eng. 15]), which amount to one hundred eighty thousand laborers, twenty-fold of the total labor

preparations follows the labor and logistics policy in the construction activities of the Persian kings.

Besides the temple-palace complex, the district centers that Solomon has built may also be interpreted as an introjective identification with the Persian empire from a psychoanalytic perspective. Among these regional centers, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer stand out in the summary of Solomon's building projects in 1 Kgs 9:15. These cities had a long settlement history and were used as district centers and depot cities, along with other major cities in the satrapy of the Trans-Euphrates, for the collection of taxes and tariffs during the Persian period.[861] When the Persians inherited the Trans-Euphrates from the Neo-Babylonians, these cities were already major regional centers with fortified walls, public buildings, and well-established infrastructure. The Persians reused some Assyrian buildings and at the same time continued to develop these sites.[862] Archaeological remains, such as Attic pottery, silver vessels, and coins, datable to the Persian and Hellenistic periods are discovered in these sites. In particular, Hazor and Megiddo both had architectural structures—such as fortresses with an open courtyard and a casemate wall, as well as residential quarters —datable to and characteristic of the Persian period.[863] In comparison, Persian Jerusalem had a small settlement that covered about 2–2.5 hectares, and expansion of population and infrastructure occurs mainly the Late Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods.[864]

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force that Antigonus hired for his fleet production.

[861] See Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 26.

[862] For instance, the Persians' secondary use of a Neo-Assyrian palace and houses in Hazor and nearby Ayyelet ha-Shahar is identified through the pottery found in these buildings, which are almost exclusively dated to the Persian period. See R. Reich, "The Persian Building at Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar: The Assyrian Palace of Hazor?," *Israel Exploration Journal* 25 (1975): 233–37. The fortified wall and two-chambered gate in Megiddo were also reused and restored in the Persian period. See Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 26–27.

[863] For finds and architectural structures in Hazor and Megiddo dated to the Persian period, Betlyon, "A People Transformed," 26–38; Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible*, 1–8. For Persian finds in Gezer, see Dever, "Gezer," *NEAEHL* 2:506.

[864] Israel Finkelstein, "Persian Period Jerusalem and Yehud Rejoinders," in *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Crucial*

Because of the political significance of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer in the Persian period and their long history of occupation (all of them being occupied from the Early Bronze through the Persian period or even later), the first readers/auditors were likely to have been familiar with or at least known of these cities and the roles they played as strongholds within the Persian administration.

"Hazor," "Megiddo," and "Gezer" are to be interpreted as culturally bound, sociopolitical-specific signifiers. They occupied a place within the specific signifying context of the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors. These sites were included in the cultural fantasy precisely because their political significance and presumably their architectural structures were well known among the first readers/auditors in the Persian period. To them, their appearance in the Solomonic narrative would have provoked a sense of familiarity with the Persians' regional administration and building activities and had an effect on a psychic transference between the Solomonic Kingdom and the Persian empire.

The King as an Entrepreneur

Through his symbolic emulation of two famed international-trade ports, Tyre and Sheba, his monopoly in the intercontinental horse and chariot trades in Egypt and Asia Minor, and his success in maritime commercial activities, Solomon stands out as the leading entrepreneur of his time. This image of Solomon as a quintessential entrepreneur or profiteer also finds its parallel in the Greek historians' portrayal of the Persian King, whose profiteering attitude are often highlighted. For instance, in his description of the imperial career of Cyrus II, Xenophon likened the Persian king to a wise economist with great success in generating profit from the conquered

Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: Essays in Honor of Douglas A. Knight (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 544; ed. Jon L. Berquist and Alice Hunt; New York: T & T Clark, 2012), 49–62.

peoples and the peasants.[865] The Persian King was keen on extracting natural resources, building materials, and wealth from the subject peoples.[866] Thus, Solomon is a quintessential entrepreneur in the Solomonic Kingdom, just as the Persian Kings are the wise economists in the Greek tradition.

The King as a Wealth-Hoarder

Solomon's extravagant lifestyle and wealth-hoarding behavior, described in earlier chapters, come very close to the opulence of the Persian court life and the Persian Kings' ceaseless accumulation of wealth as described in the Greek tradition.[867] In their portrayal, the Persian Kings are not only described as wise economists; they are also stereotyped as wealth-hoarders who constructed the palaces at Susa and Persepolis not only as royal residences but also as their treasuries and storehouses.[868] In the description of Solomon's palace construction (1 Kgs 7:1–12), among the five chambers mentioned in the Solomonic palace the House of the Forest of the Lebanon is listed first; it is the biggest room in size (one hundred cubits long, fifty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high). The Hall of Pillars is less than one third of the size of the Forest of the Lebanon. As for the Hall of the Throne, which also functions as the Hall of Justice, and the Royal Couple's chambers, their sizes are simply not stated. Thus, the text spotlights the Forest of the Lebanon over other palatial compartments. Later in the Solomonic narrative, the narrator reveals that the Forest of the Lebanon is actually the royal treasury, where gold shields and gold vessels are stored and perhaps displayed as well (10:17, 21). Thus, just as the Persian

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[865] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 805.
[866] Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:669–72.
[867] For the former discussions on Solomon wealth-hoarding behavior, see pp. 173, 348–350; for the classical sources, see Briant *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 800–04.
[868] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 802.

counterpart, one of the main functions of the Solomonic palace is conspicuously for the depository of surpluses and luxury goods.

Briant points out that the Greek portrayal of the Persian Kings' hoarding may be read in two ways, either as a Greek stereotype or a historical truth. On the one hand, ideologically the Greek caricature of the luxurious and wealth-hoarding lifestyle of the Persian Kings is a rhetorical means of delegitimating the Persian empire, attributing its downfall to the decadence, avarice, and military impotency caused by their sedentary, effeminate opulent court life, and legitimating the rise of the Macedonian hegemony. On the other hand, the Persian Kings were imperializers whose main concern rested on extraction of resources, production, and productive forces that would lead to the capital increase.[869] Therefore, even the classical sources tend to smear the Persian Kings: the wealth accumulation is essentially the raison d'être of the empire's existence. Hence, the Persian Kings were wealth-hoarders, even though their wealth-hoarding habits were magnified in the ideological stereotype. The question is: Would the first readers/auditors have interpreted Solomon's wealth-hoarding behavior as a sign of weakness, in spite of the narcissistic semiotics of the cultural fantasy? Would polysemous or even ambivalent readings be allowed under the first readers'/auditors' signifying context? Could the Solomonic Kingdom's opulence and wealth accumulation be simultaneously interpreted as a denigrating stereotype, grandiosity, and hidden transcript of the inherent oppression of imperial power? I will come back to these questions in the end of this section.

The King as a Polygynist Par Excellence

There are two allusions to the Persian empire that the first readers/auditors may have

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[869] Ibid., 787–88, 804.

identified in Solomon's multiethnic harem (1 Kgs 11:1–5) through their transferential reading.

First the text differentiates between two types of women in Solomon's harem, the seven hundred "high-born ladies" (שרות) and three hundred "concubines" (פלגשים; v. 3), which could have triggered an association to the Greek historians' differentiation between the legitimate wives and concubines of the Persian Kings. The word שרות is used to designate noblewomen or women of aristocratic standing (see Judg 5:29; Esth 1:18; Isa 51:2; Lam 1:1). These women, though belonging to the Deuteronomic category of the forbidden women of "Canaanite" origins (1 Kgs 11:1–2; Deut 7:1–6),[870] have entered Solomon's female establishment. Although their status as Solomon's wives is delegitimated by the Deuteronomic law, their rank is still superior to that of the concubines by virtue of their high-born origins.

The Persian Kings were mostly monogamous and strictly endogamous; namely most of them had only one legitimate wife, who was chosen from the *ethno-classe dominante*. Darius I had a few legitimate wives but his polygamy may be attributed to the anomalous situation of his ascension.[871] While the Persian Kings were not polygamous, they were *polygynous* and did have royal concubines from the subject peoples, usually presented to them as tribute or captives.[872] Their legitimate wives are distinguished from the concubines by an official matrimonial ceremony, and only they could bear the king legitimate heirs, whereas concubines had no legitimate status, and so were their children who were considered illegitimate and blocked from heirship unless they were a lack of legitimate heirs.[873] In sum, the Persian Kings adhered to the endogamous principle and limited their association with non-Persian women to concubinage.

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[870] See also pp. 238 and 241 above.
[871] See Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia 559–331BC*, 35–82.
[872] Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 135; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 277–86; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:578; for girls presented as tribute to the Persian King, see Herodotus, *Hist.*, III.97; Est 2:2–3.
[873] See Herodotus, *Hist.*, III.2.

Given this signifying context, Solomon's strict exogamous practice not only would have produced a stark contrast with the Persian Kings' endogamous principle, but it would have set the Persian King as exemplary to the Israelite king. The Persian King respected the endogamous principle passed down from their ancestors, but Solomon in contrast repudiated the Deuteronomic law of YHWH and practiced strict exogamy. The text emphasizes the strict non-Israelite origin of all of Solomon's women, even if his encounter with the Queen of Sheba is counted as an ephemeral liaison (1 Kings 10), making none of Solomon's women of Israelite descent. The narrator never reprimands Solomon for his extreme polygynous practice, but does so for his exogamous relationships with the "Canaanite" women, which is explicitly stated as a breach of the Deuteronomic law (11:2).[874]

Second, Solomon's three hundred concubines may have been an allusion to the polygynous and sensual lifestyle that the Persian Kings purportedly practiced. As portrayed in the Greek tradition, the size of the Persian harem is remarkable. Artaxerxes II and Darius III reportedly had 300 or 360 concubines. According to the earliest tradition by Heracleides of Cumae (mid-fourth century B.C.E.), 300 women were on the road with Darius III; they slept by day and sang and played the harp by night to entertain the king and his company; and they were used by the king as concubines.[875] These women did more than entertainment, and they were recruited from the subject peoples based on their beauty and virginity for the sensual and sexual pleasure of the king.[876] The existence of 360 concubines in other classical sources may have stemmed from the repeated mention of the number 360 in Herodotus's accounts (*Hist.*, I.190; III.90; V.5), which is

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[874] I have argued above (p. 241) that this is a displaced motif of idolatry, seeking to scapegoat women of other ethnicities for the deviant cultic practices of Israelite men.

[875] See Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XII.514b; Athenaeus based his source on Heracleides of Cumae, *The Persian History* (*FGH* 689 F 1); see also Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:578, 594–95, 610.

[876] See Est 2:12–14; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 281–82.

a reference to the solar calendar of 360 days, thus representing "one for each day in the year," an idea that Diodorus Siculus attests (*Lib. Hist.* XVIII.77.5).[877] The existence of roughly 300 concubines seems to be a historical tradition rather than a fictive story. According to the letter that Parmenion sent to Alexander III, Darius III had allegedly abandoned 329 concubines who played musical instruments and sang for the king in Syria when he attempted to escape Alexander's pursuit.[878] Parmenion's letter is likely to have based on a Persian administrative document.[879] This implies that the tradition of 300 Persian concubines is likely to be historical.

