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**JAMESON AND JEROBOAM: A MARXIST READING  
OF 1 KINGS 11-14, 3 REIGNS 11-14 AND 2 CHRONICLES 10-13**

**Roland Boer**

**Faculty of Religious Studies  
McGill University, Montreal**

**August 1993**

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

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## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I apply the literary and cultural theory of Fredric Jameson to some biblical texts. In the first chapter I present Jameson's theory as a complex relationship between an effort to account for the pluralism of methods and interpretations (metacommentary) and a specific Marxist method, comprising three phases of interpretation. In chapter two I apply metacommentary and the Marxist method to 1 Kings 11-14, moving from a formal and ideological analysis to questions of class and economics in an imperial context. In chapter three the method is similarly applied to two reinterpretations of the Kings passage: 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13. Here I argue that while the Reigns text is formally and ideologically concerned with moving away from a Judean focus, by contrast the Chronicles text constructs a utopian community in Judea. The conclusion considers the implications of these results.

## RÉSUMÉ

Dans ma thèse, j'applique la théorie littéraire et culturelle de Fredric Jameson à des textes bibliques. Dans le premier chapitre, je présente la théorie de Jameson comme un rapport complexe entre, d'une part, un effort pour expliquer la pluralité des méthodes et des interprétations (la métacritique) et d'autre part, une méthode marxiste particulière, laquelle comprend trois phases d'interprétations. Dans le deuxième chapitre, j'applique la métacritique et la méthode marxiste au 1er des Rois, 11-14, partant d'une analyse formelle et idéologique pour arriver à des questions de classe et d'économie dans un contexte impérial. Dans le troisième chapitre, cette méthode est également appliquée à deux ré-interprétations du texte du 1er des Rois: 3 Règnes, 11-14 et 2 des Chroniques, 10-13. Dans ce contexte, je soutiens, pendant que le texte des Règnes porte formellement et idéologiquement sur un déplacement d'une optique judéenne, le texte des Chroniques constuit une communauté utopique en Judée. Mes conclusions offrent une évaluation des implications de ces résultats.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### Jameson Monographs

FAWL	Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist
GA	The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System
IT1/2	The Ideologies of Theory, Volume 1 / Volume 2
LM	Late Marxism: Adorno, or, the Persistence of the Dialectic
MF	Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature
PCLLC	Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism
PHL	The Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism
PU	The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act
SOS	Sartre: The Origins of a Style
SV	Signatures of the Visible

### General

AMP	Asiatic Mode of Production
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies.
BJA	British Journal of Aesthetics
BMMLA	Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association
BZAW	Beihefte, Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CE	College English
CI	Critical Inquiry
CL	Contemporary Literature
CLSt	Contemporary Literature Studies
CQu	Critical Quarterly
DAI	Dissertation Abstracts International
Ed(s)	Edition/Editor(s)
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Fs	Festschrift
HAR	Hebrew Annual Review
HR	Hudson Review
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAAC	Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
L'EC	L'Esprit Createur
LJ	Library Journal
LXX	Septuagint
MFS	Modern Fiction Studies
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MLA	Modern Literature Association

MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MR	Minnesota Review
MT	Masoretic Text
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCF	Nineteenth Century Fiction
NGC	New German Critique
NLB	New Left Books
NLH	New Literary History
NLR	New Left Review
NOR	New Orleans Review
NR	New Republic
NS	New Statesman
NYRB	New York Review of Books
NYTBR	New York Times Book Review
OG	Old Greek
OTA	Old Testament Abstracts
OTL	Old Testament Library
P&L	Philosophy and Literature
PC	Postmodern Culture (E-Journal: <a href="mailto:pmc-list@ncsuvn.cc.ncsu.edu">pmc-list@ncsuvn.cc.ncsu.edu</a> )
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association
PT	Poetics Today
QuJS	Quarterly Journal of Speech
Rev	Revised
Rpt	Repeat
RTA	Religious and Theological Abstracts
SAQ	South Atlantic Quarterly
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SeR	Sewanee Review
SFS	Science Fiction Studies
ST	Social Text
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
SWBAS	Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series
T&S	Theory and Society
TCS	Theory, Culture and Society
THL	Theory and History of Literature
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
TP	Textual Practice
UP	University Press
VQuR	Virginia Quarterly Review
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WPCS	Working Papers in Cultural Studies
YFS	Yale French Studies
YR	Yale Review
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

## PREFACE

Apart from a relatively small number of biblical scholars, Fredric Jameson and Marxist literary criticism in general remain largely unknown to biblical critics. Of the range of methods one is accustomed to find in interpretations of biblical texts Marxist approaches are conspicuous by their virtual absence. That biblical criticism is poorer for this lack of knowledge is assumed by this dissertation, especially when the resurgence of Marxist criticism in the academy -- most notably in North America -- makes it a necessary section in many recent handbooks of literary criticism. Practitioners of Marxist criticism have, in other words, gained a place for Marxism as a sophisticated and serious player in the field of literary criticism (its pioneering role in cultural criticism is another sign of growing confidence). Much of this is due to the pioneering work of Fredric Jameson over the past twenty five years. It seems to me that the consideration of his work in biblical studies is overdue.

On a personal level, in making use of Jameson's approaches I have found it possible to combine two major areas of interest and previous research, namely biblical studies and the rich Marxist intellectual tradition. Jameson as a Marxist literary critic with debts to biblical interpretation provided the means of such a combination.

As far as originality is concerned, I am able to claim that a major part of the following dissertation is a contribution to original knowledge. Although I work with a heavily interpreted text -- the Hebrew Bible -- I do not attempt to cover well-trodden ground in terms of method. Thus, the statement of Jameson's method in the first chapter is the first time such a statement has been made. The only comparable example is the presentation of Dowling, but his approach differs significantly from my own. Apart from the "metacommentary" sections of the second and third chapters, where I cover other works relating to the texts under discussion, and a reliance on Marx, Gottwald and Jobling for the broad questions of social and economic context, the interpretations offered in those chapters of 1 Kings 11-14, 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 are original efforts.

Assistance in the development of this dissertation has come at many levels. A generous Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship, along with a grant from the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in New South Wales, enabled our family to spend more than three years from 1988 to 1991 in Montreal, which in turn enabled me to undertake graduate



research at McGill. More recently the encouraging research atmosphere at the University of New England in Australia, along with a very busy inter-library loans desk, has spurred me on to finish. Finally, and ironically given the ideological nature of this work, one of the technological marvels of the military-industrial complex of late capitalism -- electronic mail and the ethernet more generally -- has enabled my superb supervisor, Robert Culley, and myself to communicate regularly as I was writing the dissertation itself.

A note on citations: in referring to Jameson's works I have used a combination of abbreviations for his monographs (see the abbreviations table) and dates followed by letters of the alphabet for the remaining material, such as articles, chapters, forewords and so on. In the detailed consideration of his theory in the first chapter I have cited Jameson's works by date or abbreviation alone without including his name, while the works of others follow normal conventions of citing names first (except where the context makes the reference clear). In the subsequent chapters Jameson rejoins the ranks of conventional citation. Biblical texts are referred to in standard fashion.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to apply Fredric Jameson's textual theory to some biblical texts. Jameson's approach is twofold: firstly, it tries to account for the fact that people read texts in different ways because of the different methods they use (this is designated "metacommentary"); secondly, it operates with an explicitly Marxist method for interpreting texts which also provides the context within which the other methods may be assessed and compared. This Marxist method investigates the ways in which the formal, structural and ideological features of narrative function as responses to physical, social and economic situations.

In applying Jameson's dual method one has two choices. One way is to apply the Marxist method, using as a preliminary or basis the other interpretive methods already applied or which may feasibly be applied to the text. Such an approach has the advantage of situating one's study within the field of scholarship on the subject or text under investigation, but it also has the disadvantage of turning metacommentary into a preliminary and more peripheral part of the whole approach. A second way is to engage a text by analyzing in depth one major interpretation of that text. In this case the Marxist method is used both to identify the values and shortcomings of the interpretation and to fulfill its unrealized promise. Here the advantage lies in the integral role of metacommentary but its disadvantage lies in the relative lack of a wider scholarly context for one's own effort.

I have opted for the first approach, providing a methodological synopsis of the scholarship on each of the biblical texts to be analyzed in order to incorporate the relevant insights into the main interpretation which will follow the lines of Jameson's Marxist method. While this option is the more appropriate one for an initial exploratory study of Jameson it also has certain implications for the structure of the following study. Basically, since the option chosen plays down, comparatively, the role of metacommentary -- the consideration of other methods and interpretations, of the pluralism of methods in contemporary criticism -- there is less cause for the inclusion of an extended and detailed treatment of this dimension of Jameson's approach. Metacommentary, therefore, will function in the first chapter of this dissertation as a prologue to the presentation and critique of Jameson's Marxist method of reading texts and cultural products.

This first chapter will work closely with Jameson's most important theoretical texts, although always in the light of his corpus to date. Attention will focus primarily on the opening chapter ("On Interpretation") and

the conclusion ("The Dialectic of Utopia and Ideology") of what remains Jameson's most important text, The Political Unconscious (henceforth PU). Yet the theoretical formulations found in PU have a prehistory which may be traced from the prize-winning essay "Metacommentary" through the lengthy final chapter of Marxism and Form (MF) entitled "Towards Dialectical Criticism" to PU itself. These other texts will be referred to when necessary.

The two remaining chapters of the dissertation then will seek to apply what I understand to be Jameson's approach: the use of metacommentary in the specific and limited capacity of identifying the major ways in which the biblical texts have been interpreted; and then the use of this phase of the analysis as a basis for a Marxist reading, which will follow Jameson's own development of a Marxist method of interpretation. That method will, however, be adapted in order both to sidestep some of the problems with the method as it stands and to apply it more productively to the biblical text. For these remaining chapters three texts called for analysis: 1 Kings 11-14 (Hebrew), 3 Reigns 11-14 (Septuagint: Greek translation) and 2 Chronicles 10-13 (Hebrew). All three texts are concerned with the same basic historical content, namely the breakup of the kingdom of Israel after Solomon, but this similarity is limited, for the texts relate the same story in very different ways; an oppositional situation which immediately produces a swarm of questions concerning relationships between texts and history, and which provides the more immediate reason for their selection.

Three further issues of an introductory nature must be dealt with before passing on to the first chapter: the reason for selecting Jameson; the need to consider Jameson's whole approach; and the difficulties of language. Regarding the choice of Jameson: the selection of a literary critic rather than a biblical scholar follows a long tradition in biblical scholarship of applying critical theories (particularly literary ones) to the Hebrew Bible. Whereas other literary critics<sup>1</sup> may seem more immediately relevant -- such as Frye, Alter or Sternberg, who have devoted some critical energy to the Hebrew and Christian Bibles -- these critics are not Marxists, for the attraction of Jameson is that he is both a Marxist<sup>2</sup> and a formidable and sophisticated literary critic. He has the reputation of being at least the leading Marxist critic of the present day if not one of the most important critics as

<sup>1</sup> Of the many surveys of literary criticism, I have consulted Detweiler; Leitch and Selden; for Marxist criticism Goldstein 1990 and Kavanagh 1981.

<sup>2</sup> A weaker form of this attraction would be that Jameson does not pretend to be objective and value-free (as in historical criticism), which is itself a value anyway.

such, Marxist or not (so Scholes:270; Seaton:122). The initial impression, then, is that it might be productive to apply Jameson's theories to the biblical text. This is reinforced by the increasing number of people making use of those theories in areas of literature and culture other than the Bible (Banta; Bizzell; Ezer; Hall; Harkin; Hines; Huston; JanMohammed; Knobloch; Lohrey; Newman; Nizruchi; Redfield; Sprinker 1989:70-71; Stoll; Wesley; Wess; Wilcox). The criterion of choice is thus the importance of Jameson from a literary and political perspective, but the reasons for the choice of Jameson over against other Marxist literary critics such as Terry Eagleton or Pierre Macherey lie in earlier research which predisposed me to the particular emphases of the same tradition from which Jameson springs, namely Hegelian Marxism. Further criteria of selection include Jameson's own awareness as a literary critic of being indebted to biblical criticism or hermeneutics as the historical precursor of contemporary literary criticism. Indeed, he draws heavily upon some parts of the tradition of biblical criticism, especially that of medieval allegory, in developing his own Marxist method. Such dependence opens his approach more easily to biblical study. More broadly, as a Marxist Jameson exhibits a willingness to deal with religious questions, whether in the form of particular critics such as Ricoeur and Frye, or as religious texts (1981c; 1987g), or as an encounter with the problem of religion as a whole (see the final chapter in PU). Finally, other biblical critics have seen some value for biblical criticism in Jameson's work and attempted to apply some of his approaches to the Hebrew Bible (Jobling 1987; 1990; 1991; 1992a; 1992b; Ceresko). However, the ultimate and most comprehensive justification for the choice of Jameson must come in the body of this dissertation.

The initial intention in this study was to select elements from Jameson's approach which together would have comprised a small part of his total program. However, as the study progressed it became clear that a more comprehensive application of that approach was required. There are four main reasons for working with the system as a whole rather than in parts: first, the internal logic of Jameson's own work calls for a comprehensive or "totalizing" approach. Second, the intention to understand Jameson's textual theory requires a consideration of that theory as a whole. Third, the introductory nature of a study such as this is better served by an holistic approach which allows the application of as many areas of Jameson's theory as possible. Finally, it seems to me that the plausibility of the application of Jameson's theory to the Bible is enhanced if the whole approach rather<sup>than</sup> limited sections of it can be shown to work. The price to

be paid of course is in the loss of detail and depth which would come with the selection of a few items of that theory, but this is the task of subsequent work.

Finally, the question of language. Jameson's style is both exhilarating when it takes off but always difficult and has indeed from the earliest publication been a recurring point of debate among critics (Brée; Banerjee:63-64; Cain 1981:cxii; Divinsky:484; Li:139; Murray: 308; Parinder:106; T. Smith:291; Takacs:160-161). A Jameson sentence may appear either as a handful of various types of punctuation (colons, semicolons, commas, dashes, and parentheses) haphazardly thrown in with a collection of words and phrases bearing some relationship to one another or as a structure put together over a period of time in which subsequent thoughts and phrases are added to and inserted within the original structure, comparable to a humpy or shanty-town dwelling. Jameson is very much aware of the debate over "plain" and "difficult" styles and the various advantages and disadvantages that each option bears with it. The majority of his own writing falls clearly into the "difficult" category, having been described as a combination of "stubborn density" and "encyclopedic accumulation" (I. Green in 1987f:87),<sup>3</sup> also as an "aloof hauteur warned occasionally by erudite despair" (Helmling:3), but he defends such a practice with a number of arguments (see MF:xiii, 53; 1977c; 1987f:87-88; also Beaugrande:413 regarding an interview conducted in April 1986; see the further discussion in Eagleton 1982; English; Helmling), the most important of which is that a plainer style falsely assumes and reinforces the notion that language functions to state clearly and succinctly what is there or exists (1977c; see MF:54<sup>4</sup>). In moving the reader swiftly and effortlessly through the sentences, such a style encourages a painless acquiescence to prepackaged truths. A difficult and dialectical style thus serves to force the reader to spend time with the work (here Jameson succeeds) in order to induce "real thought" (MF:xiii).

While Jameson defends well his complexity in form and content, he is painfully aware that this same style gives out messages of class privilege in the form of higher education (1987f:88). Although he has been

<sup>3</sup> As noted by Eagleton (1982) Jameson's style also produces a curious effacing of the distinction between commentary or exposition and critical assessment which confronts the reader in nearly every presentation/critique by Jameson of other critical methods or interpretations (see also Sussman:1009; Wellek:126).

<sup>4</sup> The key term here is "reification": the plain style is a product of and reinforces reification (1977c).

criticized for restricting his audience to other scholars (see Green in 1987f:87), Jameson feels that this is less of a problem if publics or audiences are demarcated (1987f:88). This of course leaves open a perfectly legitimate space for material for a general audience. Like Marx, Jameson wishes to make even the most difficult thoughts more accessible (1987f:87). He has also on occasion written popular articles (1976h; 1979b; 1982c), arguing that there is great need for highly skilled journalism and popular pedagogy, which is perhaps not a skill he possesses (1987f:88).

There is then a distinct political place for the plain style, especially if a Marxist criticism is going to reach a wider audience and be understood by those who do not have the privilege of higher education: the historical relationship between Marxism and the working class expresses the deepest need for a plain style in Marxist criticism. The same may be said for biblical criticism, and for this reason the following study will attempt to be clearer than Jameson himself is in his critical work.

---

Chapter 1  
METACOMMENTARY AND A MARXIST METHOD

1. Introduction

As already noted, Jameson's textual theory is twofold. On the one hand he attempts to deal with the increasing pluralism of methods and theories by advocating an approach that compares the various available methods for their strengths and weaknesses. This ability to understand, use and compare a range of methods he designates "metacommentary" or "transcoding." On the other hand, Jameson presents a blueprint for an all-encompassing mode of interpretation which may be labelled a Marxist interpretive method. This method is put forward as the "untranscendable horizon" (PU:10) of all interpretation. As may be clear from the way they have been described, I will argue that the relationship between these two approaches, between metacommentary and the Marxist method, is characterized by a tension between pluralism and dominance, between liberal and Marxist frames for understanding the world. While this tension or opposition is often productive in Jameson's readings of literary and cultural products, it has also been the reason for criticism, which will be noted and considered where appropriate.

As far as the structure of the following discussion is concerned, I have divided the analysis into five parts or sections. The first begins with a discussion of the "Preface" to PU which serves as an introduction to the fundamental logic -- the dialectic -- of Jameson's work. This subsequently leads into a consideration of the nature and function of metacommentary. The second part traces a more specific genealogy of Jameson's Marxist method, which serves as a transition to the detailed discussion of the method itself. That discussion comprises the remaining three parts of the chapter, each of them dealing with one of the three levels of that method. Although it is my argument that the crucial first chapter of PU -- "On Interpretation" -- as well as Jameson's whole corpus may be understood in terms of the relationship between metacommentary and the Marxist method, in this study I have placed a greater emphasis on the Marxist interpretive method at the expense of metacommentary because of the way I have applied Jameson's approach as a whole to the passages from the Hebrew Bible. I will close this chapter with a brief summary of specific items to be used in the biblical analysis and a table outlining the method as a whole.

It should be pointed out that while the distinction between metacommentary and the Marxist method follows suggestions by Jameson himself, it is my own contribution to make them the basis of a structured and systematic presentation of Jameson's textual theory, and also to locate the major criticisms of his work at this juncture. Further, I have felt it necessary to offer both destructive and constructive criticism where appropriate: destructive in the discussion of the first level of interpretation where incompatible notions of the function of history are found, and also in the third level where history again is the problem; constructive in the second level in which certain important implications are unrealized in Jameson's own account, particularly in regard to religion, ideology and utopia, the relation of individual and society, and psychoanalysis. The section "Genealogy of a Method" is entirely the result of my own investigations into Jameson's work and is nowhere spelt out by him or anyone else. Finally, I have excluded much that is interesting from a wider perspective -- Jameson's analyses of realism, modernism and postmodernism, his work in film criticism, contemporary art and architecture, and so on -- except where these touch on the central discussion.<sup>1</sup> My concern in this chapter is then to locate the essential characteristics, or the engine, of his critical activity.