Since the tradition of the 300 Persian concubines is traceable to Heracleides of the mid-fourth century B.C.E., it is reasonable that the tradition was a widespread one and the first readers/auditors of Yehud would have come across this anecdotal story about the sensual life of the Persian Kings. Through their transferential reading, Solomon's 300 concubines would have prompted an association to the 300 concubines of the Persian Kings. Solomon's polygynous practice would have been associated with that of the Persian Kings. To them, it would appear to be an allusion to the sensual and sexual life of the Persian Kings. The question remains: Would they interpret Solomon's polygynous exploits as glorification of the Israelite king or a denigration of him?

To the Greek historians, the emphasis on the Persian Kings' enormous harem constitutes another proof for the Persian Kings' opulence, but at the same time it is also a stereotype, alluding to the Persian King's decadence, military impotency, and effeminacy through his sexual

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[877] For the number 360, see Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* XXVII.1; Diodorus, XVII.77.5; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XIII.557b. For the derived number 365 based on the notion of daily supply, see Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* III.3.24; VI.6.8. For the discussion on the number of concubines that the Persian Kings had, see also Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 268–69, 280–81; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:600; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 136.

[878] Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XIII.607f–608a; see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 2:611–12; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 293; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 105.

[879] See Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Crumbs from the Royal Table: Foodnotes on Briant (pp. 297–306)," *Recherches récentes sur l'Empire achéménide, Topoi* 7 (1997): 333–38.

indulgence and uninhibited lifestyle. According to their portrayal, Darius III lived a luxurious and sensual lifestyle even when he was in military expeditions. This image of the king serves to create a contrast between the well-disciplined life of Alexander, to whom luxury items, concubines, and eunuchs were considered burdens and obstacles to have brought along in military campaigns (Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, V.1.6). Presumably, if the first readers/auditors had been influenced by the stereotypes used in the Greek traditions in their representation of the Persians Kings, it is plausible that they would have interpreted Solomon's extravagant, wealth-hoarding lifestyle and his enormous harem as a rhetoric of denigration and a sign of decadence and effeminacy. However, individual reader's/auditor's specific social location and his/her/hir own subjective experience would always affect his/her/hir own transferential reading. Presumably, imperialized Yehudites who collaborated closely with the Persians and benefited materially from this relationship may be more prone to identify with the narcissistic, grandiose tone of the narrative. Contrarily, those who were exploited and suffered, both mentally and physically, under the Persian hegemony may have demonstrated an ambivalent attitude toward the Solomonic Kingdom, whose prosperity and magnificence would be desired yet whose oppressive tendency would be hated. It was desired because it represented what was wished yet its access denied in real life. It was hated because it also represented the brutality of life under hegemonic imperialism, just as the Persians lived a luxurious life at the expense of their subjugated peoples. Since transferential readings are irreducibly subjective and heterogeneous, even readers/auditors belonging to the same social location may have interpreted the same text in the different light.

Solomon in the Counter-Image of the Persian King

One of the major subjects of Mesopotamian historical writings and Greek historiography is political (or military) history.[880] In fact, ancient Southwest Asian historical writings are essentially imperial discourse of military aggrandizement, in which the Great Kings glorify themselves by bragging about their military prowess, their military exploits, and achievements in expanding their territories and subjugating the surrounding countries. While the early Greek historians write about universal history, their focus was on the political (or military) history of the empires of their times. Not only that is the military dominance never mentioned in the Solomonic narrative or the larger Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, but the reliance on military prowess is also emphatically dismissed, underrated, or omitted.

To the first readers/auditors, the Deuteronomist's negative view on militarism would have produced a stark contrast to the warrior-king ideology of their times. The warrior king is a prominent motif in the Greek sources. The Persian King's physical stature, handsomeness, and bravery in war and hunting are highlighted as justifications for his royal position.[881] On the Persian inscriptions, the king is described as a warrior par excellence and the commander-in-chief in military campaigns, exceptional in his valor and intelligence.[882] In the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, this warrior-king ideology is explicitly denounced in 1 Sam 16:1–13. Eliab, Jesse's son, is rejected for kingship in spite of his physical stature. Although David, Jesse's youngest son, is florid and handsome, the Philistines disdain him for his boyishness. Although Saul, Absalom, and Adonijah all have great stature (1 Sam 10:23; 2 Sam 2 Sam 14:25; 1 Kgs 1:6),

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[880] See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 55–94; Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 55–187.

[881] For instance, see Herodotus, *Hist.* I.136; VII.187; Xenophon, *Anab.*IX.1–6; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 212–13; 225–26; L. Allen, *The Persian Empire*, 98–100.

[882] See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 90, 210. On the Bīsitūn Inscription, Darius I portrayed himself as the commander-in-chief in quashing local revolts. See Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, 248–71.

YHWH either dismisses or rejects them for kingship. Thus, the Deuteronomist explicitly rejected the warrior-king ideology. For them, YHWH alone was the warrior par excellence and the commander-in-chief of the Israelite army, on whom Israel's military successes solely depended.

The Deuteronomist rejected not only the warrior-king ideology but also the notion of hegemonic legitimacy over the subject peoples based on military superiority, which was a claim made by the Persian empire. As I have argued in the section on the Semiotization of Wisdom in Chapter 4, Solomon's wish for understanding and discernment to rule the people expressed in his first dream (3:9) constitutes a subtle wish to emulate his father David's militaristic regime by transforming it into a pacifist mode of wisdom subjugation. Solomon's first dream bespeaks a collective narcissistic fantasy to be a pacifist-imperializer, in contrast of the militaristic-imperializer that the first readers/auditors had experienced under their Persian overlords.[883] Thus militarism is subtly critiqued and repudiated. Subsequently in the storyline, there is simply no need for Solomon to resort to a coercive mode of subjugation since subject populations voluntarily submit to the Israelite King as embodied wisdom (10:23–25). Solomon's freedom from hostility is contrasted with David's preoccupation with wars and sanguineness, which is described as an obstacle to the installation of a temple (5:17–19[3–5]; 1 Chr 22:8–9; 28:3). Even though the equestrian strength of the Solomonic Kingdom is repeatedly emphasized (5:6–8[4:26–28]; 10:26–29), there is an absence of direct references to equestrian warfare. Solomon's equestrian achievements are expressed in terms of commercial investment with the emphasis on his entrepreneurial domination in the intercontinental horse and chariot trades. Furthermore, among the enormous size of forced laborers that Solomon conscripts, none of them is put in military services, which deviated from the Persian imperial policy. In the Persian empire,

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[883] See pp. 216–233.

military conscription was a form of levy demanded on both the *ethno-classe dominante* and the subject peoples, who were to provide troops and armaments on royal requisition.[884] Although horses, chariots, and contingents were important assets to ancient imperial apparatuses, their functions in the Solomonic narrative are reduced to profiteering and burden-bearing.

Even though the Solomonic narrative mentions military defeat in a part of Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8:46), military personnel among Solomon's state officials (9:22), weaponry presented to Solomon as tribute (10:25), and even military assembly (12:21), no warfare actually happens. Military dominance remains a potentiality that is never been actualized. When Rehoboam gathers a troop of 180,000 soldiers in preparations for war against the northern Israelites, the military action is forestalled by YHWH and never actualized. The mention of Rehoboam's organized military action against the northern Israelites serves the rhetorical function of augmenting the tyrannical traits that he implicitly inherits from his father. This tyrannical tendency of monarchism, parallel to the Greek political Zeitgeist of the fifth and fourth centuries, is arguably what the Deuteronomist sought to critique. The gist is that militarism, as a tyrannical trait, has never been approved and is even explicitly denounced by YHWH in the Solomonic narrative.

The deemphasis and disapproval of militarism is consistent throughout the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story. Israel's continuous hegemony and military successes, according to the Deuteronomist, are assured not by military potency but by divine providence and Israel's (or metonymically its king's) obedience to YHWH. The Deuteronomist rejects the warrior-king ideology that emphasizes physical prowess and stature as a prerequisite for successful kingship and military superiority as a legitimation for political dominance. Where military actions are required, the

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[884] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 795–96; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 103.

scale of the army and the role of weaponry and equestrian forces are downplayed. Victory is

solely attributed to divine interventions. Divine deliverance is characterized by miraculous

events, independent of the size of the army and the abundance of armaments. To the

Deuteronomist, YHWH alone is Israel's warrior-king, the commander-in-chief, who alone fights

for Israel against all principalities. Reliance on armaments and military reinforcement from

foreign allies are repeatedly denounced.[885] Stories of the few vanquishing the numerous or the

weak vanquishing the strong are retold in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story to emphasize divine

deliverance. Ancient Israel's warrior-god ideology differs from that of the empires of ancient

Southwest Asia, in which the Great King was regarded as the great warrior who fought in front

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[885] See Deut 17:14–20; 1 Sam 11:1–15; 13:1–15; 14:1–23; 17:1–58; Judg 7–8; 2 Kgs 18:9–12. For instance, Saul defeats the Ammonites with an army of a colossal size, composed of 300,000 Israelites and 30,000 Judeans (1 Sam 11:8), which is against the Deuteronomist's warrior-god ideology that rejects reliance on military forces. While Saul has proved his military prowess and thus legitimized his kingship and is acclaimed by the Israelites (11:12–15), his military success is hailed as a personal achievement and not regarded as a sign of trust in YHWH. The narrative proceeds to describe Saul's sacrilege and distrust of Samuel (and thus also YHWH), YHWH's rejection, and ultimately his tragic death in the battlefield. Thus, military prowess, even though clearly a sign of kingly virtue in ancient Southwest Asia, is contrarily depicted by the Deuteronomist as a failure to trust YHWH. Later, when Saul is at war with the Philistines, the Israelite soldiers become afraid of the enormous size of the Philistine troops, with an equestrian strength of 30,000 chariots and 6,000 horsemen (13:1–5). Saul waits for Samuel at Gilgal, but Samuel does not arrive at the appointed time. In fear that more soldiers would desert the camp shall Samuel further tarry, Saul offers the burnt offering himself. By that time, only 600 soldiers remain (v. 15). After Samuel' arrival, he reprimands Saul for his failure to trust in God. However, Samuel does not elaborate what constitutes the distrust. In view of the Deuteronomist's warrior-god ideology, Saul's distrust is manifested through his reliance on military power. He oversteps Samuel's authority because he fears that his dwindling army would not be able to withstand the giant army of the Philistines. This would be considered a distrust according to the internal logic of the narrative. Had Saul waited for Samuel to come, even with more deserted soldiers, he would have won the battle, because YHWH alone is the sole assurance of victory; even the few shall defeat the numerous—a motif followed in the subsequent narrative (14:1–23). Jonathan demonstrates his trust in YHWH by recognizing that YHWH is the decisive factor of victory and "nothing could hinder YHWH from delivering by many or by few" (v. 6). In their foray into the Philistine camp, Jonathan and his armor-bearer kill twenty Philistines (v. 14). Jonathan's trust in YHWH contrasts with Saul's trust in military strength. Two have killed twenty (14:14). Jonathan's trust in Yahweh contrasts with Saul's trust in military strength, an attitude that the Deuteronomist strongly disapproved. Taking into the consideration the warrior-king ideology that defines divine deliverance as the only way to military success, it is clear that divine disapproval of Saul is not brought about because of the people's demand of a king (see David M. Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul: An Interpretation of a Biblical Story* [JSOTSup 14; Sheffield, England: Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1980], 125) or his inappropriate assumption of Samuel's priestly role of offering sacrifices (see J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel, Vol.2: The Crossing Fate* [Assen, Netherlands, Van Gorcum,1986], 44; Aelred Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* [Analecta Biblica 35; Rome, Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969],73–74), but because of Saul's reliance on the size of his army and military strength for victory.

of his army with divine mandate and blessings.[886] Israel's specific warrior-god ideology is best epitomized with a line in prophet Zechariah's oracle to Zerubbabel, לא בחיל ולא בכח כי אם־ברוחי "Neither by [military] force, nor by strength, but by my [YHWH's] spirit" (Zech 4:7). The Deuteronomist subverted the imperial ideology of the warrior-king upheld by the Persians and adhered to the specific warrior-god ideology to the renunciation of any reliance on tangible military forces and the immensity of troops.