## 2. Metacommentary

### 2.1. From Dialectic to Allegory

A few sentences in the "Preface" of PU set the context of much of Jameson's critical activity, which wears the label of a dialectical approach. It is therefore necessary to follow the argument through here in order to understand the location of those items which are interesting from a biblical perspective. The first step is the identification of Jameson's approach as a dialectical method. An initial description of dialectical activity (as far as it is possible to "describe" the dialectic) might use the terminology of levels: the dialectic moves continually to wider or higher levels in response to problems or difficulties faced at the level with which one begins. The purpose is not so much to solve the problems or avoid them but rather to locate

<sup>1</sup> The secondary literature on these areas, especially postmodernism (e.g. Bennett; Calinescu; Connor:43-50; M. Davis; Derrida; Eagleton 1985; English; Grossberg; Hodge; Kellner 1988, 1989; Latimer; Li; Messmer; Nicholls; Osborne; Pfeil; Redfield; J. Rose; M. Rose; Schilb; Shusterman; Wilcox; and especially the collection in Kellner 1989a), is perhaps greater than that on the earlier literary material.



them within a wider frame and ascertain why they are problems in the first place. Often the result of such a shifting of levels or widening of horizons is that the initial problems cease to be the difficulties they once were and a new set of problems becomes important; with this new set the dialectic then starts up again, the horizons shift and the problems are relocated.

As is clear from the long final chapter of MF, "Towards Dialectical Criticism," and indeed the whole monograph for which the dialectic is central (so Culler 1974), Jameson is indebted to the formulation of the dialectic by Hegel, who designates the problems and difficulties as "negation" and the shifting in levels as "sublation" (*Aufhebung*): the negative is not destroyed but is drawn up into, is included within, is sublated into the next level<sup>2</sup>. The process of sublation, or shifting of horizons, may potentially become an infinite process except that in the Marxist takeover of the dialectic -- Marx's famous standing of Hegel's dialectic upon its feet by applying it to economic phenomena in *Capital*<sup>3</sup> -- it ends its run in history. The dialectic's final grounding in history enables Jameson to insist on the need to historicize (PU:9), to locate an item, a text, a cultural product, in history.

The dialectic comprises the source of the basic opposition in Jameson's work -- metacommentary and the Marxist method -- since both are dialectical and claim descent from the same ancestor; the opposition is therefore a family quarrel. We have moved on a little too far, however, for there are a number of intermediate steps in tracing the origins of the quarrel. Thus far Jameson's approach has been identified as dialectical and historicizing. The next step is to specify two ways of historicizing; namely, by means of the object and by the subject. These two sides of the dialectic eventually meet at the final point where history links them once again, but the move into the terminology of subject and object appears a curious one unless Jameson's debt to Sartre is made clear. On a number of occasions (1981f; 1984l:66-67; 1990i; although see Wood's response) Jameson invokes the method used by Sartre in the massive, unfinished dialectical

<sup>2</sup> The prime document of Hegel's dialectic remains the *Phenomenology of Spirit*. *Aufhebung* has also been translated as "supersession." For Hegel *aufheben* means to negate, cancel or discontinue what has gone before, retain what is good and lift it up (the basic German meaning is: to pick or lift something up) to a higher and more comprehensive level.

<sup>3</sup> "The mystification which the dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general forms of motion in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be inverted, in order to discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell" (Marx 1976:103).

study of Flaubert entitled The Family Idiot: here, according to Jameson, the analysis follows two great loops, the one subjective and the other objective. On the subject's side Sartre focuses on the individual dimension, searching for Flaubert's greatness by means of psychoanalytic categories, investigating Flaubert's childhood, family, and individual choices; the objective side sets out in pursuit of the social conditions (mid-nineteenth century bourgeoisie) of Flaubert's life, using the Marxist categories of ideological and historical contradiction. A lengthy discussion of the Flaubert material is not required (see Wood); it merely explains Jameson's move to the subject-object opposition at the beginning of PU.

The meanings of "object" and "subject" shift slightly in PU although such a shift does not affect the main drive of the argument. Here the subject-object distinction is another way of speaking about the difference between an event or fact and the act of interpretation, between reality and perception (to use Kantian terms). An option for the objective side would delve immediately into history, seeking to situate the text in its historical context, to locate the historical factors which determine the various formal and linguistic features of a text, as well as its content. Jameson opts for this approach on certain occasions (1984l; 1985b; 1988g) and indeed it forms part of Jameson's proposed Marxist method of interpretation. However, while the objective and subjective lines eventually merge, more interest is directed towards the subject.<sup>4</sup>

On the side of the subject Jameson locates the whole question of interpretation: rather than attending to the historical origins and existence of a literary or cultural product, the focus is upon the various conceptual factors which influence the way that cultural product is received and understood. There are two dimensions to such conceptual factors: the broader concepts which are determined by social, political and economic situations; the narrower ideas which derive from and are established by traditions of interpretation. Jameson focuses on the latter, distinguishing between older texts (this category would include the Hebrew Bible) which have passed through any number of hands and readings and newer texts

<sup>4</sup> Jameson's pedagogy follows a similar distinction (see 1979d). He feels that Marxist teaching of literature may follow two lines: the location of a work historically; or the comparative study of various interpretations of a text, and thus the ideological categories through which people receive a text, with the purpose of showing the superior achievements of a Marxist interpretation. "Here ... you take on the standard current approaches in bourgeois literary interpretation, and by demystifying them open a place where Marxism seems both appropriate and necessary as a solution to their contradictions" (1979d:35). Jameson regards this latter option as more pedagogically successful.

which have not yet been read. Older texts arrive on the scene bearing with them a host of former interpretations which are part of a tradition of interpretation. Newer texts are read in terms of the mental expectations or reading habits formed by such traditions. In both cases access to the text is by means of a collection of concepts or ideologies. In biblical studies this is more commonly referred to as the tradition.

In PU and in the majority of his other work Jameson's initial interest is in the question of interpretation rather than the historical situation of the object of analysis. The question of history returns eventually, but its postponement has led to the criticism that Jameson's work tends to be ahistorical despite his call for a continual historicizing. This criticism is valid, and, as we shall see later on, is reinforced by an ambiguity in the nature of the historical ground in the first phase of Jameson's proposed Marxist method. History tends all too often in Jameson's analyses to appear late and in the higher levels of abstraction. This problem is, however, an advantage in interpreting the Hebrew Bible, for, as with so many ancient texts, the historical contexts of the texts are virtually inaccessible. Jameson's strategies, therefore, in suspending the question of history until later in the analysis, suit an interpretation of the Hebrew Bible which is conscious of the absence of historical evidence but does not wish to abandon history.

Jameson's concern, then, is with interpretation, and it is here that we may locate the tension between metacommentary and the Marxist method. The immediate common ground (the more distant one is that of the dialectic) of both, which permits them to oppose one another (if there were no common ground or presuppositions they would be unable to communicate their antagonism) is that of allegory: Jameson identifies every interpretation as an allegory, a rewriting of the text in terms of another code or level. In other words, both metacommentary and the Marxist method are at base allegorical activities, but their differing approaches to allegory bear implications which create the tension between them.

Before dealing with that tension more fully and with the criticisms levelled at Jameson in this regard, the question of allegory calls for attention. In order to arrive at this point it has been necessary to move from the dialectic, through the contrast between object and subject, and then focus on the subject which was identified as the realm of interpretation or allegory.

## 2.2. Allegory

Jameson uses the term allegory in both general and more particular senses. In its wider meaning he characterizes as allegorical the dialectic approach as a whole; in a more specific sense the term is used to designate a particular interpretation of a specific text. This more restricted use of the term pushes out into the general again, since it makes of every interpretation an allegory or rewrite (so also Frye 1957:89); a point which insistently and usefully foregrounds the role of the reader. Thus with the texts chosen for the biblical section allegory becomes a significant factor in the relationships between the texts, since the second and third (3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13) provide allegories of the first (1 Kings 11-14) whose relationship to the tradition before it might also be described as allegorical.

Jameson attributes allegory's return in the postmodern situation from long exile to two fundamental and related factors concerning the present historical situation: reification and totalization (these factors are very much part of the landscape for biblical scholars as well). Both ideas originate in the Hegelian Marxist tradition; Jameson's specific influences being Georg Lukács and Sartre (see Wood:27-29). Reification<sup>5</sup> might be described as a swapping of roles and therefore of power: relationships between human beings take on the nature of relationships between things or objects, while the relationships between material objects are invested with the quality and power of human and social relationships, all of which obscures social processes but transforms objects into spiritual and glamorous entities, into "fetishes" (1977e:212-213 / IT2:146; LM:180; see Marx 1976:163-177). Alternatively and more commonly, Jameson describes reification as a process of fragmentation -- social, psychological, institutional, even sensual -- and the separation of public and private, poetic and political, consumer and producer (1970c:252-253 / PU:153-154; 1976b:41-43 / IT1:128-130; 1979e:130-131 / SV:10; 1979f:189; PU:20, 62-63, 227, 229; 1982f:86;

<sup>5</sup> The term "reification" was developed by Lukács by combining Marx's notion of fetishism with Max Weber's notion of rationalization (Marx 1976:163-177; Lukács 1971; 1977e:212-213 / IT2:146; PU:62-63). Sartre's term for this was "seriality" (1970a), while for Adorno "identity" (LM:21-22) and "equivalence" (LM:148-149) play similar roles. For the connection with division of labour and Taylorization (breaking up production into the smallest and most efficient units) see 1979e:130 / SV:10; PU:190, 220; 1984i:70.

1982i:41 / SV:126; 1990c:134; PCLLC:315).<sup>6</sup> The increasing pace of reification is the fundamental reality of life lived under capitalism: it affects all that is said and done, including the moments when those words and deeds relate to texts and their interpretation (see the concise and comprehensive statement in 1987f:222-223 / PCLLC:95-96). This is the context in which allegory returns with renewed vigour.

The increasingly rapid splintering characteristic of reification takes place side by side with the contradictory trend towards totalization, often described as globalization, which is both real but unrepresentable and therefore absent (SV:214). The drive towards totalization is dialectically related to reification: the greater the totality, the more forces work to break up the elements into ever smaller parts; the greater the reification, the more newer unities are developed.<sup>7</sup> The basic reality to which this pattern applies is that of multinational capitalism, in which the global reality of capitalism produces an ever greater reification in the form of the commodity. Allegory is suited to this tension, for allegory claims to provide both a total picture of interpretive possibilities and an awareness of the many individual elements in interpretation; in other words, allegory is one of the ways in which a totalizing approach may work while accounting for fragmentation and difference (see 1982f:83; also PU:56-57 on Althusserian interpretation). Reification and totalization therefore provide the context for the return of allegory, but also the necessary assumptions for metacommentary and Jameson's Marxist method. However, while both processes may be taking place, and while Jameson notes the ambiguity of reification (1982f:87; LM:180-181) -- in making of everyone consumers and of all things exchangeable units it acts as the great utopian equalizer -- he sides with those who feel that rampant reification must be overcome in the search for unity and collective activity, that our social world must be "dereified"

<sup>6</sup> Jameson often refers to the description by Guy Debord of the image (in the context of film, video, spectacle, etc.) as the ultimate reification (1979e:132 / SV:11-12; 1982i:33 / SV:118; 1982c; 1990g:108).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the inclusion of countries in a global economic network has the dialectically opposed effect of generating greater demands for the autonomy of ever smaller units, whether they are ethnic, geographical, or linguistic, as with Quebec or the states in the former Yugoslavia on the one hand and a united Europe or the North American Free Trade Deal on the other. Academic disciplines, including biblical studies, follow similar lines: increasing specialization leads to interdisciplinary borrowing (1990h:123).

(see 1976f:14 / IT1:179-180; 1981b:11-112 / SV:73-75; 1982a:130-140).<sup>8</sup> Jameson characterizes his own dialectical Marxist approach, with its debt to allegory, as necessarily totalizing (but not totalitarian), a claim which has drawn some strong criticism (1987m:53; LM:26-27; PCLLC:331-334, 400-402; Poster:254; Wells:10-11, 14). A totalizing and dialectical approach is also one that necessarily involves the positive dimension of abstraction (1969b:141; PCLLC:400).

The growing globalization of capitalism and its attendant fragmentation produce an inability to bridge the gaps from fragments to totality. This inability in its turn produces structural absences in the works of writers, artists and others in their efforts to perceive and understand the whole (1984n:116). Here, according to Jameson, lies the source of the post-modern awareness and appeal of gaps and holes: "it is because the allegorical spirit is profoundly discontinuous, a matter of breaks and heterogeneities, of the multiple polysemia of the dream rather than the homogeneous representation of the symbol" (1986c:73 / 1987n:146; see the remarkable expansion of this depiction in 1988c:23 / PCLLC:167-168). Indeed, allegory as traditionally practiced worked on the basis of the problems, gaps and contradictions of texts.<sup>9</sup> Allegory, therefore, does not so much attempt to conceal textual problems as use them productively and incorporate them into the interpretive process.

However, given the growing popularity of allegorical interpretation, Jameson is keen to see some rigour in its rehabilitation, since the objection to be overcome is that allegory is merely an arbitrary and lazy mode of interpretation in which any meaning will do (see 1982i:38 / SV:123). Such rigour should be able to correct the one-on-one correspondences of cruder types of allegory such as The Pilgrim's Progress. Jameson therefore argues that the objects identified by allegory and the process of identification itself must be understood in their relation to one another. When the point is made that such relations are fluid and mobile,

we begin to glimpse the process of allegorical interpretation as a kind of scanning that, moving back and forth across the text, readjusts its terms in constant modification of a type quite dif-

<sup>8</sup> The political dimension here is described as the fragmented nature of the American left: totalization in interpretation is intended to have similar effects in the realm of politics, providing the base for political action (PU:54; 1982f:87; 1987e:57).

<sup>9</sup> Thus, Jameson sees the value of the defects in the novels of the Québec writer Hubert Aquin, especially Prochain épisode: clumsy and shoddy emplotment, ugly language, obsessive and indulgent use of the first person -- in short Aquin's poor writing triggers the search for the allegorical dimensions of the political novel in Québec (1983c).

ferent from our stereotypes of some static medieval or biblical decoding, and which one would be tempted (were it not also an old-fashioned word!) to characterize as dialectical (1988c:23 / PCLLC:168).<sup>10</sup>

This characterization of allegory moves directly into the area of metacommentary, which is precisely such a scanning and mutual readjustment of terms.

### 2.3. Metacommentary and Transcoding

Jameson's own suggestion (IT2:viii-ix) is to distinguish between two terms -- "metacommentary" and "transcoding" -- which roughly follow the lines of literary and cultural criticism, being distinguished more by the objects of analysis -- texts and critical theories respectively -- than by the process itself. Metacommentary is "a reflexive operation proposed for staging the struggle within an individual literary and cultural text of various interpretations that are themselves so many 'methods' or philosophies or ideological worldviews" (IT2:viii). Transcoding, on the other hand, breaches the barricades of literary products and moves out into the relationships between theories or codes in the cultural sphere as such, although specific cultural products appear reasonably often in transcoding analyses: "[w]hen the polemic leaves the ground of an individual text ... it seems to me increasingly desirable to stage such conflicts in terms of a rather different framework, which I will call *transcoding*" (IT2:viii). Despite the differences between them, metacommentary and transcoding constitute different emphases on the same basic approach: for this reason I will consider them together, especially since transcoding brings into greater relief some basic criticisms of Jameson.

The term "metacommentary" evokes the distinction made by the Alexandrian librarians between the volumes of physics and those of -- for want of a better name -- metaphysics: metacommentary, as it were, describes those items which are located "next to" the volumes of commentary and interpretation. Metacommentary widens its perspective, steps back from, abstracts itself from the commentary process and comments upon the commentaries and interpretations. The term is also the title of an article (1971b / IT1:3-16) which received the prestigious William Riley Parker

<sup>10</sup> The context of this particular quotation is the tracing of the fluid relationships between the room, doorway, mound, Hudson River school painting, and Richard Prince text of Robert Gober's "Untitled Installation" at the "Utopia Post Utopia" exhibition in 1988 at the Boston Institute of Contemporary Art. See 1988c/PCLLC:154-180.

Prize from the MLA. This article formed the basis of the much longer theoretical section at the end of MF ("Towards Dialectical Criticism," MF:306-416) which in turn was elaborated upon for the first chapter of FU. The "Metacommentary" article therefore lies at the beginning of this published process of theoretical development. However, as a source of the more elaborate methodological reflections of later works, it contains various themes and ideas which would later be distinguished more sharply.

As noted above, metacommentary becomes transcoding when analysis leaves the specific boundaries of the text and moves out into the vast field of contemporary theory and culture. The term "transcoding" describes the process of leaping from one method or mode of analysis to another; it is the activity of "measuring what is sayable and 'thinkable' in each of these codes or ideolects" in order to "compare that to the conceptual possibilities of its competitors" (PCLLC:394).<sup>11</sup> In the increasingly rapid changes in interpretive fashion characteristic of late capitalism where there is an annoying multiplicity of interpretive "codes" (which must nevertheless be learnt) the ability to transcode becomes a necessity for the critic. Transcoding is in this light the postmodern variant on metacommentary<sup>12</sup>; the concern of both, however, remains with the problem of the pluralism of methods and interpretations. As our interest is with specific texts, the question of transcoding is not of direct concern, except for its relationship with translation, and for the criticisms of Jameson it brings to the fore.

Transcoding bears many resemblances, and is indeed explicitly likened, to the activity of translation, which is of interest for the relationship between the Greek translation in 3 Reigns of the Hebrew text in 1 Kings). Jameson's linguistic abilities (so Bahr:180 in reviewing MF) -- he comes from languages first and has been variously professor of French and Romance languages -- would seem to be significant for the whole strategy of transcoding and of its base, allegory. Indeed, many of the texts with which he deals and some of the texts he has written are outside the English language, whether of first world Europe or of third world regions.

Transcoding assumes the existence of various ideological codes, and it requires the ability to speak those various codes or ideolects, a skill comparable to speaking and translating a foreign language

<sup>11</sup> The most sustained presentation of transcoding is located in the section, "The Production of Theoretical Discourse," in PCLLC:391-399.

<sup>12</sup> The process also makes a contribution to the production of theoretical discourse, but that is beyond our interests in this study (see PCLLC:391-9; examples 1971c; 1973d / IT2:3-34; 1977a; 1990g / PCLLC:260-278).



(I have to learn to speak it, for example; I can say some things more strongly in one foreign language than in another, and vice versa; there is no Ur- or ideal language of which the imperfect earthly ones, in their multiplicity, are so many refractions; syntax is more important than vocabulary, but most people think it is the other way round; my awareness of linguistic dynamics is the result of a new global system or a certain demographic "pluralism"). (PCLLC: 394)

Comments such as this on translation are unfortunately all too few, but valuable nevertheless (the use of linguistic models to characterize theories is sufficiently common in the [post]-structuralist era). One such comment is located in a discussion of the relationship between film and novel, where often the greatness of one is balanced by the weakness of the other: Jameson suggests that both are great only when they go their own ways, are allowed to travel their own unique and conflicting paths, as with 2001: A Space Odyssey (Clarke and Kubrick) and Solaris (Lem and Tarkovsky). Thus -- acknowledging the origin of this idea with Walter Benjamin -- the purpose of a good translation is "not to fashion an equivalent of its original in a foreign tongue, but rather to demonstrate the *impossibility* of translation and to hint at the strange resonances and syntax of another language, effects of which our own is incapable" (1980b:322). Sometimes a paraphrase may best achieve such a purpose, but perhaps the traces of other linguistic patterns are best inscribed by allowing the language into which the translation is being made to be shaped and formed, expanded and deepened, according to the lines and accents of the original language, without a wooden literalism (see LM:ix). This molding of the form of the language in the translation process is that which characterizes the second biblical text in the analysis to follow, for here the formal modulations of the translation into Greek from Hebrew provide primary ignition for the analysis itself. This is the first of two uses (mentioned above) of transcoding for this study.<sup>13</sup>

The greatest relevance of transcoding for this study lies <sup>in the</sup> way it highlights the strongest criticism which may be directed at Jameson. This criticism applies in various ways to the basic process which is at the heart of both transcoding and metacommentary, for here there is a dilemma which he has not been able to resolve. The advantages of the approach are considerable: the shift from one interpretive method or theory to another serves to demystify each of those methods by comparisons which show up

<sup>13</sup> A further area of study would be the use of transcoding in understanding the relationship between the various methods which have been and might be developed and used in biblical studies.

the weak spots and the optionality of each of the methods through which one passes. The disadvantage, at least for a Marxist such as Jameson, is the rapid enlistment of metacommentary and transcoding as advocates for a liberal tolerance of all viewpoints. In this liberal climate an impossible situation develops: any manoeuvres towards dominance and authority (as is attempted by Jameson by means of Marxism) are ruled illegitimate and totalitarian, but with self-criticism and admissions of relativity "the media excitement falls away, everyone loses interest, and the code in question, tail between its legs, can shortly be observed making for the exit from the public sphere or stage of that particular moment of History or discursive struggle" (PCLLC:397).

The problem here lies in Jameson's explicit advocacy of Marxism, especially in PU, as the way to control and order the pluralism of methods and interpretations upon which metacommentary relies. Metacommentary works with the range of interpretations of a text that have been and perhaps may be made. It assumes a range of interpretive possibilities, recognizing their limited validity without granting any interpretation or method exclusive claims to truth. Transcoding deals with contemporary theory in a similar fashion. If a Marxist approach is included in the array of methods available for metacommentary or transcoding then that approach must take its chances among the crowd of other options and approaches (so IT2:ix). However -- and here the difficulties begin -- if Marxism were genuinely to be floated among the rising and falling success of other codes or methods, then it must be open to the risk of failure in comparison to other methods. The problem is that this never takes place: for Jameson Marxism is not just another theory open for exchange on the methodological market. A number of grounds are presented for the argument that Marxism is more than a theory, the main one being its ability to provide a total picture within which other methods and interpretations may find their place; that is, a Marxist method does not displace other theories but subsumes them within its own program. The ability to do so relies in part on showing -- by means of comparison with the Marxist method -- how the appearance of complete readings by other methods is pretense and illusion. The basic problem may now be restated: if one method is assumed to be superior then it is difficult for metacommentary to continue its path of comparing methods and interpretations.

This dilemma may be restated in the terms of the criticisms others have directed at Jameson. The dialectical activities of metacommentary and transcoding are other ways of characterizing the mechanism of the per-

petually moving target -- Jameson's interpretive strategy -- which resists being pinned down in any one place. For some critics this is simultaneously a strength and weakness: the ability of self-transformation or transcoding is useful and necessary to evade arrest, but it makes identification by comrades extraordinarily difficult (Kavanagh 1984; Larsen 1992; Merod:145). The problem here is that Marxism must take its polemical chances along with all the other codes, a situation which leaves open the possibility of being outmanoeuvred and outplayed, and of having nothing that distinguishes it from or makes it superior to any other code or method (Solomon:252-259), and thus with no means of transforming the other methods into more useful tools: they remain as they are (Eagleton 1982:17-18). If this is a genuine suggestion -- that is, that Marxism will not necessarily triumph at the close of play -- the suspicion is then, given the contrast between the strong assertions of the priority of Marxism in PU and the more tempered comments in PCLLC, along with his continued interest in reactionary figures such as Wyndham Lewis (see Donoghue 1982) and Heidegger, that Jameson may be inadvertently selling out to liberalism or indeed that he may be covering a nocturnal border crossing into post-Marxism. This suspicion most often translates into concerns from critics of the Left over Jameson's political quietism and absence of a working class base, which is both reflected and expressed in his method and style (Arac 1987:305-307; Eagleton 1982; Goldstein 1990:154; Latimer:117; Li:137; Parrinder:108; Said:13-14; Wells:16; C. West; also Merod:124-152 with regard to pedagogy; see 1982f:75 for Jameson's comments on "single-shot, single-function" views of political action; also PCLLC:264). For others he is too Hegelian and thus idealist (Banerjee:63; Cappon:592; Eagleton 1981:60-63; Norris 1978:59-60; Seaton:135).<sup>14</sup> For anti-Marxists, however, he is too dogmatically Marxist (Scholes:269). Jameson is caught: if he allows that Marxism must jostle for position in the theoretical marketplace, then he has de facto accepted liberal pluralism; if he asserts the superiority of Marxism, then there is less room to be open to the possibilities of other methods.

Jameson's responses have generally been variations on the assertion that criticism cannot proceed without the inescapable yet unthinkable conviction, however momentarily held, that the code in use constitutes a

<sup>14</sup> The anonymous reviewer of MF in *Choice* (April 1972) describes Jameson's Marxism as a "nonrevolutionary hobby" which "conforms to the needs of monopoly capitalism".

privileged order of explanation (1974b:611-12; 1979c:41-42). In a stronger sense, Jameson advocates, like Lukács before him (Lukács:1-26), the acceptance of a number of central problems -- although sometimes they bear the (not unconscious) resemblance to a religious creed -- of Marxism.<sup>15</sup> This compensatory move may satisfy some of the questioners, but the uneasy tension will not hold on the long haul.

The more involved response (and this will be the move to attack if Jameson is to fall) might be presented as follows. The objection itself -- that the Marxist membership card is difficult to decipher -- is a modernist one in the specific sense that it assumes enclaves, retreats and pockets of resistance which have withstood the eradication campaigns or have been inadvertently bypassed by capitalism. The notion of resistance and the identification of one as belonging to a resistance group works in such a context, but it does not in the present reality of postmodernism in which such pockets and corners have been finally eliminated: a whole new approach is required, and some of its features are those of Jameson's approach, namely, familiarity with contemporary theories and strategies and the taking on, even if temporarily, of their form and function. Indeed, it might be argued that transcoding constitutes the postmodern replacement of the older "critical distance" which is no longer possible due to the invasion of the last enclaves by capital, or, as Jameson puts it, the collapse of culture into society (1984i:93; 1987i:8; see also 1987f:202 / PCLLC:70-71 on the idea of looking away to see more clearly). To make this whole argument more difficult to counter, it also might be argued that Marxism is a product of and response to capitalism: without capitalism Marxism would not be identifiable. Thus, the third and thus far purest stage of capitalism -- termed "late capitalism" with the associated cultural dominant of postmodernism -- might also be the time for the purest and strongest form of Marxist analysis itself.

<sup>15</sup> For Jameson, an essential list includes: "the nature, dynamics, and polarizing logic of social class; the labor theory of value; the commodity form and the four types of exchange value; alienation and commodity reification; the hidden logic of historical dynamics, most specifically in relationship to social evolution, but also in more static situations of domination or hegemony, national and international; a commitment to the problem of ideology (but not necessarily to any particular model of it), as well as to the problem of superstructures, in short, to the whole problem of the "determination of consciousness by social being"; finally, a sense of the great overall organizing concept of Marxism which is the notion of the mode of production, a concept which ought to end by raising the most urgent issues of the difference between capitalism and precapitalist societies, of the originality or not of present-day consumer or late monopoly capitalism as against the classical kind, and of course, last but not most important, the possible nature of socialism or communism as a social formation" (1979d:31).

So it seems that Marxism staggers out of the conflict reasonably intact and ready to assume a new mantle<sup>16</sup>, for the above argument is an alternative way of stating Jameson's own solution: the very existence of transcoding and the optionality of the codes means that no code or ideology any longer serves to brace the social system. In other words, neither a unifying ideology of society nor a collection of authoritative texts (the canon) remains to bolster the system. Jameson locates the major reason for this ideological and canonical collapse in the process of reification described earlier, which is in fact suggested by the nature of transcoding and metacommentary: both bear all the marks of cultural and literary versions of commodity exchange, each item -- interpretation or code -- (with some local variation in taste, appearance and texture) being interchangeable with the other. Such a situation of virtually infinite exchange leads to a celebration of the practice of consumption, a feeding upon itself in endless unfulfilled satisfaction, a pleasurable release in each act of consumption which has little or no bearing on the nature of the product itself. In other words, the commodity form -- in its own right the reification of social relations -- has been reified. Transcoding and metacommentary become therefore the methodological and textual projections, respectively, of the activity of commodity consumption. All of this suggests that the possibility of transcoding and metacommentary indicates a more fundamental unity of the historical situation of the various codes and methods, namely late capitalism and its cultural dominant, postmodernism (see PCLLC:398). With renewed vigour Marxism returns to map this postmodern situation, for it always was more of a union of theory and practice rather than a mere code or theory.

This involved defence of the role of metacommentary and transcoding makes them very contemporary activities. Whether they will last cannot be foreseen. The usefulness for this study of these strategies is both general and specific. On the first count, it has been necessary to run through the workings of metacommentary/transcoding in order to understand how Jameson's system works as a whole. That Jameson in fact practices such a program of interpretation is attested by the bewildering variety of methods adapted and used in Jameson's many textual interpreta-

<sup>16</sup> Both Giles (77) and Kastely feel that Jameson does not follow pluralism or relativism to its logical conclusion.

tions.<sup>17</sup> More specifically, metacommentary -- since it is restricted to texts -- will be utilized in the analysis of the biblical texts. For its part, transcoding has its specific usefulness in the area of understanding the process of translation, specifically from Hebrew to Greek (1 Kings 11-14 and 3 Reigns 11-14). The application may be extended to the third (2 Chronicles 10-13) which rewrites the first two texts. The greater use will be made, however, of metacommentary for the simple reason that my interest in this study is with particular texts rather than theory as such.

After a brief consideration of Jameson's own transcoding activities, I will focus upon a specific example of metacommentary.

#### 2.4. Metacommentary and Other Methods

A further use -- apart from locating a critical strategy -- of designating metacommentary/transcoding as a major dimension of Jameson's critical activity is that it serves to organize his writings coherently. This organization operates by way of two distinctions: the first takes place between metacommentary and the explicit Marxist approach; while the second focuses on metacommentary/transcoding and distinguishes between the appropriation of non-Marxist methods (1971a; PHL; 1973d; 1975i; 1976c; 1977f; 1984i; 1986-7a; 1987o; PCLLC:217-259) and the appropriation of Marxist methods (SOS; 1969b; MF; 1972d; 1974a; 1974e; 1975i; 1977e; 1978a; 1978b; 1981f; 1983i; 1988d; LM). In this distinction there are two publics (see IT1:xxvi): non-Marxist intellectuals, for whom Jameson's work is both a contribution to literary and cultural theory and an advocacy of Marxism; and Marxist intellectuals for whom Jameson's location within the Marxist tradition is important, determined by his treatment of major themes, issues and sometimes texts (such as Balzac) within that tradition (the wider interpretive possibilities of a Marxist approach are also of interest to this group).

<sup>17</sup> E.g. sometimes retooled semiotic squares from Greimas are featured (1975a; PU:206-280; 1989a / PCLLC:279-296), at others Lacanian psychological diagnosis (1971c; 1977a); an allegorical schema (1969a / MF; 1977b) gives way to Sartrean concerns with subject and object or seriality (1984i; 1970a), or to genre analysis (1973b; 1975f / PU:103-150), ideological criticism (1975i; 1976j; 1978a / IT 1:137-152; 1981c); and spatial analysis (1984i; 1985d; 1987c; 1990c), and so on. In longer literary studies a number of codes are used, such as narrative analysis, psychological criticism and ideological criticism in the Wyndham Lewis study (1973a / FAWL). Indeed, a list of single solitary dominant codes tends to conceal the complex relationship between the number of codes used. Sometimes, as in the Le Guin study (1975g), an approach is mentioned -- in this case genre analysis -- but then relegated to a minor role in favour of another -- here utopian criticism.

PU may also be understood in terms of the distinction between metacommentary and the Marxist method. The first chapter -- "On Interpretation: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Act" -- falls into three major parts: other Marxist methods (PU:23-58), non-Marxist methods (PU:58-74) and Jameson's Marxist method (PU:74-102). Thus the organization of Jameson's corpus, this presentation of Jameson's method and the order of PU itself coincide. The intra-Marxist nature<sup>18</sup> of the first section of PU -- dealing with Althusser, Lukács and Sartre -- gives way to the second section which brushes aside the formal and stylistic readings of New Criticism and the large group of weak or "ethical" interpretations<sup>19</sup> (see also 1979d; MF:332), opting for the strong rewritings provided by classical structuralism, Sartrean existentialism and phenomenology, and especially by psychoanalysis and the narrative theories of Northrop Frye. On the basis of these strong methods Jameson develops his own Marxist method in the third section.

## 2.5. An Example

In the preceding discussion I have outlined some of the main features of the crucial strategy of metacommentary/transcoding. In order to provide some practical balance to what has been a largely theoretical discussion I close out with an example which will function as a model for the type of metacommentary I intend to use in the biblical section. There are two ways in which Jameson makes use of metacommentary: either, a specific text is dealt with by means of an interpreter or interpretation of that text (e.g. 1976i, 1981f, 1982b, 1982i / SV:99-127, 1983g, 1990c / PCLLC:97-129); or one begins with an assessment of the range of interpretations already offered for a text as well as ones which might plausibly be offered.

In the case of the former Jameson interrogates both text and specific interpretation in order to arrive at a new interpretation of the same text which both uses the insights of that other interpretation and avoids its fail-

<sup>18</sup> In fact, a footnote at the beginning of the discussion of Althusser advises that it may be skipped, since it is of a technical level beyond literary criticism and of specific concern to Marxists (PU:23).

<sup>19</sup> Jameson's refusal of ethics, particularly assessment of society and culture in terms of good and evil (see PU:115-119; IT1:55, 57-58, 123-126; 1990h:125; 1990i; PCLLC:289-290) has been criticized by those who feel that Jameson thereby cuts himself off from questions of ethics in politics and reinforces critiques of Marxism's immorality (Arac 1983a; 1987:263-272; Said:13-14; Scholes:271-274; C. West). See also Kastely's defence of ethical criticism.

ings. For example, the house built by Frank Gehry in Santa Monica is investigated by means of Gehry's own comments and a major interpretation by Macrae-Gibson (1990c / PCLLC:97-129); or Hitchcock's films are approached through the important book by William Rothman (1982i / SV:99-127). In one sense such an approach is the extension of the book review, but it also reveals a fundamental dimension of metacommentary: its task is to track and unmask the ideological framework assumed by every method and interpretation, to "force a given interpretive practice to stand and yield up its name, to blurt out its master code and thereby reveal its metaphysical and ideological underpinnings" (PU:58). When this is achieved, Marxism moves in to provide a more adequate ideological basis for completing the interpretation. The assumptions which lie behind such a task may be presented as an argument in two phases: first, in line with the Marxist assumption that practice and theory are never separate, Jameson argues that every interpretation -- even the most self-proclaimed non-theoretical interpretation -- is undertaken in the context of a theoretical framework; second, "the working theoretical framework or presuppositions of a given method are in general the ideology which that method seeks to perpetuate" (PU:58). Not only is every interpretation enabled by its theoretical basis, but it at the same serves to propagate the ideology in question. Jameson argues in the same way concerning his dual purpose of developing a Marxist critical approach and advocating Marxism by means of this approach. The nature of the particular ideology in question is suggested by the way in which the interpretation rewrites the text in accord with its own ideological agenda. In this light metacommentary becomes as much an investigation into the nature of interpretation as an interpretive act in its own right.

However, despite the attractions of this option, it is more appropriate in this study to make use of the second type of metacommentary outlined above: a survey of interpretive efforts. One of the best examples of beginning an analysis with an array of interpretations in the context of which the new interpretation must situate itself is found in the chapter on Joseph Conrad in PU. I have read some material by Conrad, but it is not my task to assess the adequacy of Jameson's reading of Conrad -- although the chapter has received both acclaim and criticism (Arac 1987; Berthoud 107-112; Collits; Goldstein 1989:151-154; O'Hara:382-385; Sprinker 1989a; Weinsheimer). Rather, our interest lies in the way Jameson's "strong" interpretation sparks to life.



Jameson focuses on two less overtly political texts by Conrad -- Lord Jim and Nostromo -- over against conservative political texts such as The Secret Agent. What makes the choice of Conrad so apt for comparison with a biblical analysis is the variety of what Jameson terms "cultural spaces"<sup>20</sup> in Conrad, or the instability and ambiguity of Conrad's place in literature. The following statement might well, with a few alterations refer to the Hebrew Bible: "[f]or the discontinuities objectively present in Conrad's narratives have, as with few other modern writers, projected a bewildering variety of competing and incommensurable interpretive options, which it will be our task to assess..." (PU:208). Such a situation calls for metacommentary. It should be noted that for Jameson something exists in the text which triggers the variety of readings which have been given. The Bible, however, contains an even greater amount of ambiguity and discontinuity, for in comparison with the single authors of modern novels the Hebrew Bible is a composite text, compiled over a great period of time. Thus there is much more fuel for conflicting interpretations.

The interpretations of Conrad which interest Jameson are listed as "romance" or mass cultural, stylistic, myth-critical, Freudian, ethical, ego-psychological, existential, Nietzschean and structuralist-textual readings (the latter two constitute the stronger or "more formidable" readings). From this initial identification two closely related paths may be taken: either these interpretations are arranged in a hierarchical fashion ranging from the most suggestive to the most borderline (even these interpretations must have responded to something in the text), and on the basis of such a hierarchy one's own interpretation may proceed, appropriating and developing the insights already provided in a totalizing direction (PU:31-32). Or, the existing interpretations provide a series of elements or raw materials out of which an interpretive model is constructed, which then in dialectical fashion serves as a commentary on those interpretations (see PU:209). It is this second approach which Jameson uses in the analysis of Conrad (a careful reading of the chapter will locate references to each of the interpretations listed above). The differences between the two approaches, however, are not great; a situation which allows a combination of the two in the interpretation of the biblical passages in later chapters.

At this point the tension between metacommentary and the Marxist method resurfaces. Either of the closely related approaches to metacom-

<sup>20</sup> According to Jameson, Conrad exhibits elements that come from the more traditional "high" literature and the emerging mass or popular culture of modernism, characterized by light reading, romance, gothic, adventure story, detective story etc.

mentary outlined above assumes that there is a more powerful and totalizing interpretation -- enabled by the Marxist method -- to which they must be related and which functions as a control or basis of critique. Although Marxism appears sometimes as one more approach which must contest the interpretive high ground, more generally, as with the chapter on Conrad, the Marxist reading is superior because of its ability to coopt the insights of other methods and interpretations in a much wider horizon.