In contrast to their rejection of the warrior-king ideology, the Deuteronomist adhered to the imperial ideology of the pious king to the extent that the fulfillment of obligations demanded by the exclusive Yahwist cult becomes the sole criterion on which the virtue of a king is assessed. The Israelite king is not required to be an exemplary warrior, but only an exclusive Yahwist devotee par excellence. The king's loyalty to YHWH is the sole assurance of imperial success, military victory, and continuous hegemony over the imperial subjects. In this sense, Yahwism has become a resistant ideology to ancient imperialism that upholds the warrior-king ideology and seeks to justify its hegemony by military superiority.

Considering that military exploits and the emphasis on military might are part and parcel of the imperial discourses of ancient Southwest Asia and Greek historiography, the omission of militarism in the Solomonic narrative constitutes what ideological critic Terry Eagleton calls a

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[886] The scope of this study does not allow me to elaborate in detail the warrior-god ideology in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story and the Hebrew Bible. However, it is a thesis long established yet argued differently. See Friedrich Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, vol. 1 of *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer* (Leipzig: Deiterich, 1901); Henning Frederiksson, *Jahwe als Krieger: Studien zum alttestamentlichen Gottesbild* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1945); Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (trans. and ed. Marva J. Dawn; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1991); trans. *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958); Rudolf Smend, *Yahweh War & Tribal Confederation: Reflections upon Israel's Earliest History* (trans. Max Gray Rogers; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970); trans. of *Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund: Erwägungen yur ältesten Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Manfred Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im alten Israel,'" *ZAW* 84 (1972): 460-93; Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1980). Gerhard von Rad (ibid., 41–51) is to be credited with the observation that the warrior-god ideology in the biblical texts differs from the ancient Mesopotamian counterpart in that YHWH as a divine warrior actually fights for his people and rejects Israel's reliance on armaments and human or equestrian power.

"measurable absence."[887] "Measurable absence" is what the author does not say or cannot say yet should/could have said. The absence conceals a hidden or unexpressed intent, such as to avoid sensitive issues that may provoke the readers' unfavorable reactions or feelings against the author. Thus, an ideological critic should take hint of the absence and be suspicious of the authorial intent. "Measurable absence" does not simply refer to narrative details that are left out or nonexistent, producing indeterminate and ambiguous narrative lacunae that engage readers' transferential interpretations and filling-in. Neither is it a narrative quality that Erich Auerbach describes as "fraught with background."[888] Narratives are fraught with background (be it geographical, temporal, physical, circumstantial, or psychological) that is suggested but never explicitly expressed. The background adds layers of meaning to a narrative and puts the narrative development in suspense. These suggested-yet-unexpressed narrative details are always in the background of the reading act and invite probing and interpretation.[889] Thus narrative background exists in spite of their nebulous existence. Contrarily, "measurable absence" is something that should have existed yet nonetheless does not.

The omission of Solomon's military exploits amidst the multiple aggrandization of the prosperity and magnificence of his kingdom deviates from the conventional signifying practice of ancient imperial discourse of aggrandizement, in which the king's military exploits supposedly constitute the principal ingredient, not an optional one. The Solomonic narrative's omission of this main ingredient produces a textual anomaly that is measurable and invites explanations. However, the absence should not be filled up with what is supposed to be there as some scholars have done.[890] Such gap-filling confuses absence with silence, suggesting militarist

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[887] See Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology*, 72; see n. 287 above.
[888] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 12–13.
[889] Ibid.
[890] For instance, see Brueggemann, *Solomon*, 128–29; Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its

elements were presumably present even though they are not expressed in the text. The reconstitution of the missing motif of military dominance goes beyond what the text warrants, and such interpretation may be considered a "secondary revision" by rationalization from a psychoanalytic perspective. Through rationalization, the missing narrative details, what is supposedly included yet excluded, are reconstituted into the text, which is an act of overinterpretation.

There are two helpful perspectives from which to view a measurable absence. First, from an ideological perspective, it is likely that militaristic sentiments have been intentionally left out to avoid imperial censorship. Considering that the Deuteronomist were literate people associated with the Persian empire and that their signifying activities may have been carried out with imperial censorship, whether real or imagined, it is plausible that they would want to eliminate sensitive content that the Persian overlords would have interpreted as an instigation of militaristic, rebellious sentiments among the subject peoples or a declarative statement against their authority.[891] The claim of military superiority or an expressed desire for military dominance, even embedded in cultural memory, would have led to the Persians' unnecessary suspicion, censorship, and even suppression of their signifying activities. Any portrayal of military dominance of the Solomonic Kingdom would have produced a combatant image of the Yehudites' ancestors and in turn alerted the Persian overlords of the Deuteronomist's motive and purpose of producing such literature. The Deuteronomist adhered to the specific warrior-god ideology that rejected any forms of self-reliance (whether military forces, the size of the army, or

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International Setting," 215–28.

[891] The biblical writers' concern over possible political censorship may be inferred by the pro-Persian propaganda within the Hebrew Bible. Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 44:28–45:1), Ezra, and Nehemiah—all contain unabashedly pro-Persian content favorable to the Persian hegemony. The Persian Kings appear in these texts as the divinely appointed deliverers of the people, patrons of the Jerusalem cult, and the political authority of Jerusalem.

foreign aids), which, as opposed to a militaristic attitude, would actually have bred inaction and a resignation attitude, namely leaving everything to Y_HWH and seeking resolutions on metaphysical terms. Rather than posing real threats to the Persian imperializer, such an attitude would have alleviated their possible concerns over the rise of militaristic sentiments among the Yehudites, and thus it would have been perceived as a welcomed ideology from a pragmatic viewpoint. As for the ideology of the divine mandate for imperial hegemony, the Persians had shown themselves to be resourceful in utilizing its propagandistic value to project their own legitimate rule among the subject peoples, as numerous sources, such as the Cyrus Cylinder, the Inscription of Udjaḥorresnet, Deutero-Isaiah (44:28–45:1) and the book of Ezra (1:2–4; 6:2–5), attest.[892]

Second, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the omission of the motif of military dominance and the warrior-king ideology from the text provides further textual support for the thesis of the Solomonic Kingdom being as a cultural fantasy of the imperialized Yehudites produced through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification. According to Klein, introjection is a selective process that involves both the splitting of the subject of introjection and the introjected object.[893] Introjection functions as an ego-gratifying psychic process through which the good, desirable aspects of the object are introjected into the psyche, while the bad, hostile aspects of the object are ejected. Only the aspects that the subject identifies and from which the subject draws pleasurable psychic benefit are introjected, whereas all hostile aspects that threaten and disturb the psychic equilibrium of the subject are left out. The introjected representation of the object is thus always a fragmentary, condensed, partial, and idealized version of the object. The

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[892] Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97; Alan B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjaḥorresnet a Collaborator's Testament," 166–80.
[893] Klein, "Notes on some Schizoid Mechanism," 99–110.

object is idealized through the elimination of the bad, hostile aspects and the exaggeration of the good aspects in order to maximize the pleasurable effects of the introjection.[894] Through the psychic process of introjection, both the introjected object and the subject of introjection are split. The object is split into the introjected aspects and ejected aspects, and the subject is split in the sense that the splitting of the object stems from the subject's psychic conflict, namely from his/her/hir ambivalent attitude toward the object of introjection, which is both desired and hated.

The Solomonic Kingdom as a distorted, disguised form of the Persian empire reflects this selective process of introjection. As I have argued, the Solomonic Kingdom bears numerous allusions to the Persian empire. King Solomon is characterized in the image of the Persian King. In producing the Solomonic Kingdom, the Persian empire functions as the negative from which the Solomonic Kingdom is developed. The inclusion of narrative details identifiable in the Persian empire or the Persian King may be interpreted as the introjected good, desirable aspects of the latter. The good aspects are amplified through various rhetorical means to increase the gratifying effect of the fantasy. By the same token, the measurable absence may be interpreted as an ejection of the bad, hostile aspects of the Persian empire under which the imperialized Yehudites suffered and were traumatized, such as the Persians' militaristic aggression and claim of military dominance. This process reflects the Deuteronomist's desire to take in all privileges, imperial power, and affluence enjoyed by the Persian imperializer, except that they did not wish to bear the aggressive traits of the imperializer. Many aspects of the Persian empire are projected into the Solomonic Kingdom—its dominion, privileges, power, imperial ideologies, opulence, entrepreneurial success, administrative structure, system of taxation, and regional policies—

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[894] Ibid.

albeit in a fragmentary, condensed form; however, the imperial ideology of the warrior-king and the claim of military superiority and dominance over the subject peoples are expelled.

The Solomonic Kingdom is the idealization of the Persian empire without its bad, hostile aspects, produced through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification. This idealized Persian empire is incorporated into the Yehudites' shared ancestral past in the form of the Solomonic heyday. Through the Solomonic Kingdom, the Yehudites participated in the Deuteronomist's cultural fantasy and took on the desired aspects of the imperializer to a large extent as though these belonged to their own collective past. What is theirs (the imperializer's) has, through their participation in the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom, been identified as ours in the psychoanalytic temporality. The cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom reflects foremost the Yehudites' ambivalent attitude towards the Persian imperializer, whose imperial traits they simultaneously desired and hated.

The ideological and psychoanalytic explanations of the measurable absence of militaristic elements in the Solomonic narrative are not mutually exclusive. The human psyche is capable of functioning on multiple layers. The fear of imperial censorship is a form of psychic conflict, stemming from the sociocultural constraints on the subject's expression of desire, which in traditional psychoanalytic language is called the superego. The fear of imperial retaliation may be real or imagined; however, the very thought of anticipated retaliation would be sufficient to cause the Yehudites to have refrained from including content that might provoke their imperializer. The fear of persecution is what constitutes the hostile aspect of the introjection.