Thus far the consideration of metacommentary as it is used in the interpretation of Conrad has focused on the non-Marxist methods or interpretations. In correspondence with the distinction made earlier between Marxist and non-Marxist methods, it should not come as a surprise to find a number of Marxist options available for interpreting the same texts. Out of a range of possible "mediatory codes" -- reification, social class, mode of production, alienation of labour, commodification, ideologies of Otherness (sex, race), or political domination (PU:226) -- Jameson selects reification, which one would expect from an Hegelian Marxist with debts to Lukács (on other occasions other codes might be chosen<sup>21</sup>). As with the relationship between non-Marxist readings and a Marxist one, the choice of a particular code within Marxism must enable the other codes to make their appearance at some point or other. In other words, in the same way that non-Marxist methods relate to the Marxist method, so also do the possible approaches from within Marxism relate to the main approach selected. However, the difference between the two relationships is that whereas one will always opt for the Marxist approach as a whole, the selection of a particular code within Marxism will be determined both by the text and by the Marxist theory of history. Thus, for instance, the selection of a major feature of capitalism -- such as reification -- is fine for texts produced under capitalism, but much less useful for texts produced in non-capitalist situations.

In summing up, my use of metacommentary will follow the model of Jameson's interpretation of Conrad in PU: a survey of major interpretive options and then a specific interpretation which attempts to include the basic insights of these other interpretations into a wider horizon. Such an approach also performs the very useful function of relating and situating one's own analysis of the text in relation to others in the field, since metacommentary is a form of mediation between interpretations.

<sup>21</sup> It is a little disappointing to find that Jameson has neglected to include discussion of at least one other left interpretation of Conrad: Irving Howe's Politics and the Novel (1957). See Arac (1987:272-279).

## 2.6. Summary and Conclusions

In this section I have presented metacommentary as one of two fundamental interpretive strategies used by Fredric Jameson, the other being the explicit Marxist method which is presented in the next section. Metacommentary has also served as a device through which Jameson's work may be organized, specifically in terms of his dealings with Marxist and non-Marxist methods of interpretation. Metacommentary, which is the text based version of its critical theoretical partner, transcoding, has been described as the ability to make sense of and use the various methods and interpretations which are available. My own particular use of metacommentary will be to organize and incorporate the various interpretations that have been offered for the biblical texts which I will analyze.

Lest metacommentary be viewed as a gentle comparative exercise, undertaken in comfort under a lazy pluralist umbrella, Jameson's depiction of the violence of each interpretive act and of the conflictual nature of metacommentary comes as a timely warning. Thus, "all 'interpretation' in the narrower sense demands the forcible or imperceptible transformation of a given text into an allegory of its particular master code" (PU:58). As far as metacommentary is concerned,

Interpretation is not an isolated act, but takes place within a Homeric battlefield, on which a host of interpretive options are either openly or implicitly in conflict.... As the Chinese proverb has it, you use one ax handle to hew another: in our context, only another, stronger interpretation can overthrow and practically refute an interpretation already in place (PU:13; see also 1976g).

However, even in this quotation the tension in Jameson's approach -- between a desire to be open to a pluralism of methods and the "desire called Marx" (IT1:xxviii, Lyotard's phrase) -- rises once again to the surface, for the "stronger interpretation" will in the final analysis be the Marxist one. In contrast to the depictions of Marxism as just one more method struggling for its place amongst a host of others (PU:10, 31; IT2:ix) Jameson suggests that Marxism is superior because it is more than just another method: it is "neither a contemporary *theory*, in the historically specific sense of this word, nor a contemporary *philosophy* (but rather, like Freud, that particular thing sometimes called a unity-of-theory-and practice)" (IT2:ix). Even more strongly, Marxist interpretation is superior due to its "semantic richness" (PU:10); it provides the "necessary preconditions for adequate

literary comprehension," indeed an "ultimate *semantic* precondition for the intelligibility of literary and cultural texts" (PU:75).

Yet Jameson does not wish to abandon a commitment to pluralism, so he distinguishes between what might be termed the "lazy" pluralism -- each method assumes that it will be left alone in its own corner to pursue its own agenda without any interference from other methods or social and historical questions (1990i) -- and a conflictual pluralism of the battlefield and marketplace (PU:31). Such a distinction indicates the difficulties under which he is working not the least of which are those of his own situation. I would suggest that the tension between pluralism and Marxism is in part due to Jameson's position in North America and the academy: his work comprises a response to and a massive effort to overcome the marginalization of Marxism in the USA and in the university, with the extent of that response functioning as a dialectical register of Marxism's exclusion from public and academic life. Thus Jameson must hold onto a form of pluralism in order to remain within the bounds of a critical and theoretical discourse which systematically excludes Marxism while at the same time pushing his own significant critical skills to their limit in claiming for Marxism an overarching and central role over and within that discourse.

In the tension between pluralism and Marxism, between the exercise of metacommentary and the Marxist method, Jameson ultimately sides with the latter; or, to use terminology with which this chapter began, Marxism is on a higher and wider dialectical plane in which the lower and more limited levels -- that is, methods -- are subsumed, being both cancelled and preserved, overcoming their limits and retaining their positive findings (see PU:10, 21, 47). This requires the formulation of a totalizing Marxist method, to which I now turn.

### 3. Genealogy of a Method

Jameson's Marxist method arrives finally in the third and final section of the long first chapter of PU, which has served as the focus of this discussion of Jameson. In what follows I will present the Marxist method, for which the ground has been prepared by the metacommentary of the first two sections of the "On Interpretation" chapter. Alongside the general preparation for the Marxist method there is a more specific preparatory thread running through the first two of the three sections of PU: medieval allegory and its reinterpretation by Northrop Frye. To this preparatory pair are added a few more developments which serve to explain the genealogy

of Jameson's method: a study by Jameson of Walter Benjamin and the more traditional Marxist approach to interpretation. An analysis of these four items will set the context for the three levels of Jameson's Marxist method,<sup>22</sup> which will be our concern for the remainder of this chapter.<sup>23</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that the idea of an interpretive schema operating according to levels may owe its ultimate origins to Jameson's work on Sartre, particularly the latter's undeveloped suggestions of a "hierarchy of heterogeneous significations" (Sartre 1960:92-93 / 1963:146) which is echoed by Jameson's "hierarchy of motivations, in which the various elements of the work are ordered at various levels from the surface ... so that in the long run everything in the work exists in order to bring to expression the deepest level of the work which is the concrete itself" (MF:409). The detailed development of this suggestion is the concern of the following discussion. I reiterate that the following argument concerning the "Genealogy of a Method" is not articulated by Jameson himself. I begin once again with allegory, since it, as indicated in the previous section, forms the basis common to both metacommentary and the Marxist method.

### 3.1. Medieval Allegory

The development of Jameson's theory of literary criticism begins with medieval allegory, an area -- along with the thoughts of Northrop Frye -- of immense interest for biblical scholarship. Indeed, with such a biblical pedigree it might be argued that Jameson's own proposals are religious in nature and form. They are not, but in the lack of religious continuity a new question arises which is that of the relationship between biblical studies and Marxism. This question lies behind much of the discussion in the remainder of the chapter.

As far as medieval allegory is concerned, I will consider the section from PU (29-33) in this discussion as an independent and concealed unit

<sup>22</sup>Clark (1982:161) argues that Lacan's Symbolic, Imaginary and Real are analogous to the three levels respectively, but he does not spell out the connections.

<sup>23</sup> In making that method my main concern I am treating, despite Jameson's disclaimers (PU:12, 75), the "On Interpretation" chapter of PU as what it is: a handbook on the Marxist literary method.

(out of its context in the discussion of Althusser's proposals on causality).<sup>24</sup> Briefly stated, the four levels of medieval exegesis were firstly the *literal* level, which in principle remains the base from which the other levels move. This first level was generally understood to be the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament. The second level -- normally designated the *allegorical* -- is then the New Testament, more specifically the life of Christ with which the New Testament writers themselves often rewrote Old Testament sections. The stock example is the Old Testament story of the slavery and escape from Egypt, which becomes in the New Testament the death and resurrection of Christ. The third level is the *moral*, which focuses on the life of the individual believer: thus, the release from Egypt and Christ's resurrection become the conversion and salvation of the sinner. The fourth is the *anagogic* which jumps to the sweep of history, specifically that of the church, moving from creation to the end of history. So our illustration moves from the individual believer to the people of God and their progression to the new heaven and new earth at the end of this present world.

A number of significant points emerge from this schema. First, the insistence on recovering and maintaining the literal (first) level constitutes the innovation of the medieval allegorists over against the Hellenistic procedures which readily left the uncomfortable literal text behind in the search for more acceptable allegorical meanings (Homer and the gods is the usual example). While exponents may have been tempted to dump the literal in practice, as the medieval precursor Origen seems to have been prone, it remained an essential anchor if the allegorical scheme was to function properly. Indeed, the development of the four levels based on the literal seems to have been an effort by interpreters in the early church to contain -- by means of both retaining the literal and providing for all interpretive possibilities with a total program (all other suggested levels being variations on these four) -- the wilder flights of interpretive practice. Thus, an appropriation of medieval allegory will need to pay serious and close attention to the text.

Second, Jameson asserts the importance of the second or allegorical level of interpretation, an importance which is due to its role in cracking open the literal level to other stages of interpretation, namely, the moral

<sup>24</sup> The recruitment of medieval allegory forms part of the answer to Althusser's strictures on expressive causality, particularly as that is often located in periodization, or historicism (the notion of the historical period tends to assume that the various exhibits of a period express the inner truth of a period as a whole). See further PU:27-35.

(third) and anagogical (fourth) levels. As I will argue later, this allegorical key looms large in the process by which Jameson appropriates the medieval schema.

Third, Jameson's attraction to the medieval procedure lies in its ability to totalize, to incorporate the individual dimension within the concrete totality of history, to reconnect the public and the private, the sociological and the psychological. The schema is able to relate the individual and the collective through the inverted, or chiasmic, symmetry between the first and second levels (collective history of Israel and the individual life of Christ) and the third and fourth (individual life of the believer and the collective history of salvation) which not only relates the believer to the religious collective of the past (Israel) and the major Christian salvation event (Christ), but also inserts the individual believer within the span -- from creation to the end of history -- of the history of salvation.<sup>25</sup> Another dimension of totalization lies in the challenge to the more contemporary lazy pluralism which appears to allow equal validity to any interpretation and method but in fact works to block the moves that would connect interpretations to their political, social and historical place. For Jameson, a Marxist method inspired by medieval allegory would make precisely such connections.

Jameson's regard for the medieval program of interpretation is expressed in his comparison of the hermeneutical schemes of Marxism and Christianity (MF:116-118). He argues that the historical situations which produced such schemes are analogous, in the sense that Marxism attempts now the same totalizing effort to produce a universal culture as Christianity did in the Middle Ages, the basic interpretive strategy of the latter being the medieval four-level allegorical schema which was essentially a schema for reading the Christian Bible. Jameson follows on the effort of Ernst Bloch in the attempt to provide a hermeneutic technique which will do for Marxism what the allegorical levels did for Christianity; namely, to provide doctrinal and intellectual satisfaction to believers, and to engage in the missionary activity of absorbing outsiders. The Marxist literary method of PU constitutes this attempt. Marxism and religion -- the great antagonists in a later part of MF (403) -- meet therefore in the historically generated need to provide an adequate hermeneutics.

<sup>25</sup> In this way the medieval schema performs a similar function to the definition of ideology which Jameson borrows from Althusser: the subject's imagined relationship to her or his real social and historical conditions of existence (see below).

### 3.2. Northrop Frye

My suggestion is that the four levels of medieval allegory are transformed into the three of Jameson's own approach. Part of this transformation is enacted in the encounter with Northrop Frye's recasting of the four-fold medieval interpretive scheme (PU:69-74).<sup>26</sup> Frye represents for Jameson the positive dimensions of modern -- over against medieval -- religious interpretation, specifically due to his emphasis on the collective and social implications of religion and its interpretive strategies. This collective emphasis operates at two levels or steps: firstly, religion and its terms and debates refer in a symbolic manner to the various questions concerning the nature of community; secondly, if literature is understood as a paler and later version of myth and ritual, then literature also must ultimately be understood as a "symbolic meditation on the destiny of community" (PU:70).

To my mind Jameson's appropriation of Frye operates at a number of its own levels, not all of which are articulated by Jameson. The appropriation is, as expected, a dialectical affair with critique and praise mixing it up together. Jameson is taken with a number of points in Frye's approach: the flexibility with which Frye reinterprets the older scheme; the existence of an allegorical key which generates the other levels of interpretation; and the notion that the various levels are in fact "phases." In comparison to medieval allegory, Frye feels that "[i]t is better to think ... not simply of a sequence of meanings, but of a sequence of contexts or relationships in which the whole work of literary art can be placed.... I call these contexts or relationships 'phases'" (Frye 1957:73). Jameson will characterize the levels of his own approach as phases in this sense (PU:75).

However, the major issue is that of individual and collective, an issue which comes to the fore in the third (mythical) and fourth (anagogic) phases of Frye's scheme. Jameson's explicit argument is that Frye removes with one hand what he provides with the other, namely, an emphasis on the collective: in comparison with the medieval scheme Frye inverts the last two levels, making the third a collective level and the fourth and final level an individual one. Skipping past Frye's first (literal and descriptive) and second (formal) phases, Jameson presents Frye's third or mythical phase as

<sup>26</sup> This encounter is restricted, however, to one of the four essays in Frye's Anatomy of Criticism, namely the second essay on "Ethical Criticism" or "The Theory of Symbols" (Frye 1957:71-128).



the locus of the various collective and social concerns which are the strength of Frye's reinterpretation. According to Jameson, this is equivalent to the final level of medieval allegory (termed by the medieval exegetes the "anagogic"). The value Jameson sees in this final medieval level is also found in the third phase of Frye's scheme. It is Frye's final or (misnamed) anagogic phase -- equivalent for Jameson to the third or moral level of the medieval scheme -- which causes all the disappointment.<sup>27</sup> Despite the ambiguities of this level -- combining a universal apocalyptic perspective with that of the individual body and providing a useful interplay between the social and libidinal bodies -- Jameson finds that the individual ultimately dominates. "The essentially historical interpretive system of the church fathers has here been recontained, and its political elements turned back into the merest figures for the Utopian realities of the individual subject" (PU:74).

Alongside this explicit argument by Jameson there are two dimensions of Jameson's discussion of Frye which he does not articulate. Firstly, although he criticizes the perceived inversion of the medieval system, Jameson also unconsciously draws out some important features for his own system. In the latter, the crucial middle phase, as we shall see, is the

<sup>27</sup> This is of course Jameson's ingenious understanding of the way Frye deals with the medieval tradition. Frye is undertaking a more comprehensive task, in which he wishes, in characteristic symmetrical fashion, to relate the four allegorical phases (or the "theory of symbols") with the five modes of fiction discussed in his first essay: myth, romance, high mimetic, low mimetic and ironic, which correspond to phases in western literature as much as to types or modes of literature. In order to make five fit into four, Frye has smuggled a second phase into the arena of the first. A table is best (based on Frye 1957:115-116):

Fictional modes (1st essay):	Allegorical phases (2nd essay):	[Medieval levels:
ironic	1. literal and	-
low mimetic	descriptive	literal
high mimetic	2. formal	allegorical
romance	3. mythical	moral
myth	4. anagogic	anagogic]

It is the terminological uncertainty upon which Jameson seizes. The attempt to fit five fictional modes into four allegorical phases (second column) creates some instability; the five phases are grouped under four headings. Jameson's argument is that Frye has inverted the medieval moral and anagogic phases while introducing terminological confusion as well (Frye's "anagogic" has not the same content as the medieval "anagogic"). Further evidence for Jameson's argument is in the shift of myth from the final fictional mode (first column) to the penultimate allegorical phase (second column): a more rigorous scheme would have located the mythical as the final allegorical phase and then renamed the anagogic which would now be in the penultimate position.

social: here Jameson would seem to be following Frye with the location of the social in the middle phases rather than at either end of the process as was the case with the medieval system. Further, Frye's final or anagogic level moves beyond society to consider issues of universal significance. While Jameson is unhappy with the dominance of the individual body at this level, his own system moves from the social to the universal (minus the libidinal body) in its final phase. The essential factor in this implicit appropriation of Frye is the distinction between the social and the universal, a distinction which operates in Frye's scheme and in the later elaboration of Jameson's but which is absent from Jameson's assessment of Frye, where everything is lumped under the "collective" label. Thus, at a less conscious level Jameson is indebted to the order of Frye's phases as they exist. In fact, he is able to achieve, or rather slip in, such an appropriation while the reader's attention is focused on the critique levelled at Frye.

Secondly, the tension between the criticism and the positive use of Frye's ordering of allegorical levels indicates another debate operating behind Jameson's arguments. On the surface, Jameson asserts the medieval order over against Frye, thereby making the cluster of questions associated with the individual a figure of, or an element on the way to, the greater domain of the social. I would suggest that this is a coded way of asserting the priority of Marxism over the temptations of a Freudian analysis; in other words, Freudian insights will ultimately be understood in the Marxist context and not vice versa. That Freud is a partner in this discussion is indicated by the treatment of Freud which immediately precedes (in PU) that of Frye.

In the light of Jameson's complex appropriation of Frye, what then happens to the relationship between individual and collective in Jameson's own hermeneutic scheme? Contrary to the expectations which follow the critique of Frye, Jameson does not develop a level or phase in which the individual person or body is the major concern. There is no Freudian level preceding the Marxist one. Rather than returning to the medieval order in which the individual -- both Christ and the believer -- received their own space, Jameson lops off, as it were, the final stage of Frye's allegorical scheme, or at least the parts concerned with the individual. Those concerns are then redirected to the two other phases of Jameson's three-phase approach, but in each case the individual is situated within a wider collective. Thus in the first phase we find an important place given to the individual text in the context of specific historical developments. The all-important struggle between the individual person and society is contained

within Jameson's second, or social level. Jameson has been able to achieve such a containment in part because of Frye's own foregrounding of the individual-social interplay in his own system. Jameson signals his appreciation of Frye's treatment in this respect, digging into the Marxist tradition to locate the importance of both individual or libidinal liberation and social revolution (PU:73). This appreciation has spilled over into the construction of Jameson's allegorical system.

### 3.3. Walter Benjamin and the Marxist Framework

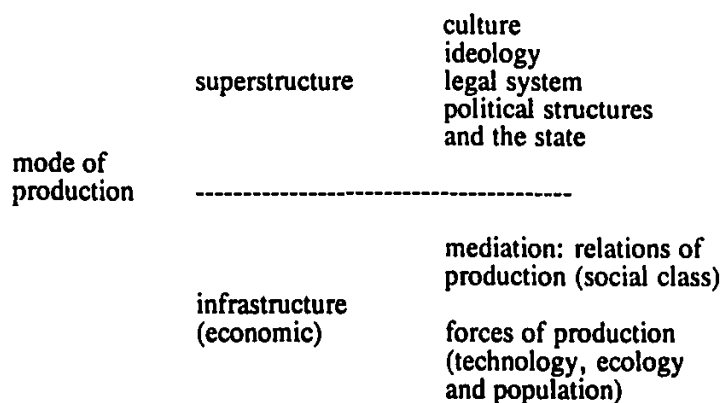
Two stages -- medieval allegory and Frye's reinterpretation -- in the genealogy of Jameson's method have been presented. The third logical -- over against temporal -- stage comes from a study on Walter Benjamin (1969a / MF:60-83) where Jameson interprets Benjamin by means of the fourfold mode of medieval exegesis. There is however a crucial slippage in this study: whereas the four medieval levels were the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical, in the Benjamin article Jameson cites them as the literal, moral, allegorical and anagogical.<sup>28</sup> The middle two levels have been interchanged, swapping the moral and the allegorical. The net effect is to fuse these two middle phases, leaving us with: literal, allegorical/moral, and anagogical.