Conclusions

The Persian empire that the Solomonic Kingdom takes on is reminiscent of the Persian empire as portrayed in the Greek literature. Its territorial vastness, universal dominion, relations

with other regional powers, administrative structure, entrepreneurial success, opulence, and exploitative protection policies, even the king's profiteering, wealth-hoarding behavior, polygynous lifestyle, and impiety at the end—all may be identified in the characterization of the Persian Kings in classical sources. It is plausible that oral traditions and anecdotal stories about the Persian royal house were propagated and widely circulated throughout the empire. These tales became the very substance of the Greek historians' embellished accounts of the Persian empire, which in turn were widely spread in the empire. The Deuteronomist's portrayal of the Solomonic Kingdom is reminiscent of the anecdotal and stereotypical stories found in the Greek sources. Presumably, the Deuteronomist were exposed to the Greek sources and/or the widely-circulated tales on which the Greek historians drew through their signifying activities. They constitute the main source for their conceptualization of the Persian empire and the main fantasy-source for their formulation of the Solomonic Kingdom. The Deuteronomist stereotyped the Israelite King just as the Greek historians had stereotyped the Persian Kings, emphasizing Solomon's imperial success, wealth-hoarding affluence and his debauchery as the cause of the Solomonic Kingdom's eventual downfall. In view of the literary affinity, it is plausible that the Yehudites interpreted the Solomonic Kingdom ambivalently and contradictorily as both an expression of their hidden wish to take the imperializer's privileged, dominant position and simultaneously as a critique of the imperializer's oppressive traits.

The Solomonic Kingdom produced primarily in the image of the Persian empire constitutes a familiar world appearing in an unfamiliar form, which Freud defines as the uncanny (German: *unheimlich*).[895] Underlying the uncanny is the ambivalent, uneasy coexistence of the *heimlich* (homely or familiar) and the *unheimlich* (unhomely or unfamiliar). Because the familiar returns

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[895] See Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," *SE* 17:217–52; Ellmann, Introduction to *Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism*, 4.

in an unfamiliar form, it produces the immediate sense of familiarity and uncanniness in the unconscious even though the reading/listening subject may not be able to recognize or name the familiar immediately. It is a *déjà vu*, mysteriously familiar yet unnameable. Although the Solomonic narrative contains numerous allusions to the Persian empire, the Persian empire appears only in a spectral form of the Solomonic Kingdom that may escape the recognition of the conscious mind. To the Yehudites, its presence may be felt, but it is a presence that may escape signification. Even if the text may have elicited a strong sense of familiarity among the Yehudites, the rediscovery of the familiar would still be subject to individual reader's/auditor's analogizing ability and the extent of his/her/hir contact and familiarity with the Persian empire. If the first readers/auditors were able to identify the familiar even in its distorted, disguised form, the rediscovery would generate pleasurable affects in the psychic economy.[896] Whether or not a Yehudite reader/auditor could rediscover the familiar, the wish to take the Persian imperializer's privileged and dominant position may still be substitutively gratified through the incorporation of its good, desirable aspects into the Solomonic Kingdom. Through the Solomonic Kingdom, the discourse of the Other becomes the discourse of Us. Their privileged and dominant position becomes ours. "They are the empire" becomes "we are the empire." The desire to take the place of the imperializer is gratified through the displacement of the Persian empire and the Solomonic Kingdom made possible through the return of the familiar in unfamiliar form, whether or not the first readers/auditors were able to name the familiar.

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[896] Freud's (*Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, 8:122–24) observation on the rediscovery of the familiar in jokes runs true in general for literature embedded with the uncanny. Since the text contains a few Doppelgänger, whether characters within the text itself (Bathsheba to the Queen of Sheba, Absalom to Adonijah) or identifiable historical counterparts (Solomon to the Persian King, the Solomonic Kingdom to the Persian empire), and metonymic representations of identifiable political powers (the Pharaoh to Egypt, Hiram to Tyre/Phoenicia, the Queen of Sheba to Arabia), the pleasurable effects of rediscovering the familiar could potentially happen in multiple layers of the meaning.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the Solomonic Kingdom not only reveals that the Yehudites' object of desire is the Persian empire, but also that their desire is to be the object of desire (the imperializer) or their desire of the object's desire.[897] This desire is compensatory satisfied through the incorporation of the idealized Persian empire into their own monarchic past manifested as the Solomonic Kingdom, as a part of their shared identity. The fantasy of incorporation is defined as an unconscious psychic process of absorbing attributes or potency recognized in the object of desire through the consumption of a body part or bodily discharges of the object.[898] The Solomonic narrative may be interpreted as a literary or symbolic means of incorporation, in which the attributes of the Persian empire are textually incorporated into the Solomonic Kingdom as part of the Yehudites' shared history and their collective identity. Textual incorporation occurs frequently in the unconscious even among ordinary people. Through the act of narration, a benevolent act of a friend may be described as one's own benevolent act. An idea originating from a friend is reproduced as one's own idea without the subject's awareness of the transference taking place. The Deuteronomist's introjective identification with the Persian empire happens as a textual incorporation. The imperial ideologies, administrative policies, system of taxation, and entrepreneurial success, identified as the Persian empire's, are attributed to the Solomonic Kingdom as a part of the collective history of the Yehudites.

The Solomonic Kingdom is a spectral form of the idealized Persian empire, its institutional Doppelgänger, incorporated with its imperial attributes, structure, and practices—all of its good, desirable aspects. Similarly, King Solomon epitomized the wished-for imperial grandiosity and power. At the same time, the bad, hostile aspects of the Persian empire are rejected.

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[897] See p. 111 above on the colonized's "mimetic desire."
[898] See Schafer, *Aspects of Internalization*, 20–23.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Fantasy-Thoughts, Fantasy-Work, Fantasy-Sources of the Solomonic Kingdom

The Solomonic Kingdom in the Larger Context of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story

Although many biblical scholars agree that the "Deuteronomistic History" emerged from imperial contexts as a literary production of the subjugated Judeans or Yehudites, the effects of imperialism on the psychology of the imperialized and their signifying practice had not been given due attention in the historical-critical approach. This study is an attempt to employ postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories to probe these relations in the cultural production of the Solomonic Kingdom.

Building on the historical critics' view of the literary integrity of Deuteronomy–Kings, this study takes a set of assumptions different from the traditional historical-critical methods. First, it rejects internal literary analysis as a means of historical-critical investigation and emphasizes that all signifiers are situated, whose meanings to the writer(s) and their first readers/auditors must be probed within the sociocultural, literary, and political matrices of their signifying context. Second, due to the irreducible heterogeneity and inconsistency in human thoughts, textual inconsistencies, contradictions, ambiguities, and tensions must be considered as integrals of the signifying practice, including the processes of composition and textual transmission. They are assumed to have reflected the psychic conflicts and defensive mechanisms of the Deuteronomist. However, some allowances are given to inadvertent scribal errors. Third, in accordance with the characteristics displayed in ancient historical writings, the text has been treated as an "epic

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history," neither fully historical nor fully fictive, with historically identifiable elements commingled inextricably with fictive elements. Neither historicity nor historical trustworthiness of the Solomonic narrative is assumed a priori; rather, the Solomonic narrative is subject to textual analysis in search of literary conventions, rhetorical devices, and psychic mechanisms involved in the productivity.

The Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story belongs to the developmental trend of the "nationalistic" local history catalyzed by Persian imperialism and Hellenism from the fifth century B.C.E. onward. It contains numerous literary and rhetorical affinities to the local history, asserting and imagining the collective past of the Yehudites as a grandiose imperial power. Since it retains literary characteristics of ancient Southwest Asian epical traditions, it cannot be viewed as a direct descendant of the Greek historiographical tradition, but rather as a hybrid genre of "epic history." Inferring from the larger cultural and literary development in the Greek and the Mesopotamian worlds, the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story is a product of the late fourth century B.C.E. I have shown that in their imagining of the Solomonic Kingdom the Deuteronomist had utilized and combined diverse, fragmentary, displaced traditions identifiable in different imperial periods. Thus, the Deuteronomist (Hi)Story is considered as an accumulative and composite narrative, and as a whole it resists dating to any specific period.

Fantasy-Thoughts and Fantasy-Work

Following a contemporary Freudian model of fantasy as a disguised wish fulfillment for a repressed wish unsatisfied and/or unsatisfiable in real-life situations, I argue that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy that bespeaks the imperialized Yehudites' wish to take the place of the Persian imperializer and simultaneously critique the brutalizing, oppressive traits and

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militaristic rule of the Persian empire. First, by positing the signifiers within the sociocultural, literary, and political contexts of the Deuteronomist, I have shown that the text contains multiple lexical hints, wish-motifs, thematic elements, rhetorical devices, and textual traits of grandiosity and entitlement. These textual features corroborate that the Solomonic Kingdom is a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism, reflecting the Yehudites' wish to be a superior ethnic group. The "narcissistic traits" of the text are likely to have stemmed from the Yehudites' imperialism-conditioned inferiority complex.

Second, I have argued that the Solomonic narrative has been at the very outset semiotized and eroticized to imbue the fantasy with an extra boost of libidinal energies. The search for David's bedmate in the beginning establishes the double signification of erotic desire and ambitious desire. The double signification persists to the end of the narrative through the semiotization of wisdom (with hidden grandiose and erotic desires) in which libidinal energies are transposed subtly from Lady Wisdom of the sapiential traditions to the King Wisdom, the parallel signification of imperialization and multiethnic erotic privileges, and the false association between illicit erotic desire and cultic infidelity. The themes of imperial ambition, wisdom, diplomatic affairs, and cultic obedience are semiotized and eroticized, charging the Solomonic narrative with excitatory and libidinal energies that heighten the gratifying effects of the fantasy.

Third, the major characters are metonymic figures of the territorial domains, each a composite character playing multiple yet conflicting roles in their dealings with Solomon. The Pharaoh, the metonymic Egypt, is Solomon's father-in-law, his trade partner, and the asylum provider of Solomon's enemies. Hiram of Tyre, the metonymic Phoenicia, is Solomon's vassal-ally, a bronzesmith, and Solomon's maritime exploration partner, who plays the role of

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Solomon's imperialized helper, whose country's natural resources, productive labor, craftsmanship, and navigation technologies are exploited to the imperial interests of the Solomonic Kingdom. The Queen of Sheba, the metonymic Arabia, plays the multiple roles of Solomon's tributary, suitress, and surrogate mother. These major foreign potentates are composed through a condensation of displaced, fragmentary, distorted, and anachronistic traditions of different imperial eras. Their relations with Solomon serve to place Solomon in the international scene of politics and trade. Solomon surpasses each of them in the form of symbolic subjugation or contest. Their subjugated positions in relation to Solomon bespeak a deep-seated fantasy of the Deuteronomist and their first readers/auditors to take the privileged, dominant position of the Persians in their precarious relationships with Egypt, Phoenician city-states, and Arabia through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification, subject-object reversal, and projection/introjection.

Finally, the Solomonic Kingdom bears numerous allusions to the Persian imperial apparatus and imperial ideologies. Its territorial vastness, universal dominion, relations with other regional powers, administrative structure, entrepreneurial success, opulence, and exploitative protection policies, even the king's profiteering, wealth-hoarding behavior, polygynous lifestyle, and impiety at the end conform to the portrayal of the Persian empire in the Greek tradition, except for the omission of the warrior-king ideology, making the Solomonic Kingdom a specter of the Persian empire, albeit in a condensed, fragmentary, distorted, and disguised form. In turn, Solomon is the disguised Doppelgänger of the Persian King. The allusions and omission further bolster the thesis of the Solomonic Kingdom as a cultural fantasy of the imperialized Yehudites produced through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification. Only the good, desirable aspects of the Persian empire (its opulence, imperial dominion, imperial splendor, and privileges)

are introjected into the Solomonic Kingdom, while its bad, hostile aspects, namely its militaristic traits, under which the imperialized Yehudites presumably suffered and were traumatized, are omitted.

The selective incorporation of idealized aspects of the object of desire and the omission of the threatening aspects increases the gratifying efficacy of the fantasy and minimize the hostile, repugnant aspects associated with their forbidden, inexpressible wish to take the Persian imperializer's dominant and privileged position. The Yehudites wished to be entitled to the Persians' privileges, imperial power, and territorial right over the Trans-Euphrates, their imagined ancestral country. This libidinal wish, if expressed overtly, would have been considered an anti-Persian sentiment and might have induced feelings of guilt over the breach of their allegiance to the Persian overlords and the anxiety over anticipated retaliation. The imperial circumstances would lead to the repression of their forbidden, inexpressible desire. However, the repressed desire will persist in the psyche, and the motility toward discharge will eventually build up again. The Solomonic Kingdom allows the wish to be expressed in a disguised form that could bypass psychic inhibitions stemming from fear and guilt and satisfy the Yehudites' repressed wish. Besides the libidinal wish to possess what the imperializer has, there are also hostile wishes to express their feelings of discontent and disgust toward the imperializer's brutalizing, oppressive acts and militaristic rule (particularly in 1 Kgs 11:1–12:24). The disguised expression of the hostile wish serves to avoid the arousal of any feelings of unpleasure, namely guilt and fear stemming from imperial censorship, and yields pleasurable feelings through compensatory satisfaction.

The cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom provides a temporary relief from the harsh and demeaning reality of imperialism. Repressed affects and disruptive urges associated with the

forbidden wishes may be discharged and psychic equilibrium be restored. Joseph Sandler refers to the sustenance of an inner psychic balance and the minimization of disturbing affects as the "gyroscopic/stabilizing function of unconscious phantasy."[899] The gyroscope of unconscious fantasy regulates psychic processes in order to maintain the balance between generating maximal pleasure and minimal unpleasure, while forbidden, repressed desires are gratified without putting the subject's psychological well-being at stake, and they may even restore psychic balance from existing disturbances. In this sense, the Solomonic Kingdom serves the Yehudite community more than by establishing their collective identity through the construction of a myth of origins or providing storytelling entertainment would have. It also serves the purpose of self-preservation as a textual outlet of expressing a repressed, forbidden wish that may put their life in danger should they choose to express it in blatant terms.

Fantasy-Sources

There are multiple sources from which the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom originated. Foremost of all is the ideational and affective content of the disguised wish that stems from the imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious. This content comprises (1) their deep-seated, hidden wish to take the dominant, privileged position of their Persian overlords and to possess their wealth and power, (2) their fear of the imperializer's persecutory reactions, and (3) their resentment of the imperializer's oppressive and exploitative acts. The desire, fear, and resentment stem from the Yehudites' shared experience as the subject people under the Persian regime. Their flesh-and-blood encounter with Persian imperialism constitutes the crucial materialist basis for their signifying practice.

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[899] Sandler and Sandler, "The Gyroscopic Function of Unconscious Fantasy," 109–23; eidem, "Phantasy and Its Transformations: A Contemporary Freudian View," 83–86.

Persian imperialism, a systematic mode of extraction of resources and productive labor, was the cause of intense psychic conflicts among the imperialized populations, whose desires, urges, and needs were regulated, denied, and deprived in order that the desires of the imperializer may be gratified. The Solomonic narrative stemming from this signifying context reflects the Yehudites' ambivalent attitude toward Persian imperialism. They desired the privileges, affluence, and power of the imperializer yet repudiated their militaristic and oppressive practices. The empire that they desired is drawn on the historical Persian empire, yet it is not identical to it. It is a distorted, disguised version purged of its repugnant aspects and with its desirable aspects exaggerated. Through the psychic mechanism of introjective identification, they sought to mimic and even emulate the idealized Persian empire.

In addition, the imperialized's desire to take place of the imperializer follows the triangular structure of the Oedipus complex and thus may be considered a derivative fantasy of infantile origins. What the imperialized Yehudites wished for are the privileges and power of which they were deprived and which were enjoyed by the Persian imperializer, their rival to the desirables. The text reflects their aggressive impulse to eliminate and replace the authoritative rival from standing in the way to the desired privileges and power. Thus, the relationship between the imperialized, the imperializer, and the desirables follows the classical oedipal structure. The son (the imperialized) displays ambivalent feelings toward the father (the imperializer). He identifies with the father's love for the oedipal mother (privileges, territorial dominion, wealth, and power), but at the same time he competes against him for her. As in the classical Oedipal complex, the imperialized Yehudites seem to have been provoked by the ambivalent feelings of love, hate, and jealousy toward the Persian imperializer with whose desires they identified. Underlying the wish of replacing the imperializer is a set of conflicting, contradictory feelings.

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The imperialized identifies with the imperializer yet at the same time shows an aggressive impulse to usurp his place.

Besides the imperialism-conditioned and infantile psychic conflicts, four literary sources may be identified. First, the anecdotal tales and court-novels of the Persian empire, to which the Deuteronomist had accessed through their propagation and circulation within the Persian empire, constitute a literary source of the cultural fantasy. Because of geographical proximity and ethnic diversity within the Persian empire, there were regular social and cultural exchanges between the Greek world and the Levant. Cultural influences of the Greeks on the Levant during the Persian period are attested. Presumably, the Deuteronomist were exposed to the Greek literary traditions through literary migration and/or possibly their own contact with the Greeks. These traditions would have included anecdotal tales disseminated orally and the Greeks' stereotypical portrayal of the Persian empire, the literary motifs, conventions, and rhetorical devices employed in their signifying practice. The numerous parallels between the Solomonic Kingdom and the Persian empire according to the Greek traditions corroborate this view. The Greek historians show ambivalent sentiments toward the Persian empire. They glorify the Persian Kings for their exceptional imperializing ability, as well as denigrating them for its decadence and debauchery. The Solomonic narrative reflects a similar ambivalent attitude toward the Solomonic Kingdom. The coexistence of the glorification and the *damnatio memoriae* of Israelite kings is reminiscent of the Greek historians' accommodation of both philo-Persian and miso-Persian elements in their works. This textual ambivalence may have stemmed from the Greeks' literary influence on the Levantines and/or the borderline experiences that both the Greeks and the Deuteronomist shared under the Persian regime. In particular, among the imperialized collaborators, to whom the Deuteronomist presumably belonged, their split allegiance to the imperializer and their own

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ethnic group may even intensify the psychic conflicts and thus also their ambivalent portrayal of King Solomon, the imperializer in disguise, who was both venerated and repudiated.

Second, as the descendants of the Judean deportees, the Deuteronomist would have inherited some forms of literary traditions of their own monarchic past from the deportee generations. The Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:41), whether historical or fictive, would have belonged to this type of sources. They fused their perceived knowledge of their dynastic past with their perceived image of the Persian empire composed with the various sources at their disposal to produce the spectral form of the Solomonic Kingdom.

Third, as imperial agents and literati, the Deuteronomist were likely to have access to archival documents and epigraphical texts through their research and their migratory experience. These hegemonic discourses and self-aggrandizing, propagandistic inscriptions produced by both the Persian empire and their predecessors would further enrich the Deuteronomist's signifying practice. All these disparate sources were combined and composed imaginatively by means of psychic processes to arrive at a composite entity. Textual elements may be identifiable in different imperial eras, even if they are resistant to exclusive dating to any specific period. However, from the text's numerous allusions to the Persian empire and the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story affinities to the genre of local history stemming from the Greek historiographical tradition, it can be inferred with relative certainty that the primary blueprint for the Solomonic Kingdom is the Persian empire.

Finally, because of the manuscriptal and accumulative mode of textual transmission, the Solomonic narrative had been undergoing continuous "secondary revisions" and was subject to the influence of further primary processes. The text is supplemented with new material that may reflects the mechanisms of further rationalization, displacement, condensation, and introjective

identification. They may resolve seemingly contradictory elements;[900] alternately, they may supplement with more contradictory elements.[901] The fluidity of the signifying process may be considered a source and evidence of the collective participation in the signifying process of the cultural fantasy.

Layers of Identification and Psychic Conflicts of the Yehudites

The Solomonic Kingdom, as a cultural fantasy of collective narcissism overdetermined with libidinal and erotic energies, would potentially yield pleasure through the compensatory satisfaction of collective narcissistic, libidinal, and aggressive wishes associated with the privileged, dominant position of the Persian imperializer.[902] If the Yehudites identified the Solomonic era as the heyday of their collective past, they would have benefited from the ego-inflating pleasure of being a member of the supreme empire of Solomon, surpassing all the surrounding countries in power and wealth, and of being a member of the privileged ethnicity entitled to all the social, economic, and political privileges. In particular, to the male Yehudites who were likely driven by the overdetermined, libidinally charged signifiers in the fantasy, they would have achieved additional ego-inflating and erotic gratification through his/hir identification with the protagonist, King Solomon. The king's supreme position as the beloved and chosen one of YHWH and the embodied wisdom admired by the kings of all the earth and the legendary Queen of Sheba, his opulence, his imperial success, his entitlement to an extravagant and extreme polygynous lifestyle, particularly his sexual privileges to a myriad of women of different ethnic origins, are arguably what many men with narcissistic traits, whether of the

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[900] For instance, see n. 403.
[901] For instance, see n. 359.
[902] For overdetermination as a feature of narcissistic "epic history," see Bellamy, *Translations of Power*, 32–37.

vulnerable or the grandiose type, would have desired yet may not have been able to actualize or fully actualize in real life. In such a case, their narcissistic, libidinal, and aggressive wishes may be vicariously satisfied through their identification with King Solomon.