The importance of this switch and fusion for the development of the Marxist allegorical method lies in two related areas: the reduction from four levels to three; and the role of the key allegorical level. Regarding the former, the medieval system had two levels which dealt with the individual -- allegorical (Christ) moral (individual believer). In the light of the Benjamin study the distinction has effectively been collapsed and the new middle phase will be invested with all the concerns of society, as we shall see. As far as the important allegorical level is concerned, it will be recalled that it was this level in the medieval approach which opened up the text for the other interpretive levels. The interchange in the Benjamin article between the second and the third levels serves to share the allegorical key between them, thus making the second or middle phase of a three level system the new allegorical nutcracker.

In this genealogy there remains one final stage, in which a more traditional Marxist hermeneutic makes its contribution. Thus far some of

<sup>28</sup> The levels are reinterpreted as follows: the literal becomes the psychological; the moral remains as such; the allegorical becomes the aesthetic or the religion of art; and the anagogic is transformed into the level of history or politics.

the elements in Jameson's own three-phase approach have slipped into place: from medieval allegory has come the emphasis on the literal at the first phase and the concern with the whole of history in the final level; from Northrop Frye also comes the importance of the literal at the first level as well as the individual collective-relationship; in the Benjamin study the three-fold system becomes clearer with the middle phase taking on the nature of the allegorical key. The remaining question is the nature of that second or middle phase: traditional Marxist hermeneutics will supply Jameson's option for the social as the allegorical key of his interpretive schema. For in that tradition the social, or "relations of production," functions as the prime mediation between the superstructure and the other dimensions of the base. In other words, as the following diagram illustrates, elements from culture, ideology or politics relate to the economic by means of the social, whose central concern is that of class conflict.



Jameson's second level is also the social, and its prime interest is also the dynamic of class conflict. It is both allegorical key and mode of mediation.

The diagram above provides the opportunity to introduce a basic Marxist assumption on Jameson's scheme: the "problematic" of the relationship between what are most commonly called base (or infrastructure) and superstructure. This problematic is not only necessary to understand role of the social in Jameson's scheme, but it is also fundamental to the scheme as a whole (including the more specific question of the relation between text and context). As a Marxist Jameson is committed to the model of base and superstructure in order to understand the world, but he is also keen to avoid the common trap, not always successfully, of making the causal link between economic base and elements of the superstructure too direct (vulgar determinism).

Four main features of the base-superstructure relationship recur throughout Jameson's work. First, a static, one-to-one correlation of features in the base and superstructure (sometimes called homology) is averted by understanding the relationship between superstructure and base as contradictory or conflictual; that is, particular superstructural features such as religious expression or a text's formal elements often function as a compensation or obverse, rather than a direct correlation, to elements in the social and economic base. Secondly, related to but distinct from this contradictory relationship is the two-way street between base and superstructure: although superstructural features may only be understood in view of the determining base, cultural and ideological activities of the superstructure may foreshadow and thus play their part in bringing about a social and economic base different from the contemporary one. In other words, certain superstructural elements may act in a prophetic role (this is in fact the task Jameson envisages for a properly political or Marxist culture; see 1968; 1975h; 1982f; 1983b; 1986-7a; 1987-8; PCLLC:52-54, 399-418). Third, the relationship between base and superstructure is a mediated relationship, primarily by means of class conflict, but also through ideology, psychological categories and the like. Fourth, Jameson introduces the whole question of history into the relationship: essentially, it is argued that for a host of local and general reasons the different levels undergo historical movement at different rates. This is one of the main reasons why the base-superstructure relationship must be understood as conflictual and as an alternating current between the two levels. The four points of the base-superstructure problem outlined here are important in the structure of Jameson's interpretive method and may be summarized not in the static image of a house and its foundations, but rather in the dynamic image of rolling stock on a rail network: *Überbau* and *Basis* originally seem to have been railroad terminology (LM:45-46). This dynamic nature is part of the status of the base-superstructure relationship as a problematic: "[m]y own position has always been that everything changes when you grasp base-and-superstructure not as a full-fledged theory in its own right, but rather as the name for a problem, whose solution is always a unique, ad hoc invention" (LM:46).

My concern within the vast base-superstructure relationship is specifically literary and cultural, and perhaps the most fruitful way to describe the literary and cultural dimensions of the relationship is through the

terminology of situation and response.<sup>29</sup> In this case, literary works or cultural products (superstructural elements) function as active responses to social, political and economic situations or contexts (infrastructural elements). In other words, the text forms an answer to a particular question posed by the context of the text. Thus, to use an example from Jameson first, Ursula K. Le Guin's strategy of "world reduction" in her utopian novels (The Left Hand of Darkness and The Dispossessed) constitutes a literary and political response to the commodity environment of late capitalism with its endless identical products crammed into homes and stores (1975g).<sup>30</sup> As for a biblical example, the situation of the Babylonian Exile elicits a variety of responses ranging from Deutero-Isaiah to Lamentations. With older texts such as the Hebrew Bible, we are left with the responses or answers and little or no evidence for the nature of the situations or questions. In these cases, the strategy draws much closer to Collingwood's notion that it is necessary to search for (with the use of imagination) the questions to which the literary and cultural works form responses or answers.

The outcome of the whole situation-response approach is that texts (and cultural products in general) are no longer regarded as passive reflectors of social conditions, as sources of easy and direct information, but as active interventions in problem-ridden social situations; texts play particular social and political parts in their contexts. The approach bears within it the features noted above with regard to base and superstructure: texts are studied bearing in mind the contradictory nature of their relation with political and economic situations, the two-directional traffic of that relation, the elements that mediate it, and the contradictions in the historical situation itself.

With the outline of their genealogy complete -- medieval allegory, Northrop Frye, the Benjamin study, and the mediatory role of the social -- and the fundamental assumption of base and superstructure introduced, the three levels or phases of Jameson's allegorical Marxist hermeneutics are now in place.

<sup>29</sup> The terminology is drawn primarily from Sartre, but also from Lévi-Strauss and Althusser (MF:382-384; PHL:212-213).

<sup>30</sup> Or, Erving Goffman's method in Frame Analysis is a response to the utopian promise of the 60s counterculture: he shows that a whole new set of social patterns and customs is formed after the older customs and conventions are discarded (1976d).

### 3.4. The Marxist Allegorical Method

When the three phases of the schema itself are integrated with one another they reveal a high degree of complexity. Essentially three distinct but mutually transforming operations are under way: in each of the three phases the relationship between the social base and the cultural dimension of the superstructure is articulated in different and respectively wider categories. More specifically, as this is a method of interpreting literary and cultural products, the relationship between base and superstructure is focused on the various aspects of the relation between texts (as part of culture) and their social and economic base. The question of the relationship itself, or the mediation between the two realms, is a question of the process of interpretation. We begin with Jameson's own preliminary statement, whose importance for what follows requires a longer quotation.<sup>31</sup>

In specifying the argument that Marxist critical insights expand the understanding of texts by providing their ultimate semantic preconditions, Jameson argues that

"... such semantic enrichment and enlargement of the inert givens and materials of a particular text must take place within three concentric frameworks, which mark a widening out of the sense of the social ground of a text through the notions, first, of political history, in the narrow sense of punctual event and a chroniclelike sequence of happenings in time; then of society, in the now already less diachronic and time-bound sense of a constitutive tension and struggle between social classes; and, ultimately, of history now conceived in its vastest sense of the sequence of modes of production and the succession and destiny of the various human social formations, from prehistoric life to whatever far future history has in store for us.

These distinct semantic horizons are, to be sure, also distinct moments of the process of interpretation, and may in that sense be understood as dialectical equivalents of what Frye has called the successive "phases" in our reinterpretation -- our rereading and rewriting -- of the literary text. What we must also note, however, is that each phase or horizon governs a distinct reconstruction of its object, and construes the very structure of what can now only in a general sense be called "the text" in a different way.

Thus, within the narrower limits of our first, narrowly political or historical, horizon, the "text," the object of study, is still more or less construed as coinciding with the individual or literary work or utterance. The difference between the perspective enforced and enabled by this horizon, however, and

<sup>31</sup> Formally Jameson's text describes the method in three increasingly complex stages. The first two stages of this description are quoted in my text, while the final description takes up the remainder of the "On Interpretation" chapter. I will exploit later a contradiction between the three descriptions.

that of ordinary *explication de texte*, or individual exegesis, is that here the individual work is grasped essentially as a *symbolic act*.

When we pass into the second phase, and find that the semantic horizon within which we grasp a cultural object has widened to include the social order, we will find that the very object of our analysis has itself been thereby dialectically transformed, and that it is no longer construed as an individual "text" or work in the narrow sense, but has been reconstituted in the form of the great collective and class discourses of which a text is little more than an individual *parole* or utterance. Within this new horizon, then, our object of study will prove to be the *ideologeme*, that is, the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes.

When finally, even the passions and values of a particular social formation find themselves placed in a new and seemingly relativized perspective by the ultimate horizon of human history as a whole, and by their respective positions in the whole complex sequence of the modes of production, both the individual text and its ideologemes know a final transformation, and must be read in terms of what I will call the *ideology of form*, that is, the symbolic messages transmitted to us by the coexistence of various sign systems which are themselves traces or anticipations of modes of production. (PU:75-76; see the restatement in GA:212)

The major general feature of this model is the way it historicizes the traditional Marxist base-superstructure pattern. It is, in other words, a comprehensive effort at providing a fruitful conjunction of diachronic and synchronic concerns. At first sight these two areas would seem to be at cross-purposes with one another: the panorama of the parading historical epochs which finds itself echoed in class relations and the forms of texts seems to have little to do with the synchronic question of superstructure and infrastructure. However, much of the power and sophistication of Jameson's work comes from the conjunction of these two patterns.

As this complex method comprises the bulk of what I will remove from Jameson's care in order to be applied to the Hebrew Bible, I will discuss in some detail the dimensions of this method, its benefits and problems, so that it may be productively used with the biblical text.

#### 4. First Horizon: The Political or Literal Phase

In presenting and analyzing each of the levels, I will distinguish between the superstructural and infrastructural features, and the question of interpretation. Whereas the superstructural focus of the first horizon (PU:76-83) remains steady on the text as an individual work, there is some ambiguity (which will be exploited) in Jameson's description of the base.



#### 4.1. Superstructure: The Text

First, the text: in this initial interpretive phase it coincides with the individual cultural product and is the privileged territory of analysis. Yet Jameson does not follow the path of "traditional" exegesis -- *explication de texte* is Jameson's term -- with its focus on the text by itself, external references being barred from entry. Rather, the text is, following Kenneth Burke (see 1978a; 1978b), a "symbolic act." Initially, we find not a definition of this phrase, however, but an example favoured on a number of occasions (MF:383-384; PHL:162; PU:77-79). Claude Lévi-Strauss's study of the aesthetic structure of Caduveo Indian women's facial art is the paradigm of such interpretive acts.<sup>32</sup> These cultural artifacts by their oblique juxtaposition of symmetrical patterns (the human face and the figure painted on a different axis to that of the face) effect an imaginary and formal resolution of a real social contradiction; namely the unresolved patterns of social hierarchy and relations of domination enabled and produced by such a hierarchy. With no other outlet for such a tension, as with the social organization of the neighbouring tribes of the Guana and Bororo, the Caduveo attempt to overcome the tension by means of art.

The paradigm of Caduveo facial art provides the opportunity for the introduction of more descriptive terms: for Jameson, then, to speak of a cultural product as a "symbolic act" is to regard it as the "resolution" of a "contradiction." Given the Marxist tendency to view the social and economic as more significant and concrete than the cultural, the text thereby becomes an "imaginary resolution" of a "real (i.e. social) contradiction."<sup>33</sup> This is of course directly related to the situation-response model proposed earlier as the way to understand the relationship between base and superstructure (the situation being the real contradiction, and the response the imaginary resolution). Thus, alongside Sartre (situation and response) and Collingwood (question and answer) is found Claude Lévi-Strauss, whose notion that the products of culture, understood as myth and primitive

<sup>32</sup> While the model of such analysis is stated by Jameson to be the essay "The Structural Study of Myth" (Levi-Strauss 1963) the Caduveo example is in fact taken from *Tristes Tropiques* (see PU:77-79), translated as *A World on the Wane*, pp. 160-180.

<sup>33</sup> The terminology of "symbolic," "imaginary," and "real" is deliberately taken from Lacan; see 1977f / IT1:75-115, as well as 1977a.

art, try to solve infrastructural contradictions is consistent with Marxism (see 1987k:19).<sup>34</sup>

The text, within this first horizon, is therefore a symbolic act, an imaginary resolution. The introduction of the idea of resolution, as the definition of the text itself, uncovers two further features: the ideological and the formal. The text is ideological in the very act of attempting to resolve a social contradiction: the contradiction does not thereby disappear but is merely papered over and for this reason the resolution is described as "imaginary." Regarding form: as with the Caduveo facial art, Jameson argues that the resolution also takes place primarily in the form of the text rather than in its content. Textual analysis will therefore focus on the form in order to detect traces of the ideological or imaginary resolution that has taken place. Given the ideological and formal nature of the resolution, a formal analysis will also hope to uncover certain ideological features of the text.

I am already moving over into the question of interpretation, but before the transition is complete it would be useful to move beyond the confines of the discussion in PU in order to elaborate upon the nature of the text, specifically in regard to form and genre. For Jameson form is understood in its relationship with content: the formal code or structure functions to organize the content -- also described as "raw material" -- which is understood to consist of the various items of every day social, political and economic life. In terms of literary texts, the important point is that historical circumstances affect the form in ways different and more revealing than the content. Yet, after dealing with form, Jameson returns to content, since it is not merely a formless heap of raw materials but resembles more of a second hand store, with the various items bearing the forms and structures of other times and places (a phenomenon described as the "logic of content" [MF:327-359]). The new textual product therefore constitutes a conflict between the various traces and types of resistance of older forms and the fresh ones with which the newer artifact is constructed. This is particularly true of the biblical text. Conversely, older techniques and forms (including the techniques of literary criticism itself) carry with

<sup>34</sup> Jameson must, however, bridge the social and historical distance from the tribal context of this paradigm to capitalism (this is problematic for Frow:36-37 and Seaton:126-128). He does so by invoking the notion of the political unconscious (which itself is in part an appropriation of Lévi-Strauss' *pensée sauvage*, the preconscious mental grids and associative systems of tribal people), arguing *minori ad maius* (Rabbinic *qal v'homer*): "if this is the case for pre-capitalist and even pre-political societies, then how much more must it be true for the citizen of the modern *Gesellschaft*...?" (PU:79).

them their own motley collection of scavenged and cheaply acquired raw materials. Both modes of the retention of outmoded form or content are designated, following Husserl, "sedimentation" (see PU:140-141).

The question of genre is a natural extension of the concern with form. The importance of genre on the theoretical level lies in indicating the connections between cultural criticism and biblical study, for the privileged realms of genre study are traditional and precapitalist folk materials and mass cultural products. Genre study constitutes an element in the methodological interchange between these two areas, which means that Jameson's wider work in cultural criticism also has importance for biblical study, but this is a topic for another study.<sup>35</sup> As an essentially comparative exercise the study of genre plies its trade upon a range or corpus of texts. The notion of genre itself assumes some form of contract between writer(s) or texts and the groups or public for whom the generic items are produced (also Frye 1957:95-96); even where such contracts break down, as in the contemporary situation, certain generic expectations governing reception apply in newer areas, especially in those of the large-scale production of certain genres (e.g. horror or science fiction films, or westerns, in which the bulk of the films follows quite restricted formats and conventions). More important is the observation that, as with the notion of character, texts are never the pristine and hermit-like abodes of individual genres but rather always contain complexes or clusters of competing and overlaid genres, which may be dominant, subdominant or in the process of transition and generation of newer types (e.g. the "filmed novel" [1980b:320]) out of those which already exist. Genre study therefore must be understood not so much as the isolation of pure types or of the generic secret but rather as the search for the conjunction, often conflictual, of different types in any one location (see 1982g). (Such an understanding forms part of the background to the notion of generic discontinuity to which we return at a later point.) The notorious difficulty of identifying genres in the biblical text may possibly be avoided by such a recasting of the whole question of genre. The importance of genre study for Jameson's work lies in its essentially formal nature, for generic conflict within texts is part of the interest in formal and structural contradiction.

<sup>35</sup> The connection is that the conventions of precapitalist culture are re-emerging in contemporary mass culture (1977g:546). This cuts both ways: methods, especially the various formalisms and structuralisms, developed initially on traditional folk materials find fertile ground in mass cultural products; so also the study of contemporary popular culture provides insights for the study of precapitalist texts such as the Hebrew Bible.

In summary, the superstructural dimension of this first horizon is dominated by the individual text, understood as a symbolic act or imaginary resolution. The features of the text which demand most attention are its formal and ideological features.

#### 4.2. Interpretation

After text, the second issue in this first hermeneutic phase is interpretation, which I have already suggested is constituted by a formal analysis which moves into the question of ideology. However, the major feature of interpretation in this horizon is a dialectical one: the search for contradiction. If the text is understood as an imaginary or ideological resolution to a real contradiction, then traces of that contradiction will exist in the text both in the way in which it attempts the resolution and in the incompleteness of that resolution. This search for contradictions connects with the interpretive interest in form and ideology in that the contradictions in the text will tend to be of a formal and ideological nature. This is the import of the example drawn from Lévi-Strauss concerning Caduveo face painting.

Indeed, for Jameson contradiction is a crucial interpretive category in Marxist analysis: "[t]he methodological requirement to articulate a text's fundamental contradiction may then be seen as a test of the completeness of the analysis" (PU:80). Thus, Jameson's first step in many critical exercises is to search for and locate the major contradiction or conflict -- sometimes less concealed than at other times -- in a cultural product, from which crucial step the remainder of the analysis flows.<sup>36</sup> This search takes place across the whole generic spectrum of Jameson's critical work, from complex theoretical discussions (e.g. 1986-7a) to pieces for popular readership (e.g. 1979b). However, in locating the initial contradiction, Jameson is keen to avoid -- although he is not always successful -- the conventional "structural" notion of a binary opposition. Encoded in such oppositions is a marginalization which appears all too readily in the imbalance between the terms which repressively favour the essential and central over against the unessential and marginal. Thus, for Jameson, the initial opposition should not lock the other items into a set list; rather, it is marked by its very instability -- signalled often by conjunctions of the unlikely (e.g. the

<sup>36</sup> Generally, contradictions are located through formal analysis, but aesthetic reactions to a cultural product -- such as discomfort, annoyance and boredom (1982a:126; 1982e:154; 1983c:215; 1987f:203 / PCLLC:71-72) -- must also be heeded, since they indicate contradictions and cultural limits to be explored.

application of Greimas' and Lévi-Strauss' narrative formulae to Weber's life and work [1974d]) -- and the dialectical tendency to tumble and slide into ever changing and wider relationships in which the centre is continually undermined (see 1985c:377). The contradiction identified in this first interpretive level is therefore successively relocated in the subsequent horizons (e.g. 1972d; 1974a 1974d; 1974e; 1976i; 1979b; 1979f; 1984i; 1984m; 1984n; 1985b; 1986a; 1986-7b; 1989d; especially 1970c; 1975a; 1983a; 1984b; 1986-7a; 1990c / PCLLC:97-129).