From the episode of Rehoboam, it may be inferred that the Deuteronomist were aware of the tyrannical tendency of absolute monarchism. However, the critical tone against the brutalizing, oppressive traits of monarchism does not appear until the Solomonic era is coming to an end. This delayed arrival of the critical attitude against monarchism may be interpreted as a mediation between maximizing the narcissistic and erotic pleasure of the cultural fantasy and minimizing the feeling of guilt induced by the implicit, disguised identification with the Persian imperializer. The delayed critique produces a discursive space in which the readers'/auditors' repressed, forbidden wish of replacing the imperializer may be expressed with maximal gratifying effects and without inducing the feelings of guilt and fear associated with such identification until toward the end. In the text, Solomon is portrayed as the exemplary monarch, wise and just, chosen and loved by Yhwh, voluntarily submitted to by all his subject peoples and foreign potentates, bringer of universal peace, prosperity, and happiness to all who lived under his regime. He is saved from infamy, cultic disobedience, and tyrannical qualities until 1 Kgs 11, when his era was approaching its end and was about to be split into two kingdoms. By delaying the negative characterization of Solomon, the Deuteronomist produced a Solomonic era of immaculacy—an alternate world away from the harsh realities of imperialism, enabling the readers'/auditors' to be absorbed in the libidinally charged fantasy, indulging in imperialism-aroused desires with minimal guilt- and fear-inducing details and with maximal, extended gratifying effects.

The episode of Rehoboam at the end (1 Kgs 12:1–24) adds complexity and layers of meaning to the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom. Before the episode, only the imperialism-aroused desires (affluence, power, erotic privileges, et cetera) are introjected into the Solomonic Kingdom. The episode of Rehoboam introduces the tyrannical tendency and brutalizing, oppressive traits of imperialism through Rehoboam the Folly, the alter ego of Solomon the Wise.[903] The indictment of the tyrannical Rehoboam is delivered through the diegetic critique of Jeroboam and the northern Israelites (vv. 3–4); thus, it belongs to the conscious work of the Deuteronomist. Since Rehoboam, as the alter ego of Solomon, has inherited the brutalizing, oppressive policies from his father, the text acknowledges that Solomon is the initiator of the oppressive practices and Rehoboam only intends to intensify them. Thus, the conscious introjection of the bad, hostile aspects of imperialism happened as a gradual transition from retrospect to prospect. These bad, hostile aspects are immediately reproached through Jeroboam and the northern Israelites.

Jeroboam and Rehoboam, who succeeded Solomon as the kings of the split kingdom, may be interpreted as the split egos of Solomon. This interpretation is supported by the characters' names, which are connected through the mechanism of condensation.[904] Both names are synonymous. ירבעם "Jeroboam" means "the people is great/many," while רחבעם "Rehoboam" means "the people [is] great/expanded." They are both composed of two lexical units, with the second unit (עם) identical. Out of the six consonants they each have, five of them are identical, making the two names phonetically very similar. From a psychoanalytic perspective, the resemblance between the two names bespeaks an unconscious association of these characters. They may be interpreted as two characters representing the split personae of Solomon or the

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[903] See p. 187 above.
[904] For names associated through the mechanism of condensation in the unconscious, see p. 384 above.

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metonymic Israel. Jeroboam represents the conscientious and reflective persona (or in the psychoanalytic term, the superego) who sought to rectify the oppressive trend of the Solomonic Kingdom and prevent it from fragmenting. Contrarily, Rehoboam represents the tyrannical persona with the unbridled desire for power and control (or in the psychoanalytic term, the id) to the point of putting the integrity of the kingdom at risk (12:7). Thus, Jeroboam the Superego's indictment of Rehoboam the Id amounts to a self-reproach of the fragmented ego and a critique of the inherent tendency of the Solomonic Kingdom to become brutal and oppressive. In the end, while the good, desirable aspects of imperialism are affirmed, its oppressive tendency against the supposed members of the *ethno-classe dominante* is reprimanded on a conscious level.

While the indictment against the imperializer's oppressive acts is evidently a conscious operation, the aggressive wish seeking to overturn the imperializer, though embedded in the episode of Rehoboam, may have stemmed from the unconscious. Rehoboam, the metonym of the brutal, exploitative aspects of imperialism, is indicted and eventually defeated in the narrative. His contrivance to intensify brutal labor exploitation is frustrated. His harsh critic and archenemy Jeroboam ascends to the throne with divine approval. He eventually loses the popular support enjoyed previously by his father, and he cedes most of his territories to the northern Israelites. Adoram, the overseer of forced labor, is killed by the Israelites in retaliation for his oppressive rule. In the end, YHWH forestalls his military action against the "rebellious" northern Israelites.

While the series of events leading to the disintegration of the Solomonic Kingdom, according to 1 Kgs 11:9–13, are consequential to Solomon's cultic disobedience and preordained by YHWH (1 Kgs 11:26–49; 12:15, 22–24), the episode of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:1–24) nevertheless does not even remotely connect the schism to Solomon's cultic disobedience, nor

mention the peace, prosperity, and happiness that the people enjoyed under the regime.[905] Rather, through the affect-provoking diegetic discourses of Rehoboam, the northern Israelites, the senior council, and the junior council, the text sharply focalizes the imperialized Israelites' viewpoint and emphasizes the brutal, exploitative aspects of the Solomonic dynasty as the cause of its disintegration. In the end, the peaceful, prosperous, and happy kingdom enjoyed by all its subjects has transformed into the tyrannical state that subjects its own people to hardship, physical torture, and oppressive policies. The episode of Rehoboam constitutes a strong message of intolerance to despotism and the oppressive rule, which contradicts the imperial ideology of the king as the protector of the subject peoples.

Considering the imperial context of the first readers/auditors, the oppressive rule would inevitably be an analogical equivalent to their historical circumstances under the Persian regime. The split characters and the splitting kingdom reflect the intense psychic struggle under imperialism. The oppositional voices of the split characters suggest the fragmentation of the imperialized Yehudites, their agony under imperialism—their desire for the imperializer's social privileges and economic prerogatives and their resentment toward the imperializer's brutal, exploitative rule. Because the Deuteronomist's indictment against the imperializer's brutalizing, exploitative labor policy is portrayed as an internal affair within the Solomonic Kingdom, namely a self-reproach, and never a direct contempt against the imperializer, it can easily escape imperial censorship. The ability to critique the imperializer through the textual interstice without

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[905] The episode of Rehoboam follows the thematic progression of Attic tragedies noted by Nielsen (see pp. 10–11 above): the elevation of the hero, the hero's transgression of divine boundaries (*hubris* motif), the declaration of misfortune (*nemesis* motif), the hero/Israel's effort to avoid the impending misfortune (*elpís* motif), and the inevitability of fate (*adynaton-apophygein* motif). Nielsen (*Tragedy in History*, 117, 143–159) points out that Rehoboam is affected by the divine curse on Solomon (11:9–13) and becomes the tragic hero who bears the guilt of his father. He is blinded by YHWH and inevitably doomed to choose the misguided council of the young men. While Nielsen's observation on the tragic emplotment is correct, as I point out the episode does not associate Solomon's cultic failure with the schism. The diegetic viewpoints instead focalize on the theme of peaceful kingdom turning into tyrannical rule.

the fear of retaliation makes the episode of Rehoboam enjoyable in spite of the masochistic narrative details of internal strife and schism. The successful avoidance of imperial censorship and the roundabout critique both would produce pleasurable effect in the reading experience or performance.

Contrary to the presence of the diegetic indictment against the brutalizing, exploitative labor policy, the omission of the warrior-king ideology and the claim of military superiority as hegemonic legitimacy reflect the Yehudites' psychic conflicts in the unconscious. As I have argued in Chapter 8, from an ideological perspective the omission may be an avoidance of portraying a belligerent image of the Solomonic Kingdom in fear of imperial censorship and retaliation. Such a portrayal would inevitably be interpreted as a propagation of revolutionary sentiments among the readers/auditors by the Persian imperializer, leading to their suppression of the Deuteronomist's signifying activities. However, from a psychoanalytic perspective, the omission is likely to have stemmed from the imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious, from the Yehudites' traumatic experience with the Persians' militaristic harassment and the fear of imperial censorship and anticipated retaliation, imagined or real. While the Deuteronomist's contestation against the brutalizing, exploitative labor policy that an absolute regime may develop still converges with the imperial ideology of a benevolent king, any claim of military superiority on Solomon's behalf would have been perceived as an overt challenge to the claim of the Persian imperializer. The thought of a militaristic and belligerent Solomonic Kingdom would have aroused feelings of dread, anxiety, fear, and disgust and amounted to a glorification of the military regime that traumatized the Yehudites and led to their detestation. While military infrastructure is still incorporated in the Solomonic Kingdom, the reliance on

coercive forces and the claim of military superiority as a means of legitimating and sustaining imperial hegemony are denied and even reprimanded.

The Deuteronomist's ambivalent attitude toward the Persian empire is displaced onto their own dynastic past. This means that their attitude toward their own dynastic past becomes equally ambivalent. They sought to aggrandize the magnificence of their dynastic past by grafting the Persian glorious present onto the Solomonic Kingdom, but simultaneously transplanting their reproach of the exploitative ills of the former onto the latter. Thus, both love and hate of the Other are internalized and embodied in the Solomonic Kingdom. The desire to be the empire and the hate toward its exploitative ills, as expressed through the narrative, are the feelings of the present infused into the past. The desire that is denied at the present is fantastically, wishfully fulfilled in the literary production of the golden past in the disguised form of the Solomonic Kingdom. The repressed feeling of contempt that finds no outlet under imperial suppression is fancifully, wittingly expressed through the means of displacement, an indictment against the brutalizing, exploitative practices of the imperializer disguised as self-reproach, an aggressive impulse to eliminate the imperializer disguised as the murder of the overseer of forced labor, and a vanquishing of the imperializer power disguised as the drastic deflation of Rehoboam's territorial dominion. Thus, through this latter part of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom, the oppressive regime is symbolically overturned. The aggressive wishes against the imperializer may be compensatorily gratified through the symbolic defeat and elimination of their hostile, oppressive aspects. The brutalizing, exploitative aspects of the Solomonic Kingdom are activated in the end, so that inexpressible and dammed-up aggressive wishes against the imperializer may be expressed in a disguised, distorted form. The Yehudites' collective past becomes a palimpsest and catachrestic zone in which history is reinscribed and reinvented to

express their present ambivalent feelings toward the Persian imperializer, whom they both desired, loathed, and feared. The literary interstice of "epic history" opens up a "third-space," psychological outlet for the imperialized, through which the Yehudites could express their imperialism-conditioned psychic struggles and their repressed hatred and desire toward the imperialized. Due to internal inhibitions and external obstacles, the repressed affects would have been dammed up, yet they would have remained ineffaceable and sought for discharge. The Yehudites' intense psychic conflicts are imperialism-conditioned and fundamentally related to the fundamental ambivalence of desire. They sought the very thing that they rejected and abhorred.[906] Persian imperialism is the historical setting that gives rise to the transferential content of the Solomonic Kingdom.