The next step within the first hermeneutic level, however, is to relate the text's contradictions to those of the base or context (as once again with the Caduveo example). Yet the move from imaginary resolution to real contradiction, from the answers and solutions in our possession (i.e. texts and other cultural products) to the restoration of the questions and problems, is risky: "[t]o attempt artificially to reconstruct the contradiction of which this text stands as an imaginary resolution means leaving the safe terrain of textual commentary and venturing some hypotheses whose usefulness can be tested only after the fact" (1984k:80-81).

Before exploring these risks in ascertaining the context of the text, the role of ideology needs some further comment, for it plays a significant role in interpretation alongside contradiction. Thus far the discussion of interpretation has seen the need to locate the traces of contradiction in the text and then connect that contradiction with that of the context or base. A properly Marxist schema, however, requires a means of transition, or, more technically, mediation, from text to context, from superstructure to base. In the case of this first interpretive horizon the mediatory position is occupied by ideological activity. Whereas texts are the abodes of form -- specifically formal resolutions indicating traces of formal contradictions -- in the area of mediation ideology finds its lodgings. The crucial point here is that contradiction in the realm of the text is transformed into antinomy (or aporia) in the realm of ideology. Antinomy, which is the specific form of ideology in the first horizon of interpretation, is understood by Jameson "as logical scandal or double bind, the unthinkable and the conceptually paradoxical, that which cannot be unknotted by the operation of pure thought" (PU:82-83). Antinomies themselves are products of social contradictions, but the inability to resolve the ideological antinomy at the level of pure thought generates the narrative text, where the resolution is attempted at a formal level. In other words, the imaginary resolutions (text) of social contradictions (base or context) are mediated by means of the ideological friction of antinomies. This intermediary level also con-

stitutes the methodological space for Greimasian semiotic analysis, whose squares articulate the ideological oppositions, antinomies and closures which connect in one direction with patterns of formal resolution and in the other direction function as symptoms of social contradiction (see Appendix).

The stipulation that Greimas' semiotic square be used in this way (see also PU:43-49) indicates -- although it is not spelled out by Jameson himself -- that the question of narrative closure is to be dealt with in this first horizon. Not only, therefore, is ideology to be understood in terms of antinomy at this point, but it also functions as a "strategy of containment." By this term Jameson refers to the ability of a narrative to project the impression that it has said all there is to say, that the account is complete. In other words, a text attempts to provide the illusion that it is a totality (the phrase "strategy of containment" appears in Jameson's discussion of totality, specifically that of Lukács; PU:52-54<sup>37</sup>). Whereas such strategies may be intellectual in the realms of philosophy and other thought (presumably including theology), in the case of narratives they are formal. In transforming Lukács notion of totality into a mode of analysis, Jameson seeks to give "attention to those narrative frames or containment strategies which seek to endow their object of representation with formal unity" (PU:54). But the ultimate purpose of such analysis is to show what has been omitted in the process of closure: the main function of the closure of texts (and larger entities such as social systems) is to present the impression of totality while undertaking a comprehensive process of containing, repressing and blocking out large areas, often the crucial areas, pertaining to those texts.

Thus narrative closure, as a strategy of containment, provides an instance of the ties between ideology and structure. The nature of a text's closure provides valuable information regarding ideological limits and possibilities of that text. For instance, the opposed phenomena of foreclosure and the incapacity to close a narrative both indicate an inability to deal with

<sup>37</sup> The phrase is also part of the strategy used to appropriate other methods under the Marxist banner. Understood as a "strategy of containment" each method and interpretation presents itself as internally consistent by enforcing a closure which by its very activity represses whatever lies outside its borders, thus creating an illusion of offering the total picture (see PU:53-54). Uncovering such strategies cuts the various methods down to size. Jameson has of course left himself wide open to the charge that to claim for Marxism such a totalizing strategy is precisely a strategy of containment like the other methods (see Weber 1986:50). He does not, in other words, subject Marxism to the same critique (Dasenbrock 1981a:308-9).

the ideological forces unleashed in the text. The forced or premature closure of a text suggests either a conscious effort to exclude ideological options or a more unconscious blocking of those options. By contrast the uncontrollable spinning in search of closure indicates a constitutive lack or unrealized program which has specific social dimensions. In the texts to come the fact of three different accounts and thus of types of closure -- including one in which an established closure (1 Kings 11-14) is opened up and left unresolved (3 Reigns 11-14) -- has significant ideological implications.

Interpretation in this first horizon will therefore move from locating the formal contradictions in the text to ideological antinomies and closures. This procedure will be followed in the analysis of the biblical texts. There is, however, a third step, in which the real contradictions of the social base are the focus; to that base we now turn.

#### 4.3. Infrastructure or Base

Yet this is where some difficulties appear, for Jameson's descriptions of the base -- or rather that part of it relevant to the first interpretive horizon -- present some contradictions of their own. It will be recalled that in a structural echo of the subject matter Jameson provides three descriptions of the three phases of interpretation, each more detailed than the former. The contradiction in the portrayal of the base takes place between a part of the final and most detailed description and the other more cryptic outlines, along with the opening section of the detailed material.

Thus, in the shorter characterizations, the ground of a text in the first horizon is "political history, in the narrow sense of punctual event and a chroniclelike sequence of happenings in time" (PU:75; also GA:212). Indeed the first horizon is entitled the "political" phase. This brief introduction is reinforced by the description of the narrowly political horizon as that "in which history is reduced to a series of punctual events and crises in time, to the diachronic agitation of the year-to-year, the chroniclelike annals of the rise and fall of political regimes and social fashions, and the passionate immediacy of struggles between historical individuals" (PU:76-77). It is quite clear that we are concerned with the crucial tensions and passions of day to day historical events; in short, this horizon covers that small slice of history in which the biological individual feels at home. History and the social base should be the most easily grasped and understood in this phase in comparison to what will come in the other two phases.

However, when Jameson turns to provide some more detail, the confidence begins to dissipate.<sup>38</sup> The effort to specify the appropriate realm of the base or infrastructure in the first horizon is both widely referred to and somewhat of a surprise. In this description the text covers its historical tracks so well that they must be reconstructed from the text itself, giving the illusion that the text creates its own specific historical context: "the literary work or cultural object, as though for the first time, brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a reaction" (PU:82). Invoking Althusser's "absent cause" (Althusser and Balibar 1970:188) and Lacan's "Real," Jameson balances the structuralist weight on the text (which threatens to eradicate the referent) with the Marxist insistence on the reality of the material ground (which must avoid notions of reflection): history itself is not a text but it is accessible only in textualized form. The historical basis is therefore approached by means of both the text under diagnosis and, more importantly, other texts deriving from and concerned with the era in which the text was produced, even though these other texts must be subject to exactly the same strictures as the initial text. As far as the location of what promised to be of relatively easy access is concerned, history (the Real) is drawn up into the text and generates the mutations and contradictions found there.<sup>39</sup>

Thus a contradiction exists between a base or history which cannot be conceptualized or represented by the text, and a base which is concerned with those events most accessible to the individual. It is problems such as this which have brought the charge that Jameson is ultimately ahistorical, despite his desire to historicize at every opportunity.<sup>40</sup> I will however use

<sup>38</sup> Further confusion arises with the Caduveo paradigm, which identifies the contradiction as one concerned with the relationships of social groups or castes (one quotation from Lévi-Strauss uses "class" [PU:78]) -- categories which sit the base in the second interpretive horizon rather than in the first.

<sup>39</sup> Jameson's discussion of these matters in PU, itself based on earlier work on Kenneth Burke (1978a, 1978b), is liberally sprinkled with the terminology of "text," "sub-text" and "context"; but such a discussion must be assessed in the light of his later reappraisal of theories of text and textuality (1986-7b, which forms a virtual commentary on the appropriate section in PU), where unease with such language flags its disappearance from Jameson's terminology. Further, the importation of the material from the Burke discussion into the presentation of the first horizon in PU generates the conflict noted in the main text, since it in fact refers to the status of the base as a whole over all three horizons.

<sup>40</sup> Anthony Ceresko made this point to me in question time after my paper "The Ideology of Form: Jameson and Jeroboam," which I delivered at the International Congress for the Study of Religion, Melbourne, 12-17 July 1992. Giles is more scathing, speaking of the representational trap between a vulgar materialism which connects directly and an idealist structuralism that dissolves the referent (Giles:74).



this contradiction to my own benefit. The description of the base as "political history" is of little use with the biblical text. Except in the most fragmentary way, on the basis of the occasionally relevant archaeological find, the daily and yearly events which are the most obvious to biological individuals are those which have in the Hebrew Bible no independent existence apart from the content of the text itself. Thus it is the second description of history as an "absent cause" which is of greater value for the analysis of biblical texts, yet this description applies to the base in all horizons. Jameson's abstraction of history, the ultimate delegation of history to the final, most comprehensive and most abstract, interpretive phase is all very suitable for the type of analysis forced upon us by the Hebrew Bible. History must eventually return, but in the first horizon it is inaccessible for biblical analysis.

#### 4.4. Summary

The first level or phase of Jameson's reinterpretation of the medieval allegorical method coincides with the first or literal level of that method. In line with the literal emphasis of this level of the ancient schema, the text is the privileged domain of analysis, but Jameson's importation of the Marxist understanding of reality rearranges the structure of this phase. The text is related to a social and historical base, specifically as a formal resolution of a real social contradiction, which itself is mediated by an ideological antinomy. Interpretation therefore moves from the identification of formal contradictions in the texts to the ideological antinomy and thence to the contradiction at the social base. I noted, however, that there is a contradiction in Jameson's presentation of the accessibility of the social base. This problem turned out to be an advantage for the study of the Hebrew Bible, where knowledge of specific daily and yearly events is virtually inaccessible; the question of the social base, or history, is thereby postponed till the next allegorical level. Therefore, the mode of interpretation prescribed in this first allegorical level is initially at least an "immanent description of ... formal and structural peculiarities" (PU:77), with a subsequent move to questions of ideology.<sup>41</sup> This is the sequence which will be followed in the analysis of the biblical texts.

<sup>41</sup> I follow this line in Jameson despite warnings against such immanent interpretation elsewhere in PU: "the impulse behind the critical practice thereby theorized is often precisely an immanent one, which brackets the historical situation in which texts are effective and insists that ideological positions can be identified by the identification of inner-textual or purely formal features. Such an approach ... projects the ahistorical view that the formal features in question always and everywhere bear the same ideological

## 5. Second Horizon: The Social Phase

The second interpretive level is much wider in perspective: as with Hegel's dialectic, this level incorporates and resituates the achievements of the first level. For Jameson it functions as the allegorical key and mediation between the first and the third interpretive phases. My presentation of the second level is once again divided into the three areas of the nature of the text (superstructure), interpretation and the social base. Two further threads which properly belong at this level -- the individual-social relationship and the dialectic of ideology and utopia -- are not however explicitly located here by Jameson. While I develop in the conclusion to this chapter the destructive consequences of the exclusion of the individual-totality relation from Jameson's own description of his interpretive strategy, my constructive critique at this second horizon is to incorporate both this feature and the dialectic of ideology and utopia. Regarding the former: this opposition of individual and social is part of the contribution of both the medieval method, whose second and third levels -- collapsed by Jameson into one -- focus on the question of the individual, and Northrop Frye's transformation of the medieval third level into the social (the traditional Marxist identification of social class as mediatory is also significant). As for ideology and utopia, they are most at home in the discussion of ideology in this second horizon. At the appropriate time the various interpretive suggestions of this level will be applied to the biblical text.

### 5.1. Superstructure: The Text and Ideology

Whereas in the first horizon the limits of the text constituted the area of critical concern, in the second horizon the perspective is expanded so that the text becomes instead a player in the wider conflicting forces of

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charge" (PU:283). The context is a discussion of the position of the Tel Quel and Screen groups, not excluding Derrida. The difference between Jameson and this more random and universalizing brand of immanent analysis is that for Jameson such an analysis "must be a description [of formal and structural peculiarities] already pre-prepared and oriented toward transcending the purely formalistic, a movement which is achieved not by abandoning the formal level for something extrinsic to it -- such as some inertly social 'content' -- but rather immanently, by construing purely formal patterns as a symbolic enactment of the social within the formal and the aesthetic" (PU:77). The secret here is that the social so targeted is to be found not only in this first level, but also in the other two.

class and ideology. Not only does the text function as a unique cultural product but also as a conjunction of ideological forces, in which capacity it becomes an ideological move or play in its own right, an active gesture with its own political and ideological agenda. In other words, the super-structural concern at this second level is ideology and the understanding of the text in terms of ideology. This is then much wider in scope than the limited role of ideology in antinomy and closure in the first horizon.

For a definition of ideology Jameson relies upon Althusser -- whom one becomes accustomed to meet at significant turns in Jameson's work -- particularly the essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" (Althusser 1971:121-173 / 1984:1-60). For Althusser, "Ideology represents the Imaginary relationship of individuals to their Real conditions of existence" (1971:153), a definition paraphrased on many occasions by Jameson (e.g. 1984f:90 / PCLLC:51, 415). In other words, ideology "designates that necessary function whereby the biological individual situates himself/herself in relationship to the social totality" (SV:165).

There are three main aspects in Althusser's definition, one of which will be developed for use on the biblical texts. First, as noted above, the terms "Imaginary" and "Real" bear a Lacanian sense which Jameson is keen to maintain and make more complex (it was Althusser's feat to incorporate Lacan into a structural Marxism): essentially, the Imaginary is characterized by the participation of the subject, while the Real takes on the features of history (see 1977f / IT1:75-115; PCLLC:53-54). Second, the usefulness of the Althusserian definition lies in the way in which the mediation between individual and the conditions of existence is achieved; namely, by narrative. Ideologies are, in other words, buried narratives (1987o:xiii-xiv). Such a connection between narrative and ideology is intended to indicate that both are ineradicable forms of human activity: narrative is a fundamental element of human understanding (1977g:543; 1984i:xi; PU:13)<sup>42</sup> and ideology has positive as well as negative dimensions (see below on ideology and utopia). Third, ideology is in its own way a form of mediation or mapping between individual and totality, rendering the relationship imaginable and possible, yet including at the same time signals of the difficulty of doing

<sup>42</sup> In PU Jameson speaks regularly of "master narratives" (comparable to the master fantasies of Freud's model of the Unconscious) but he has subsequently disavowed the phrase (PCLLC:xi).

so.<sup>43</sup> (It could be argued that all Jameson's analyses in one sense or another are concerned with the way in which the tenuous and complex links between fragment and totality are mapped.) Here the deeper thread of this second horizon makes its first appearance; it will recur in the relationship between the use of psychological methods and the social base.

More recently, Jameson has begun to use the phrase "cognitive mapping" as virtually synonymous with ideology. It brings together a number of elements in the notion of ideology; namely, totalization or the effort provide a total picture, the making sense of a person's social location in both the present and future (see below), and attempts to give Marxist analysis a new interpretive tool -- or rather a reshaped ideological criticism -- for postmodern cultural politics (see 1984f:89-92/PCLLC:51-54; 1988b; PCLLC:399-418; Kellner 1988:260; MacCabe:14-15; but see the criticism by P. Smith:140).

The question of ideology is crucial to the analysis of the biblical text, since that analysis will make its initial moves from the formal analysis of the first level to the ideological antinomies of the text and thence to the broader questions of ideology in the second interpretive phase. In making these moves I agree with Jameson's argument that the most fundamental role of ideology is found in aesthetic structures rather than in any conscious intentions of writers (1975c:40). In other words the primary arena of ideological construction is not so much the conscious production of thoughts but rather in the preconscious realm, in the preconditions for those thoughts. In this light Jameson's type of analysis intends to explore the deeper structures of literary works more thoroughly than conventional formalist criticism, for he is asking more fundamental political and historical questions: thus, an analysis which moves from form to ideology, as the next chapter will do, must regard this as a first step on the way to social and ultimately historical questions rather than the end of the interpretive process.

Our concern remains with the fate of the text in this second horizon: whereas the individual text was the focus in the first horizon, in the second it is what Jameson terms an "ideologeme" (developed from

<sup>43</sup> There is also a biographical dimension to the relationship: Jameson argues that Marxism as a totalizing approach (analogous to religion) is able to provide some understanding of how individuals are located within the vast sweep of history. The "desire called Marx" is thus "the effort to develop organs of perception capable of enabling us fitfully to position ourselves in that other temporality, that other story, over which we also hope -- but now as groups and collectives, rather than as individuals -- to assert some influence and control" (IT1:xxviii).

Bakhtin/Voloshinov [see Jameson 1986-7b]). The suffix "-eme" is intended to convey the sense of a minimal and fundamental unit and building block of ideology and narrative.<sup>44</sup> Similar to the function of Greimas' square -- connecting concept and narrative in the realm of ideological antinomy on the first level -- the ideologeme is, according to Jameson, an amphibious concept that moves between more abstract ideological formulations or concepts and specific narratives, not occupying the zone of narrative as such but rather the area of "protonarrative," which takes the form of collective fantasy about classes forever locked in combat. In other words, the specific task of the ideologeme is one of mediation between concept and narrative, providing the raw materials for the elaboration of both.

However, it is necessary to backtrack for a few moments in order to understand how the ideologeme and the text (the basic unit to be studied in the first horizon) are related. Jameson describes the place of the text in this second horizon using Saussure's metaphor of *langue* and *parole*: the text is a solitary voice or *parole* speaking out in the antagonistic mass of class discourse (ideology) or *langue*. Whereas in the first horizon Jameson was interested in the individual utterance or text, in this horizon he is concerned with the nature of the class discourse, and the fundamental units of that discourse are identified as "ideologemes." There would seem to be some parallel features in the functions of both text and ideologeme and that compatibility is indicated by the fact that, as with the semiotic square and the *combinatoire* (see the Appendix on Greimas) which are used to analyze texts in the first horizon, the ultimate purpose of locating and analyzing ideologemes is to decode their social and historical content or message. This task is achieved by grasping the ideologeme in the same manner as the text in the first horizon, namely, as a symbolic resolution to a specific historical contradiction (the ideologeme registers such a contradiction in terms of antinomy). The ideologeme works both ways: while it is the wider category within which the text finds its own place, a text may be the conjunction of two or more ideologemes. Examples of ideologemes provided in Jameson's own work include: frenzy in Balzac (IT1:51), Nietzschean resentment (1975e / PU:185-205), the ethical opposition between good and evil (PU:115-119), class repression and class renunciation (PU:187-189), terrorism (1983c:222), peasant wisdom/folklore

<sup>44</sup> As Beaugrande notes (389) the "-eme" ending indicates that the word is intended to convey a sense similar to other terms in descriptive linguistics, such as phoneme, morpheme, etc., as well as Lévi-Strauss's "mythemes."

(1983g:227), the dissipation of sexual energy (1983g:228), sainthood (1984k:80), pluralism (1988d:62), the characteristic science fiction plot line of Van Vogt (1989b:59), the market (1990g:98), conspiracy as a fundamental structure of both postmodern film and postmodernism itself (1992a:22), elegance, glossiness and expensive form in film (1992a:23); each of which has some function in class discourse. Although the terminology is not absolutely necessary, I will attempt to locate ideologemes, or basic ideological features, in the biblical analysis.

The two major functions of such ideological features in this horizon would seem to be those of legitimation and subversion: the ruling class attempts to justify and hold onto its power while the ruled class attempts to undermine that power.<sup>45</sup> In the textual analysis this will prove to be a useful distinction: in one notable section (1 Kings 13) an ideological element uncovered by means of formal analysis undermines the overt ideological line of the story. When subversive forces are too effective or when larger historical developments adversely affect the context of the text then it exhibits signs of a "legitimation crisis" (1984i:vii-viii) when the whole social and political order is thrown into question. The Babylonian exile is perhaps the prime example of such a legitimation crisis for ancient Israel, and I will argue that the biblical texts exhibit signs of such a crisis.

#### 5.1.1. Ideology and Utopia

Before closing the discussion of ideology and passing on to present the nature of interpretation in this second horizon, two dimensions of ideology require some expansion: the nature of ideology in the biblical texts (or, the relation between ideology and religion) and what Jameson terms the dialectic of ideology and utopia, which is also concerned with religion. The connection between both elements and the second interpretive phase has not been systematically carried out by Jameson; once again I go beyond him because these elements belong here and because they are important for the biblical analysis.

To begin with ideology and utopia: the main discussion of this relationship is presented in the conclusion to PU (281-299). As is customary for Jameson, a number of related issues -- in this case four -- are

<sup>45</sup> Kennedy's effort to read Genesis 2-3 as a political allegory is vitiated by regarding ideology as merely legitimation; his invocation of Jameson's ideological analysis (Kennedy:3) as a model is therefore misguided.

dealt with at the same time. First, there is the concern with the nature of interpretation in its ideological and utopian modes. Second, the question of the nature of these two modes is inseparable from that of the nature and status of culture. Third, the proposed utopian analysis relies upon the notion of class. Fourth, the "dialectic of utopia and ideology," as Jameson describes it, is, among other things, part of Jameson's encounter (if such a word may be used) with religion, which thus links the dialectic of ideology and utopia with religion.<sup>46</sup>

Regarding culture, it is sufficient to recall the earlier discussion of base (or infrastructure) and the superstructure of which culture forms a dimension. The temptation of a great deal of Marxist criticism has been to make direct causal connections between the base and the superstructure: thus, a particular feature of culture, such as a film, finds its direct cause in the realm of economics (the base). This is an instrumental theory of culture in which the movement is one-directional, from base to superstructure. Jameson accepts the argument that this model lies behind ideological criticism, since the purpose of such criticism is to show that the various overt messages of culture -- for instance, the value and importance of the family -- are in fact instruments, consciously or unconsciously, of interests contained in the base of society -- such as class interest and economic domination. The assumption is therefore that culture, and other features of the superstructure, are deceptions or "mystifications" designed to mislead people.

In response to the objection that all Marxist criticism ultimately relies upon this model (this is the polemical situation of this "Conclusion"), Jameson does not so much deny this pattern, but rather argues that it is incomplete: it is, as noted earlier, not a one-way street between base and superstructure, but rather a two-way operation, like an alternating current, moving back and forth between both poles. In other words, Jameson wishes to make the relationship dialectical: utopian interpretation achieves this by opening up movement from the superstructure to the base, from culture and ideology to the relations and forces of production. Precisely how utopian interpretation achieves this will become clear in what follows.

<sup>46</sup> The chapter is also dialectically structured according to Benjamin's famous thesis: "There has never been a document of culture which was not at one and the same time a document of barbarism" (PU:281). It begins with the culture-barbarism order, inverts it (286) to enable the equation of ideology and utopia, and then reverts to the original despairing sequence (299).

It is now possible to turn to a second issue in this section of PU: ideological and utopian interpretation. Jameson's debts regarding the dialectic of ideology and utopia are to both psychology and theology, to Freud and Ricoeur; in an appropriate twist, Jameson explicitly plunders Ricoeur's suggestions on these matters from Ricoeur's Freud and Philosophy (the Freudian model of interpretation thereby lies behind Jameson's own). The Freudian approach seeks to uncover the latent and repressed fantasy fulfillment of desire from beneath the manifest surface; it thus requires a negative moment in which the repressive surface is unmasked, and a positive moment whereby the fantasy satisfaction is released (see below on psychoanalysis). For Ricoeur the two phases of interpretation are designated the hermeneutics of suspicion and of recovery: the hermeneutics of suspicion constitute the negative phase of interpretation, uncovering the obstruction against true interpretation. The need for a hermeneutics of suspicion lies with the end of "innocent" or neutral interpretation in the wake of the "masters of suspicion," namely Marx, Freud and Nietzsche. By contrast, the hermeneutics of recovery seek not so much to bypass or overturn the obstacle to interpretation found in the negative phase, but rather to find what is positive in the obstruction and to use this to complete the process of interpretation.

Jameson stays very close to this prescription, translating the terminology into the hermeneutics of ideology and utopia.<sup>47</sup> Ideological interpretation, which absorbs into itself the hermeneutics of suspicion, has been defined above. Utopian interpretation, on the other hand, seeks out the utopian dimensions of even the most reactionary, resistant and degraded material, searching for the point where, especially in the very act of avoidance and concealment, the wish for something vastly new and better shows through in cultural products. Jameson's debts are due also to Ernst Bloch (see 1976e and MF:116-159) and Benjamin's materialist and visionary criticism (MF:60-83; Norris 1983:23-24).<sup>48</sup>

Apart from the debts to Freud, Ricoeur and Bloch three factors are important for the understanding of Jameson's development of a dual

<sup>47</sup> The terminology is not new: Karl Mannheim's famous book was entitled Ideology and Utopia (see PU:296), and Ricoeur has a collection of essays, Lectures on Ideology and Utopia (1986).

<sup>48</sup> In fact, Jameson argues that the equivalent to Ricoeur's hermeneutics of recovery may be found within the Marxist tradition. Apart from Bloch's "principle of hope," there is Bakhtin's notion of the dialogical and the carnival and then the Frankfurt School's concept of *promesse de bonheur*.



hermeneutic: its basis in the notions of class and class consciousness; the transformation in the understanding of ideology within Marxism; and the relationship between ideology and utopia themselves (in contrast to the practice of ideological and utopian analysis). I will return to class below, but for Jameson the existing formulations of utopian criticism -- for instance, those of Ricoeur, Durkheim or the anarchist tradition -- are based upon a terminology of the individual subject. By contrast, Jameson argues that in the same way that ideological criticism is based on the concept of social class, so also must any formulation of a positive or utopian hermeneutic.

The possibility of this dual interpretive process also depends upon a crucial overhaul -- in which Jameson shares and to which he contributes -- of the notion of ideology: in the main Marxist tradition (following the bulk of Marx's thought on the topic) ideology is largely a negative term, a "false consciousness," which might be described as the mistaken web of notions about the world generated through class bias and ideological programming which must be countered in the ever vigilant task of deconcealment and demystification. Ideology is understood to be both the product of and contributor to alienation; it will therefore disappear with the end of alienation when its task of concealment is no longer required. Jameson argues, however, following some suggestions from Marx and developed more fully by Bloch, that ideology must be understood dialectically: ideology has a positive dimension, it is also a utopian operation in which the effort to imagine the future is by necessity ideological (which is seen most clearly in the ideology of the oppressed, e.g. religion, where hopes for a radically different future are harboured).<sup>49</sup> Such a utopian dimension of ideology is captured by the term noted earlier, "cognitive mapping." This dialectical understanding of ideology alters the shape of ideological and utopian analysis: rather than discarding all those negative, abominable parts (belonging to the class enemy) and affirming the more acceptable bits and pieces (from one's own class) -- whether of a text, a cultural product, a thought system or mode of analysis -- utopian analysis sparks into life in the

<sup>49</sup> This change in understanding ideology is called for and brought about by the historical difference between nineteenth century society -- where the notion of false consciousness was more effective in opposing "bourgeois" ideology -- and the contemporary situation with its diffusion of dominant ideologies throughout society by consumer goods and the inoculation of radical ideas by assimilation (1976e:56-57).

presence of the negative, since this negative is constitutive for the presence of the positive, utopian moment.<sup>50</sup>

In view of the importance of class and the reassessment of ideology within Marxism Jameson is able to propose a new understanding of the relationship between ideology and utopia. Following Ricoeur's location of the recovery process in the very obstruction identified by the suspicion phase, Jameson pushes the relationship, or the dialectic, of ideology and utopia to its logical conclusion.<sup>51</sup> Foregrounding the importance of a conflictual or Hegelian (master-slave) notion of class, he argues that "all class consciousness -- or in other words, all ideology in the strongest sense, including the most exclusive forms of ruling-class consciousness just as much as that of oppositional or oppressed classes -- is in its very nature Utopian" (PU:289; see 1976e:57-58). Along with the specific notion of class consciousness that operates here, two further limiting factors close down the more dangerous implications that Jameson wishes to avoid: the first -- following logically from the notion of class consciousness -- designates "Utopian" as that which "expresses the unity of a collectivity" (PU:291); while the second turns the whole discussion on its head by specifying the proposition just quoted as allegorical or figurative; i.e. that collectivities of whatever kind imperfectly foreshadow the collective life of a future classless society. In this sense, then, Jameson argues that ideology is utopian, and vice versa.

On this basis -- Ricoeur, class, a wider sense of ideology and a new understanding of the relationship of ideology and utopia -- Jameson con-

<sup>50</sup> The dialectical understanding of ideology is reflected in the article "Science Versus Ideology" (1983b). This is a traditional Marxist opposition, but, taking the lead from Althusser once again, Jameson reworks the opposition in the direction of the utopian function of ideology. The connection with the present discussion is as follows:

ideological	vs	utopian
interpretation		interpretation
science	vs	ideology

The ideology-utopia opposition has become that between science and ideology, and the most notable feature of the relationship between the two pairs is the dual role of ideology on both sides of the equation.

<sup>51</sup> In moving to this conclusion, Jameson goes beyond and incorporates two other theories of culture: theories of cultural manipulation; and the more complex approach which assumes that the average cultural consumer is reasonably intelligent. In the latter case, culture is a complex process of rhetorical persuasion, in which considerable utopian gratifications are offered in return for acquiescence to the ideological formulations being presented (see PU:287-288).

cludes "that a Marxist negative hermeneutic, a Marxist practice of ideological analysis proper, must in the practical work of reading and interpretation be exercised *simultaneously* with a Marxist positive hermeneutic, or a decipherment of the Utopian impulses of these same still ideological texts" (PU:296).<sup>52</sup> Anticipating the criticism that his Marxism is too optimistic (Frow:36), Jameson feels that there will always be a place for the old fashioned ideology critique which unmasks the pretensions of reactionary cultural products (e.g. the analysis of Deliverance by James Dickey [1972b]), a negative critique whose main task is "demystification," the unmasking of "false consciousness." Yet he feels that the Marxian negative and positive hermeneutics can be separated only at the peril of their analytic power.

Thus far we have covered three -- the questions of culture, class and the dual role of interpretation -- of the four major strands in the "Conclusion" to PU. The final strand, religion, will be dealt with in the next section. It remains only to indicate the theory of culture implied by the negative and positive hermeneutics: in locating the utopian dimension of cultural products, Jameson assigns those products, and culture as a whole, a critical and anticipatory function. Rather than serving as an instrument of the base, culture is sometimes able to envision a world with a very different economic and social structure (the term "cognitive mapping" is once again appropriate here); in doing so it critiques the present one. The relationship between base and superstructure is therefore dialectical. This will be a basic element in the biblical analysis, where I will argue that the texts have a utopian dimension.

In closing this discussion of ideology and utopia I would argue that this dialectic affects not merely the way in which one interprets texts but also the possibility of interpreting texts such as the Hebrew Bible, which is central to the classical canon of western civilization. The Hebrew Bible thus becomes subject to the contemporary battle over the canon. Alongside the unmasking and demystification of the social and political underpinnings of the literary and cultural canon of the first world have come moves to discard the canon, whose purpose has so often been to restrict aesthetic sympathies, in favour of sectors systematically excluded on the basis of gender, race, sexuality, class or culture (the connection between this debate

<sup>52</sup> In the case of possible confusion that the terms "ideology" and "utopia" may provide, Jameson also speaks of an "instrumental" or "functional" analysis which is coordinated with a "collective-associational," "communal" or "anticipatory" one (PU:296).

and political conflict over "equal opportunity" policies is obvious). While endorsing such moves -- his work on mass culture, third world literature and postmodernism as such leave the canon far behind -- Jameson feels that total rejection of the canon is not particularly healthy for the reasons that alternative lists merely apply similar canonical criteria to other texts and thereby attempt to include select items in the canon or to abolish the differences between canonical and non-canonical (1986c:65; 1990f:137); or, in a more daring move, the criteria themselves are altered while the canonical form remains in place: thus, the noncanonical or "minor" is presented as better than the canon itself, enabling one to "outflank major status and walk away with something even better" (1990f:136). Apart from such dangers in demolishing the canon, it may in fact be allotted a different role: as examples or lessons of what to avoid, canonical texts perform a useful, although transformed, function. But to push beyond the re-assignment of canonical texts to the role of beacon or lighthouse, the dialectic of ideology and utopia suggests a different way to understand the canon. Jameson spells out his own position in an analysis of Adorno's book on Richard Wagner:

Rightly or wrongly, Adorno felt that his Wagner book had made the most fundamental analytical contribution to this problem [of truth-content], which necessarily confronts anyone obliged to come to terms -- whether intellectually, culturally or pedagogically -- with classics of a conservative, if not indeed sometimes outright reactionary, stamp. His solution -- the most difficult of all, since it requires one simultaneously to insist on what is false and ideological and also on what is utopian in the work -- seems to me preferable to the alternatives, in which one either transforms a reactionary writer into a progressive one by fiat, or else smashes the canon altogether. (LM:221)

The dialectic of ideology and utopia allows the Hebrew Bible, and any sacred text for that matter, a fruitful place in contemporary criticism.

Ideology therefore must be understood in a more complex fashion as both negative and positive, giving room to both ideological and utopian criticism in a Marxist method. The biblical analysis will make use of both.

### 5.1.2. Ideology and Religion

It was suggested above that the conclusion to PU constitutes in part Jameson's effort to come to terms with religion. It will be the burden of this section systematically to explicate this effort. In the next chapter, I will suggest that the dominant form of ideology in our texts is religion,

indeed that religion takes over the function of ideology. The importance of this argument lies in showing that Jameson's method, which has been developed for the analysis of texts produced under capitalism, may also be applied to precapitalist and ancient texts such as the Bible. In building this argument I will draw, after some preliminary comments on Ricoeur, from two sections of Jameson's work: an article on Milton's Paradise Lost (1981c), and the discussion of Durkheim in the conclusion to PU (292-296).

The fundamental role of religious, or more properly theological, schemas of interpretation -- those of medieval allegory and of Northrop Frye -- in the development of Jameson's own method has already been the subject of discussion. Jameson's debts to Ricoeur, specifically in terms of the hermeneutics of suspicion and recovery, have also been noted, although the extent to which Ricoeur's work is theological was not emphasized. In the appropriation of Ricoeur (PU:284-285) Jameson is more concerned to cut off the focus on the individual subject, which is where the real limits of Ricoeur's scheme are located and not in the religious or theological origins and connections of Ricoeur's critical practice. In providing this room for religious concerns, Jameson is thereby able to develop a fruitful interaction between Marxism and religion, and in the process of that interaction Jameson packs the essential points of my attempt to connect the notions of ideology and religion in the following dense statement:

As far as the religious framework of Ricoeur's account is concerned, I have throughout the present work implied what I have suggested explicitly elsewhere [MF:117-118], that any comparison of Marxism with religion is a two-way street, in which the former is not necessarily discredited by its association with the latter. On the contrary, such a comparison may also function to rewrite certain religious concepts -- most notably Christian historicism and the "concept" of providence, but also the pretheological systems of primitive magic -- as anticipatory foreshadowings of historical materialism within precapitalist social formations in which scientific thinking is unavailable as such. Marx's own notion of the so-called Asiatic mode of production (or "Oriental despotism") is the very locus for such reinterpretation of religious categories... (PU:285).

In unpacking this paragraph I begin with Jameson's discussion of Milton (1981c), a study whose recognition of the importance of religion for Marxism is set in the context of resurgent political activity by religious groups. The first crucial observation for the study of biblical texts is that on either side of the great divide which separates capitalism from precapitalism religion functions in distinct ways: over against the private

hobby that religion tends to be under capitalism, in precapitalist societies (more specifically feudalism and oriental despotism [1976a:110]) religion is the controlling factor in culture and society.

In a pre-secular and pre-scientific world, one in which commerce is itself a limited and interstitial phenomenon, religion is the cultural dominant; it is the mastercode in which issues are conceived and debated; it is then ... the form taken by ideology in precapitalist societies, except that since ideology is a modern term and a modern phenomenon, there is something anachronistic and misleading about putting it this way" (1981c:37-38).

Two important points arise from this quotation. Firstly, the function that religion performs in precapitalist societies is that of the "cultural dominant," a function which will be described in more detail in the discussion of the third horizon. Essentially, each social formation has a dominant economic mode and a dominant cultural mode, which in some precapitalist societies happens to be religion. Secondly, Jameson goes so far as to suggest that what under capitalism is known as ideology bears the label of religion before capitalism. He goes beyond Durkheim in this respect: not only is religion the primary mode of the self-awareness of a collectivity as a united group, but also "religious and theological debate is the form, in precapitalist societies, in which groups become aware of their political differences and fight them out" (1981c:38-39). In other words theological reflection and polemic give voice to class struggle, and here the parallel with ideology becomes clear since class struggle is precisely the context for the production of ideology (see below).

In the realm of religion a further substantive observation from the article on Milton is the argument that the doctrines of Calvinism and militant protestantism may be read as hazy or distorted anticipations of the dialectic. The point of contact is located between the Calvinist doctrine of providence or predestination (after Weber normally associated with the rise and perpetuation of capitalism) and the Marxist notion of historical determinism or historical materialism. The truth or otherwise of such a suggestion is not our concern; rather, the relationship between voluntarism and fatalism (see Wood on the problem in Marx, Sartre, Althusser and E.P. Thompson; Jameson 1982b on Gramsci, who speaks of pessimism of intellect, optimism of will) which characterizes the Calvinist and Marxist forms of the question is the same relationship that lies at the ideological/religious centre of the Deuteronomistic text (1 Kings 11-14). For Jameson of course such connections do not refute Marxism so much as strengthen its continuity with the militant struggles of the past.

The analysis of Milton has provided two main points: that a precapitalist form of ideology may be understood to be religion, and that the concern with providence in the biblical text relates to the Marxist understanding of historical determinism. Jameson's appropriation of Durkheim will provide further points in the discussion of religion and ideology.

Durkheim has already been called in to assist in the argument that religion is a precapitalist form of ideology. Jameson's use of Durkheim is, however, more extensive and radical than this: essentially, he expands Durkheim's notion of religion -- the symbolic affirmation of the unity of a tribe, collectivity or social formation -- into cultural production in general. In other words, Durkheim's definition of religion<sup>53</sup> is applied to culture as a whole, and, by extension, to ideology. Jameson makes this move in order to utilize Durkheim's awareness of the utopian function of religion in the understanding of culture and ideology. The significance of all this for our study is threefold: first, the religious dimensions and even origins of Jameson's understanding of culture and ideology; second, the resultant interchange between these terms; and third, the fact that Durkheim's famous conclusions about religion were based upon a study of a precapitalist society, namely the Australian Aboriginal peoples. Indeed, Jameson's need to extend Durkheim's definition of religion to the whole of culture was occasioned by the fact that he required some means to make the transition from a precapitalist society to capitalist society (as with his use of Lévi-Strauss's study of the Caduveo Indians). This then provides reinforcement to the bridge from the notion of ideology -- and now culture -- in a capitalist context to religion in a precapitalist context.