The Deuteronomist's sophisticated and layered identification with the Persian imperializer occurs on multiple levels of consciousness. What appears to be a contradictory and polarized narrative structuration is a sign of the imperialized Yehudites' psychic conflicts, reflecting their ambivalent feelings toward the Persian imperializer. They vacillated between the libidinal impulses of aspiring to the imperializer's privileged and dominant position, removing the imperializer from such position, repudiating the oppressive acts, and resisting the claim of military superiority as the legitimate basis of imperial hegemony. These wishes do not happen on the same level of consciousness. The indictment of brutalizing, exploitative labor policy happens on the conscious level, while the other wishes are likely to have occurred in the unconscious, stemming from the deep-seated psychic struggles.

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[906] Morton Kaplan and Robert Kloss (*The Unspoken Motive: A Guide to Psychoanalytic Criticism* [New York: The Free Press, 1973], 8) describes the subject of ambivalent feelings as "one rejects the very thing he seeks."

The Psychic Efficacy of the Solomonic Kingdom

Readers'/Auditors' Complicity with the Deuteronomist

A cultural fantasy, as opposed to a personal fantasy, is a text produced as a cultural artifact to be read/performed to a targeted group of readers/auditors, whose signifying position and receptivity are conceived by the writer since the beginning of his/her/hir signifying process.[907] As a cultural fantasy, the Solomonic Kingdom invites the Yehudites (the original targeted readers/auditors) to join the Deuteronomist in their fantasizing. Through their share of the imperialism-conditioned segment of the unconscious with the Deuteronomist, the Yehudite readers/auditors were likely affected by and identified with the similar psychic conflicts and libidinal, aggressive wishes encapsulated in the Solomonic text and become the co-admirers of the Solomonic regime and the co-despisers of the Rehoboam's regime. However, it does not entail that they must be drawn to identify with King Solomon's viewpoint. The readers'/auditors' perspective would flow with the shifting focalization in the text. At different points of the reading process, they may identify with the perspectives of different characters as the events unfold. For instance, they may take on the imperializer's perspective of King Solomon at one point but identify with the anti-imperial critique of the supporting character Jeroboam at another point, and thus benefit from the different psychic efficacy, both libidinal and aggressive.

The Solomonic narrative may have two possible effects on the Yehudite readers/auditors: catharsis and narcosis. Through a transferential reading/performance, the cultural fantasy would have provided an outlet for discharge of their ambivalent affects toward the Persian imperializer and possibly have led to the readers'/auditors' insight of her/his own unconscious processes.

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[907] See p. 125 above.

Thus, it carries a cathartic or therapeutic function as a wish satisfier. However, the repeated discharge of dammed-up affects through the repeated reading/performance may also serve a narcotic function as an ideological tool of containment, turning the mechanism of self-perseveration into cultivation of passivity that would breed acquiescence and a subservient attitude, rather than active resistance against the imperializer. In other words, it could also function as a need pacifier to the advantage of the imperializer. How the text was received by a Yehudite reader/auditor depends on the reader's/auditor's social location. Due to the irreducible heterogeneity of interpretation and free associations, it is plausible that even first readers/auditors of similar socioeconomic status would have received the cultural fantasy differently.

Catharsis: A Therapeutic Function of the Aesthetic Experience

There are two components of catharsis as a part of aesthetic experience: (1) emotional excitation and discharge of affects and (2) intellectual awakening.[908] In other words, libidinally charged and drive-facilitated marks and signs in the text serve to direct the repressed, dammed-up affects toward discharge by lifting psychic inhibitions, arousing the affects, and then discharging the affects vicariously through the readers'/auditors' identification with the viewpoints presented in the text. As the result, the psychic conflicts of the readers/auditors are temporarily put to rest through a compensatory gratification, reaching a psychic equilibrium or internal harmony. This is what Sandler calls the "stabilizing/gyroscopic function of fantasy," as I mentioned earlier.[909] Both aspects require the readers'/auditors' identification with the

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[908] For a comprehensive review of the psychoanalytic concept of catharsis, see Adnan K. Abdulla, *Catharsis in Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). The term "catharsis" purportedly first appears in Freud's shorter writing, "Two Encyclopaedia Articles," 235–37. According to Freud (ibid., 236), "'*catharsis*' came about when the path to consciousness was opened and there was a normal discharge of affect" (emphasis original). Thus, in his conception, it bears the components of emotional discharge and intellectual awakening.
[909] See p. 140 above.

viewpoints presented in the text through their analogizing ability, namely their free associations

of the textual details with their own historical circumstances.

In Freud's original conception of catharsis, he follows the Aristotelian function of tragedy

and only recognizes the emotional discharge through the arousal of the feelings of pity and fear

in the readers through their emotional identification with the tragic hero. As I have pointed out in

Chapter 2, transference may occur anywhere, through any characters and any focalizing devices

in the text.[910] Considering the affinities that the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story shared with Attic

tragedies, it is certainly possible that the Deuteronomist were aware of the Aristotelian notion of

catharsis in the sense of arousing feelings of pity and fear among the readers/auditors. Arguably,

the northern Israelites' complaint against Rehoboam's brutalizing, exploitative labor policy

would have aroused pity and fear over the possible imperial retaliation they may face.

The cathartic efficacy of a fantasy lies in its unconscious level, in the successful gratification

of the Yehudites' forbidden, repressed wishes. The cultural fantasy is an emotional outlet

through which the libidinal and aggressive wishes of taking the imperializer's place and

castigating their oppressive acts can be safely and temporarily gratified. Should the frustrated

desires not find a compensatory outlet, the repressed affects, in particular jealousy and anger,

may reach a boiling point, and the imperialized may risk an emotional outburst in spite of the

perceived danger and retaliation of the imperializer. This is what Freud calls the return of the

repressed. The cathartic function of the fantasy serves the purpose of ego-preservation to halt the

return of the repressed.

However, it is possible for these libidinal and aggressive wishes to reach consciousness.

After they had confronted their subjective experience, ambivalent feelings, fear, and anxiety, the

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[910] Freud, "Psychopathic Characters on the Stage," (1905) [trans. Henry Alden- Bunker] *The Tulane Drama Review* 4/3 (1960): 144–48; repr. of *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 9 (1952): 459–64.

first readers/auditors may arrive at a realization of their unconscious wishes and imperial predicament. Consequently, they may gain insights into their imperialized circumstances. Theoretically, if the Solomonic Kingdom was successfully identified as a disguised, idealized form of the Persian empire, then the subsequent episode of Rehoboam would have led to a greater awareness of the brutalizing, exploitative traits of the imperializer of which they may hitherto lack insights. While critical judgement may have unconsciously suspended their reading of the idealized, hyperbolic Kingdom in order to maximize the pleasurable effects of the fantasy and serve the interest of collective ego-boosting, with successful identification the subsequent episode of the Rehoboam would still yield a certain extent of insights toward the brutalizing, oppressive nature of imperialism, as well as a recognition of their ambivalent feelings toward the Persian imperializer. Because of the dual effects of catharsis—the discharge of repressed affects stemming from psychic conflicts and a heightened intellectual awareness of these psychic conflicts—catharsis is considered therapeutic.

Narcosis: When Compensatory Gratification is Fetishized

Drives vacillate between stasis and motility. Even though the cultural fantasy of the Solomon Kingdom provided a cathartic outlet through which the imperialized Yehudites' wishes of taking the imperializer's place and confronting their brutalizing, oppressive acts may be satisfied, psychic equilibrium can only be temporary maintained and the desires were unfulfilled amidst the harsh realities of imperialism. After the symbolic replacement, indictment, and overturn, the imperializer would still be the imperializer. Resentment and rebellion against them were still inexpressible and turned inward. Inasmuch as pleasure was obtained from the substitutively gratifying fantasy, the Solomonic Kingdom remains a psychic reality, and not the

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tangible object of desire. If the socioeconomic gap between the imperializer and the imperialized widened, the psychic tension and aggressive impulse would also intensify. The temporarily discharged affects would eventually build up again after their temporary release and seek an outlet. As a result, reality and fantasy become a dialectic and circular process, with desires perpetually returning and never being extinguished.[911] When the substitute pleasure, the displaced gratification of the real thing, became a regular outlet of discharge, namely fetishized, it would achieve more than a cathartic effect and become a narcotic device. In other words, it provides temporary yet continuous relief from the harsh realities of imperialism, but never a definite cure of the root problem. The regular dispensation of this narcotic effect may become mithridatic. The subject becomes more tolerant, indifferent to the harsh realities of imperialism and eventually losing sensation for the psychological pain initially induced by imperialism.

The Solomonic Kingdom as a Discourse of Ambivalence

The Solomonic narrative is a discourse of ambivalence in relation to imperialism.[912] Through the introjective identification with the Persian empire in particular and previous empires in general, the narrative reinscribes many imperial ideologies, and the Solomonic Kingdom mimics their imperial administrative structure and policies. On the other hand, the Deuteronomist resisted the imperial ideology of the (human) warrior-king and rejected the claim of military superiority as the legitimacy of imperial hegemony. They reproached Israelites' reliance on military might, human efforts, and material resources. In contrast, they upheld the warrior-god

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[911] This is the semiotic process of charge and counter-charge of free energy and its perpetuation of the process that Kristeva (*Revolution in Poetic Language*, 173) describes.

[912] For the theories on the ambivalence of colonial discourse, see Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 94–131; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 64–79. Both of them recognize that colonialism/imperialism permeates the cultural production of the colonized/imperialized. As the result, the resistant discourse of the colonized/imperialized inevitably reinscribes the discursive strategies and the imperial values of the colonizer/imperializer.

ideology, portraying Yhwh as the commander-in-chief, who alone is the sole guarantor of Israel's military successes and continuing sovereignty and whose miraculous deliverance is the sole legitimate means of resistance against oppressive forces. When the Solomonic narrative is interpreted within the larger literary context of the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story, the text would inevitable take part in fostering attitudes of passivity and resignation with its emphasis on the pacifist mode of wisdom subjugation and the omission of militarism. Thus, on the manifest surface, Yahwism may appear as a resistant ideology against imperialism, but in practice Yahwism fosters attitudes of passivity and resignation that would serve the imperial cause by delegitimating any tangible efforts of resistance against the imperializer on the part of the Israelites. In the end, biblical Yahwism reinscribes this retributive logic employed by the imperializer and turns it against the Israelites.

In lieu of military superiority, the legitimacy of imperial hegemony and continuing rule lies in cultic obedience, namely the exclusive worship of Yhwh and the adherence to the statutes required of the divine-human covenantal relationship. According to this narrative logic, Solomon's cultic failure is the sole cause of the eventual disintegration of the kingdom (1 Kgs 11:1–13). Military superiority is displaced as cultic obedience. Military inferiority, as the cause of the military defeat, is displaced as cultic disobedience. This appeal to cultic loyalty as the legitimation of military success is consistent with the imperial ideology of conquest as a divine restitution against cultic failure attested in numerous Persian and Hellenistic periods, such as the Cyrus Cylinder, the Nabonidus Chronicle, and the Verse Account of Nabonidus.[913] These

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[913] For the text of the Cyrus Cylinder and a discussion, see Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," 83–97; for the text of the Nabonidus Chronicle, see Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 28:232–39; for a discussion of the Nabonidus Chronicle, see Caroline Waerzeggers, "Facts, Propaganda, or History? Shaping Political Memory in the Nabonidus Chronicle," in *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire* (ed. Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers; SBLANEM 13; Atlanta: SBL, 2015), 95–124; for the text of the Verse Account of Nabonidus, see *ANET*, 312–15.

inscriptions present the conquest essentially from the Persian perspective. The imperializer sought to portray themselves as the agent of divine retribution and the conquest as the divine act. Thus, even the Yahwistic resistant ideology in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story mimics the Persian imperial discourse in turning the victim of imperialization (the conquered) into the culprit of cultic failure.[914] The logic serves to reverse the roles of the perpetrator and the victim. The Deuteronomist turned the imperial logic against Israelites, and thus legitimized foreign invasion by victimizing and scapegoating Judah for the national demise and portraying the foreign imperializer as the agent of divine restitution. The association of military defeat with cultic failure originates as an imperial ideology working for the interest of the imperializer. The Deuteronomist internalized the imperial ideology as a major institutional logic for the Yahwistic cult. In sum, the Yahwistic resistant ideology that undermines any claim of military superiority and upholds the ideology of a supreme warrior god and cultic obedience as the essential criteria for sustenance of political hegemony mimics the hegemonic discourse of the imperializer and works for their interest. Imperialism shapes not only the material life of the imperialized, but also their signifying practice, and psychic conflicts.

Yahwism as a theocratic ideal, as an anti-imperial ideology, means the divine replacement of the human king. YHWH becomes the warrior-king, the commander-in-chief of Israel, to whom all humans are subordinated. He alone can claim military superiority; all such claims made by humans are regarded as arrogance, a challenge to and distrust of YHWH the divine warrior-king. The Deuteronomic covenant is a patron-client system modeled after the vassal-suzerain treaty that determines the obligations of the divine patron and the absolute submission of the human

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[914] In his discussion of the ambivalence of colonial discourse, Bhabha (*The Location of Culture*, 121–31) recognizes the effect of mimicry on the cultural production of the colonialized, in which the colonizer's metonymic presence in the colonized becomes a strategy to disrupt colonial authority. The effect of mimicry characteristic of colonial discourse can also be recognized in the Solomonic narrative.

clients.[915] Thus the Yahwistic theocratic ideal is a displacement between imperial ideology and

cultic ideology. While human sovereignty has a material basis and can be actualized in the form

of political systems, divine sovereignty remains as a psychic formulation in the service of the

psyche.[916] Such theocratic ideal as I have pointed out would likely encourage attitudes of

passivity and resignation, turning resistant ideologies into collaborative ideologies for the

imperializer. Yahwism thus becomes an accomplice in imperialization by making imperial

realities more endurable and fostering passivity.[917] Resistant ideologies are inextricably linked to

collaborative ideologies. They contest the hegemonic ideologies of the empire but at the same

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[915] See n. 152.

[916] What triggered the displacement of theocracy and monarchy? How did theocracy emerge as an anti-monarchical ideal in the psyche? The scope of this study does not permit a detailed psychoanalytic analysis of the emergence of theocracy as an antithesis to monarchy. However, as a preliminary note, it can only come about when a collective identity became depoliticized and possibly deterritorialized, at a time that autochthonous monarchy ceased to exist and the group was subject to foreign hegemony. The claim of YHWH's supremacy as the warrior-god not only serves to delegitimize the claim of military superiority of the imperializer, but also serves to keep the collective ego from further fragmentation amid the conquest and the national demise. YHWH the warrior-god usurped the human warrior-king's place as the supreme commander and the guarantor of military success. In this sense, theocracy as the anti-monarchical ideal also functions as a psychic reality that compensatorily gratifies the group's aggressive wish to usurp the imperializer's place through the claim of divine sovereignty. Yahwism thus functions as an anti-imperial discourse, contesting the imperializer's claims of military supremacy. In other words, Yahwism is established as a master signifier in lieu of imperialism to determine the relationships of signifiers traditionally associated with imperialism. Ironically, Yahwism, as a displaced imperialism, bears both resistant and collaborative ideologies. Olson (*Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses*, 142) aptly observes the ambivalence of the ideology of divine warrior in Yahwism: "Yahweh's battle against oppression is real but hidden in the cycles of politics and competing national interests that inevitably overturn the powerful and oppressive empires of the world. … The typical Near Eastern warrior god fought for and protected the people or nation to whom the warrior god was attached. But the God for the Song of Moses was not always on Israel's side. Yahweh did not defend and fight *for* Israel when the people of Israel rebelled and forgot the God who gave them birth ([Deut] 32:18)." Despite the conditional protection of YHWH, the notion of a divine warrior-king taking the place of his human counterpart is a symbolic victory over the imperializer and a denial of his claim of military superiority. The function of theocracy lies in its psychic efficacy, in particular as an ego-defensive mechanism. By the same token, the notion of theodicy may also achieve the same aim by claiming that "our defeat is not a result of your military superiority, but as a result of divine restitution." It is a denial of the other's military superiority. It is easier for a narcissist group to acknowledge his/her/hir own moral lapse, than to acknowledge the other's superiority. However, the fact that the group's superiority is dependent on a psychic construct of a supreme warrior-god also suggests that any tangible physical resistance was unimaginable in reality. A person only wishes for an object in fantasy when the object is unobtainable in reality. The desire of the unobtainable object is suppressed in real life but finds expression in terms of psychic reality. In view of the psychic effects of the notion of theocracy, namely its wish-fulfilling and ego-preserving functions, post-587/586 Yahwistic religion may be considered a crisis cult, a thesis that La Barre (*The Ghost Dance*, 565–71) has already proposed, albeit with a different line of argument. La Barre traces back the crisis to the exodus in the Mosaic period and takes the historicity of Moses and the exodus for granted. The crisis from which Yahwism developed is more likely to be the Babylonian conquest and the subsequent deportation of the elite population.

[917] For religion as an accomplice in modern colonization, see Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 28.

time mimic, reinforce, and normalize them. The imperial ideology of the warrior-king that the Solomonic narrative silently contests, as I have argued, is admired and transcended into the divine warrior-king ideology, even in its anti-imperial outlook. The covenantal principle of cultic obedience in the Deuteronomistic (Hi)Story also reflects the imperial apology of conquest as divine restitution. The processes of imperialism and the resistance against it occur contrapuntally and are ambiguously present in the Solomonic narrative.

From a psychoanalytic perspective, this contradictory, ambivalent identification with imperialism, both resistant and collaborative, is likely to have stemmed from the intense psychic conflicts of the imperialized Deuteronomist. In their lived reality as the literati affiliated with the imperial regime and belonging to the imperialized, neither resistance nor collaboration would have been an option free of psychic tensions. They were split subjects living in a double bind torn between the imperializer they served and the imperialized to whom they belonged.

The Solomonic Kingdom as a Wish Satisfier and a Need Pacifier

The specter of the Persian empire hidden in the latent content of the Solomonic narrative can easily go unnoticed by the modern readers/auditors who are not familiar with the original signifying context of the Deuteronomist, the sociocultural codes and institutional logics of their time. It is only when the chain of signifiers is posited within its original signifying context and analyzed with the interpretive tools of postcolonial and psychoanalytic theories, that the study is able to uncover the Persian empire in its disguised, distorted form, revealing the imperialized Yehudites' intense psychic conflicts and their ambivalent feelings toward the Persian empire. The cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom functions as a cathartic outlet through which desire and resentment towards the Persian regime may be expressed and the dammed-up affects

discharged. Ironically, it also serves the imperializing interest by containing resentment and revolutionary sentiments within the confines of symbolic expression. The function of the cultural fantasy becomes narcotic. With its retelling (regular dispensation), it can be mithridatic, numbing the sensation of pain induced by the harsh, brutal realities of imperialism. While the cathartic function seems to acknowledge the psychic need and legitimacy of expressing resentment, it also serves to defer tangible resistance against imperialism and thus inadvertently functions to support imperialism. The cultural fantasy is a wish satisfier, but simultaneously also an urge pacifier. It produces the immunity to psychic conflict and a higher tolerance for oppression.

An infant pacifier is a device of delayed gratification for feeding. It serves to suppress the sensation of hunger and prolong the wait time for gratification, engaging the infant in a phantasy of the breast or the milk bottle with its the nipple-shaped device. Consequently, the physical urge for feeding is temporarily gratified without the concrete consumption of milk, the infant's means of survival. Even though the pacifier makes the prolonged wait time for feeding more tolerable for the baby, it cannot replace the breast or the milk bottle for nourishment. If feeding is extensively delayed, the infant will eventually be frustrated and even suffer malnourishment despite the compensatory gratification. The cathartic, narcotic, and mithridatic function of the phantasy may have a similar effect of a pacifier. The libidinal and aggressive wishes, though temporarily and compensatorily fulfilled, would eventually be recharged and come to a breaking point seeking an outlet, which could be suicidal. If reality does not permit the actual gratification of wishes, the subject of fantasy would train himself/herself/hirself to seek continuing compensatory gratification by fetishizing the compensatory device. The substitute thus becomes the object of desire itself. The fetishism of the compensatory device is an adaptive measure to the unalterable external circumstances that forbid the wishes to be expressed in the first place. In the

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case of the Solomonic narrative, while libidinal and aggressive wishes against the imperializer may be gratified repeatedly and intermittently through cultural fantasy, the prolonged reliance on a compensatory device may lead to a self-detrimental situation, namely becoming acquiescent to their suffering under imperial regime and becoming easily gratified even with a small benevolent act displayed by the imperializer. They could become subservient and easily manipulated. The situation amounts to the "Stockholm Syndrome."

The psychic efficacy of the cultural fantasy correlates positively to the extent of realism. The more a reader/auditor believes in the authenticity of the narrative, the greater is its compensatory power. If a reader/auditor believes that the fantasy is an account of real events and people or attempts to revise it accordingly to increase its credibility, they would maximize the pleasurable effects of the fantasy, in particular the pleasure it obtains from its narcissistic grandiosity and entitlement that function as an ego-defensive mechanism, given their imperialism-conditioned sense of inferiority. Fantasy—what appears to be unreal to some—must be genuinely, if temporarily, believed as real if the fantasist were to maximize its gratifying effect and its ego-preserving function. Psychic efficacy depends on the self-administered deception of the fantasy's veracity. In the face of the brutalizing, harsh realities of imperialism, the fantasy's psychic efficacy is what the imperialized subjects' psychic stability depends on. Put in another way, imperialism is the sociohistorical context on which the psychic efficacy of the cultural fantasy of the Solomonic Kingdom depends. For the Yehudite readers/auditors, the Solomonic Kingdom had to be real, even temporarily, for the sake of compensatory gratification. If the reading/performance of the cultural fantasy becomes a routine psychic exercise, the historicity of the Solomonic Kingdom would be taken for granted to comply with the unconscious aim for gratification.

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