In anticipating a series of objections to Durkheim's essentially conservative notion of religion<sup>54</sup>, Jameson's response in part argues that there is a comparable understanding of religion and culture in Marx (this point constitutes the final part of my argument concerning religion and ideology).

<sup>53</sup> "Religion should be an eminently collective thing.... When a certain number of sacred things sustain relations of coordination or subordination with each other in such a way as to form a system, having a certain unity, but which is not comprised within any other system of the same sort, the totality of these beliefs and their corresponding rites constitutes a religion" (Durkheim:41). "There is something eternal in religion .... There can be no society which does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and personality" (Durkheim:474-475).

<sup>54</sup> There are four objections: for Jameson culture is an extension of Durkheim's understanding of religion (PU:292); for Durkheim religion is an instrument of society (PU:292-3); the poststructuralist objection that Durkheim's notions are based on the individual subject (PU:293-4); Durkheim's problematic is alien to Marxism (PU:294-6).

He argues that Marx's insertion into the Marxist tradition of the problem of religion -- understood in Durkheim's sense of the symbolic enactment of collective unity -- takes place with the notion of the "Asiatic mode of production." The precise meaning of this designation will become clearer in the discussion of the final interpretive horizon and in the next chapter. However, the significance here is that with the point that the Asiatic mode of production is the privileged location for Marx's concern with religion the whole discussion of religion and ideology makes a direct connection with the biblical texts. I will argue in the next chapter that the Asiatic mode of production is precisely that mode of production in which the base text (1 Kings 11-14) of the textual study is situated, and the major concern of that text is the relationship between God and human history, or what is later in time termed "providence" or "historical determinism."

In summing up this discussion of religion, four steps enable the interaction between Jameson's understanding of ideology and that of religion: religion is a precapitalist form of ideology; providence is related to the Marxist problem of historical determinism; the extension of and interchange between Durkheim's definition of religion and the understanding of culture and ideology; and Marx's introduction of the problem of religion in the form of the Asiatic mode of production.

To return to the section as a whole: the superstructure of this interpretive horizon is thus concerned with the various aspects of ideology, including utopia and religion. The individual text of the first horizon has become part of a wider conflict of ideological options, the basic units of which are ideologemes. An essential form of ideology in precapitalist societies, especially those under the Asiatic mode of production, is religion.

## 5.2. Interpretive Strategy

The next question is the appropriate mode of interpretation. In comparison with the first horizon's formalism and structuralism over against which Jameson positioned his own approach, in this second horizon the methodological partner is sociology. While it is used extensively, certain basic assumptions are refuted (in this case that society may be divided into strata which may then be studied in isolation) (see also MF:375-400). Of the analytical activities required by this horizon one has already been noted, namely the need to identify the basic ideological features (or "ideologemes") of the text. A second and more important requirement,



which links directly with and extends the major interpretive strategy of the first horizon, is that interpretation must be sustained until contradictions show themselves once again. This search for contradictions assumes that ideological features of texts must not be understood so much as solitary voices but rather as related and oppositional features. The purpose of identifying contradictory ideological messages is that they point beyond themselves to the class struggle which generated them in the first place. Using the terms of Bakhtin/Voloshinov Jameson speaks of a dialogical -- and even antagonistic -- class discourse, of the irreconcilable positions of the clashing classes themselves.

There is quite an obvious continuity with the interpretive activity of the first horizon, specifically at the point of locating the ideological antinomies of the text (first horizon) and the conflicting ideological messages of which the text forms a part (second horizon). While this similarity provides a convenient analytical bridge, the difference between the two has to do with their respective contexts: one is concerned with the text itself and specific historical circumstances, while the other moves out into broader ideological currents and larger patterns of society.

#### 5.2.1. Psychoanalysis

This is an appropriate point to move beyond the text of PU once again and introduce two further dimensions of interpretation in this horizon: psychology or psychoanalysis and national allegory. Both present interpretive dimensions focused on the way in which the individual is located within the larger social whole, which is a primary function of ideology. I will deal firstly with psychoanalysis.

It was argued earlier that this second horizon or phase functions in a way similar to the allegorical phase of medieval interpretation: it carries out the Marxist promise of expanding interpretation to include a greater array of relevant questions. The importance of psychoanalysis in the structure of Jameson's own approach was mentioned in the discussion of metacommentary. Psychoanalysis's return here lies in its close connections with ideology, specifically in the notion of "libidinal apparatus" and in the definition of ideology as the individual's imagined relationship with real social conditions. In this definition psychoanalysis and psychology have a large role to play in the realm of the individual's imagination (the other part of the definition -- the social -- forms the *rest* of this horizon; see below).

Out of a very rich and interesting psychoanalytic structure I will select the elements that are relevant for the biblical analysis.

For Jameson psychological analysis, particularly of the Freudian tradition whose terminology runs deep in his work, constitutes the only original hermeneutic since the patristic and medieval allegorical system (PU:61). It is a comparable or equivalent code to ideological analysis (fantasy, imagination and the unconscious have a "reality principle" similar to ideology). Jameson's strategy in coopting Freudian psychoanalysis -- via Lacan<sup>55</sup> -- is both to historicize the conditions of its emergence (see PU:61-69) and to unearth the political dimension of psychology (thus the "political unconscious"). In regard to the former, his conclusion is that the centre of Freudian interpretation is not so much sexuality as wish-fulfillment or desire, the basic drive of human and social formation. It is desire and its unavoidable pair, repression, that become fundamental concepts in Jameson's system, especially when they are related to the Marxist themes of repression and revolt. Interpretation then becomes a process of identifying the repression that exists and thereby uncovering and releasing the desire which lies contained and diverted, a desire which is essentially a utopian drive and wish-fulfillment.<sup>56</sup>

In the case of the latter -- seeking out the political in psychoanalysis -- Jameson works within that tradition which attempts to bring together Freud and Marx (desire and the object of desire, the sexual and the economic), inverting the Freudian schema, which moves from the individual psyche to the social and political as fantasy projections, by insisting that the political is the prior reality (1983g:229; see 1975c:45).

<sup>55</sup> Particularly of Lacan's rewriting of Freud in linguistic terms, including the notions of the Symbolic, Imaginary and Real, castration anxiety and the phallic signifier, and the theory of schizophrenia (see PHL:120-123, 129-130, 137-141, 169-173; FAWL:164-167; PU:34-35, 62, 66, 152-153, 174-176; 1975d:942; 1975i:208, 218, 243 / IT1:21, 29, 44 [not paralleled in the original version], 68; 1977f / IT1:75-115; 1983c; 1983f:7 / IT2:67; 1984c:186, 200 / IT2:187, 200; 1984f:71-72, 90-92 / PCLLC:26-27, 51-54; 1986a:302, 312-314 / SV:129, 139-142; 1987f:205, 207-8, 221 / PCLLC:74, 77, 94; PCLLC:199, 395). Specifically Lacanian readings are 1977a and 1983c. As noted earlier, Jameson's own extensive statement on Lacan is 1977f / IT1:75-115. The use of Lacan by Althusser adds to the interesting complexity of Jameson's own use of their material, notably in Jameson's definition of ideology. A most useful presentation of Jameson's use of Lacan may be found in the article by Clark (1984). Other less sympathetic critiques of Jameson's use of psychoanalysis include Flieger and Lyotard (1984).

<sup>56</sup> Jameson is able to locate the utopian dimension of desire in Freud's interpretive schema because "[i]n Freudian theory the manifest content or surface story of the dream is not merely the disguise of a repressed, unconscious desire, it is the disguise of a repressed, unconscious fantasy-satisfaction of that desire" (MF:98).

Freudian terminology is a way of translating what are essentially social and political phenomena (1975c:48).

The relevance for this study of the Marx/Freud, politics/psychology conjunction lies in the restatement of that relationship as one between sex and politics, or in more benign terms, the family and the state. In at least one of the texts to be studied (2 Chronicles 10-13) this relationship is foregrounded: questions of sexual prowess, productivity, fidelity and transgression, of familial strength or vulnerability, function as indicators of political positions and formulations. In a more contemporary situation the sexual and the familial function as outlets for repressed political activity and expression, but in precapitalist texts such as the Hebrew Bible the sexual/familial and the political are often explicitly connected.

All of this becomes more interesting when the notions of libidinal apparatus and libidinal investment are brought to bear. For Jameson the former notion is a conjunction of structural and formal concerns with that of Freudian psychology: a libidinal apparatus is then the way in which sexual (and thus political) energy or content is organized and structured in a literary or cultural product. This arrangement applies both to the originator of a text and its reader. The structures of texts therefore become "registering machines" (1984i:72) for the peculiar interests and obsessions of both author and reader, or "pleasure grids" (my terms) upon which those obsessions may be arranged. In comparison with libidinal apparatus, libidinal investment is the process of registering or loading the particular sexual and political energies onto that apparatus or structure. It would seem that the technical terminology is a more sophisticated way of sorting why some texts are pleasurable and others are not. An example of libidinal apparatus invoked by Jameson is that of colour (1979f; 1986a:314), but as far as our texts are concerned one libidinal apparatus is none other than the structure of the initial text itself (1 Kings 11-14) which the other two texts invest with their own different messages.

The whole area of the body and its sensorium, as well as the question of the subject do not concern this study, but there is a final psychological notion -- repression and its associated terms such as displacement and slip-page -- which is used in the textual analysis. Sexual repression (and the resurfacing or return of the repressed in unforeseen ways) is a central category for Freud, but Jameson extends the notion to cover the displacement and relocation of narrative or ideological features, the absent or invisible role of history, and the unconscious nature of much political aspiration. Repression generates a displacement of the libidinal investment

of basic sexual and political energies into other areas: in the same way that human energies in Ireland under English imperialism were displaced into eloquence and rhetoric (1982a:134) so also the Jews exiled in Babylon turned their attention to literary production with the loss of the state of Judah. The "return of the repressed" takes place when the initial item of repression turns up in the new centre of attention which then becomes a repetition of that initial item; that is, the displaced investment procedure breaks down and the repressed items return to dominate the scene. The indication of repression and slippage is once again formal: formal distortion or displacement is often read as the repression of ideological, political or historical items. Science fiction, for example, in focusing its attention on the construction of future societies distracts from the real question which is the status of the present (1982e:151-152; see also 1971b:17-18 / IT1:14-16; PCLLC:383-384). The analytic move of identifying formal displacement becomes important in the diagnosis of the 3 Reigns 11-14 text. These then are some of the uses to which psychological analysis will be put.

By way of closing this brief discussion of psychoanalysis, its importance in relation to the allegorical scheme of biblical interpretation should be noted:

"...the most vital exchange of energies inevitably takes place between the two poles of the psychoanalytic and the theological, between the rich and concrete practice of interpretation contained in the Freudian texts and dramatized in the diagnostic genius of Freud himself, and the millenary theoretical reflection on the problems and dynamics of interpretation, commentary, allegory, and multiple meanings, which, primarily organized around the central text of the Bible, is preserved in the religious tradition" (PU:69).

### 5.2.2. National Allegory

National allegory is the second dimension of interpretation concerned with the individual-social relationship which should be included in the second horizon, although Jameson does not do so himself. In national allegory -- which forms part of the analysis of 1 Kings 11-14 -- characters play out complex relationships that interpret and highlight what are felt to be the significant features of the national situation in past and present and project possibilities for the future; in other words, national allegory connects public and private, society and individual, where public and society are constituted by a "nation."

The basis of the notion of national allegory appears in an early piece (1968:24-25) where Jameson argues that literature is limited, by means of

the national language, to the given national or social situation and consequently lacks the equipment to deal with the supra-national or international reality of global capitalism. Similarly, in a different form at the other end of the span of publications (1990h:129-130; see also 1987m:49-50) the point is made that national problems alone are resolvable while international ones are not, a situation which explains the lack of vitality of the literature of a first world much more closely enmeshed in the global system. Thus, in view of the diminishing raw material for national allegory due to the postmodern breakdown in national boundaries and cultural and economic homogenization, the search for national allegory moves away from the first world canons to third world (GA:114-157; 1986c/1987n -- for the debate generated by this paper see Ahmad; Jameson 1987l; Sprinker 1989b) and, to a lesser extent, second world texts (1990j); that is, to situations where the nation still bears some meaning due to the different historical forces at work.

This argument will endure further pressure for it is important to this study: in contrast to the historical forces which distinguish the first world -- the transition from feudalism to capitalism and now late capitalism, as in Europe, its extensions, and Japan -- the clash between capital and tribal society (Africa), the destruction by capital of the Asiatic mode of production, or the bureaucratic imperial systems (China and India), and the struggle between socialism and the emergent capital of a belated bourgeois revolution (former Soviet Union and parts of Eastern Europe) all constitute stronger conditions of possibility for national allegory, due largely in each circumstance to the struggle with capital. National allegory therefore, in connecting individual and social functions as "an instable and provisory solution to an aesthetic dilemma which is itself the manifestation of a social and historical contradiction" (FAWL:94); that is, it attempts to deal with the questions that emerge concerning individual and national existence when confronted with a much vaster, transnational reality. The dialectical twist of course is that existence within a particular society becomes conscious and problematic only in the context of a wider situation in which the existence of other groups becomes known.

However, the materials from "third world" areas such as Africa (tribal society), and China and India (Asiatic, or tributarian, societies)<sup>57</sup> are of particular interest since they provide the texts which suggest the pos-

<sup>57</sup> Gottwald (1985a) and Jobling (1991a; 1991b; 1992) have argued that these modes of production are the two basic historical forms of much of the biblical period.

sibility of national allegory in the biblical text. Thus, for instance, from China there is "The True Story of Ah Q" by Lu Xun (the leading cultural figure in China's revolution), a story concerned with the ill-fated life of the village derelict or coolie, Ah Q: not only is Ah Q's superiority in self-belittlement a figure for China in its relationships with its neighbours but so are those who torment, beat and eventually execute him. Another angle on China comes from Lu Xun's "Diary of a Madman" in which the concealed cannibalism suspected by the mad person is not so much psychological as a "figure" or symptom of profound social trauma in a society in which food is so culturally significant (the notion of "alimentary transgression" carries through many of Lu Xun's stories). To Jameson's observations (1986c:69-77) it might be added that in the many stories for which Lu Xun has drawn from his own hunted and itinerant life as a rebel intellectual in the first half of the twentieth century, Lu Xun himself appears as the embodiment of the revolutionary forces which were eventually to bring into effect the new China he was never to enjoy. But China is also those who hunt him -- the swings of favour and disfavour dependent upon foreign nations -- and here, as with Ah Q, the complexities and discontinuities -- the "'floating' or transferable structure of allegorical reference" (1986c:78) -- so characteristic of national allegory (and allegory as such) make their presence known, especially when the stories and poems begin to pile up. China's traumas, then, and the ambiguities of its place in a larger picture form the substance of much of Lu Xun's writings. Jameson's other explicit studies of national allegory need not detain the discussion here.<sup>58</sup>

There are two final points in arguing for the suitability of national allegory as a tool of biblical analysis. First, a large partition needs to be placed between national allegory and nationalism (1987i:27); in doing so the lines which would restrict national allegory, in contrast to nationalism, to the emergence of nation-states<sup>59</sup> are loosened (it does, however, seem to

<sup>58</sup> I have focused on Lu Xun since I have had the pleasure to read some of his work. See also, on African writers, JanMohamed, 1983. Other examples of national allegory include: Ousmane Sembène's *Xala* (1986c/1987n); Hubert Aquin's novels in Québec (1983c; see also 1983d:264: the translator's note to a translation of Gérard Bessette -- the writing of a novel in Quebec in the present situation is at one with the production of a whole new culture and thus the symbolic affirmation of national identity); André Platonov's national allegory of the new Soviet Union in 1927-8, *Chevengur* (1990j); and the Taiwanese film *Terrorizer* (GA:114-157).

<sup>59</sup> Jameson holds that the existence of nation-states is a pre-requisite for national allegory (FAWL:94). My argument suggests that this is not necessarily the case, but if it is, then a different name needs to be given to the biblical pattern identified later; that it functions in the same way as national allegory will become clear.

require the existence of some form of the state, although the contemporary one is not the only model of such a structure). Second, the move to the biblical text will rely mainly on the question of contradiction and conflict, for the vitality of national allegory is due in part to the deadly struggle between third and second world nations and the rampant multinationalism of the first world: "the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society" (1986c:69). A comparable situation, although on a smaller scale exists in the Asiatic mode of production in which a large number of smaller political and social units -- such as Israel -- come under the sway of vast empires -- such as Babylonia or Persia. The short-circuit here is that the Asiatic mode of production requires a vast structure to operate effectively, yet the continued efforts at independence sought to replicate the same structures, and thus, as appears with Solomon, the independent state collapses back into the larger one. All of which is to say that given relatively similar situations -- but not parallel situations, for this suggests the eternal return of the same realities in history -- national allegory may be found not only in third world literature, but also in biblical literature (although more strictly it should bear a different name, such as political allegory). I have already passed on to the discussion of items such as mode of production, which is properly a topic for the third level of interpretation.

### 5.3. The Base: Class

Before passing on to the third level, a consideration of the base of this horizon is required. Psychology of course deals with questions from the perspective of the individual, which constitutes one pole of the Althusserian definition of ideology appropriated by Jameson. The other pole is concerned with the real or social conditions of existence. National allegory makes the connection between the two more explicit. The discussion therefore moves on from the question of interpretation to the final dimension of this horizon: the social. For Jameson the most significant feature about society is class, which owes its introduction into this level in part to the Marxist identification of class as the major mediation between base and superstructure and in part to Frye's penultimate level, the concern of which was society (see above).

Lying behind the arguments in PU concerning class lies the Communist Manifesto: "[t]he history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Marx and Engels:79). In the same line as this

document and against the divide and analyze strategy of sociology Jameson argues that class is essentially a relational concept: the "constitutive form of class relationships is always that between a dominant and a laboring class: and it is only in terms of this axis that class fractions (for example, the petty bourgeoisie) or ec-centric or dependent classes (such as the peasantry) are positioned" (PU:83-84). As with Hegel's master and slave, ruler and ruled define themselves in terms of the other, developing ideological systems with the other as constant polemical partner (see the excellent summary of Jameson's Hegelian understanding of class in PU:289-290). Thus an ideological system of the legitimation of power structures comes into being and serves its function only as a consistent effort in countering and containing the diverse modes of subversion developed by those outside such power structures; similarly the strategies of subversion find their reason for existence in the ideologies of legitimation. Even so, such a sharply antagonistic situation assumes that the protagonists are able to speak the same language, that there is a deeper unity to the rivalry. Literary or cultural products may be elite or popular but the ideological baseline is the same. Thus, for example, the ideological opposition that is found between the texts of the Septuagint (3 Reigns 11-14) and Chronicler (2 Chronicles 10-13) requires as its base a common dialect or code, which will turn out to have something to do with the Hellenistic world.

The relation between these basic classes takes two forms: either the ruling class attempts to suppress, in ever new ways, cultural and political activity by those under its control; or there is a continual appropriation and neutralization of oppositional activity in order both to defuse the explosive potential of that activity and to provide new life to its own stale and uninteresting culture and politics. The commonplace that the dominant classes have produced the text holds also for the Hebrew Bible. On the other side, subversive culture also appropriates ruling class ideologies but it then transforms these ideologies into very different patterns which present a threat to their original home. The continual give and take of this class-based conflict is for Jameson the essential form of class relationships, all other forms of that relationship -- for example the functional approach which looks for the forces which unite and stabilize rather than those which disrupt and separate -- being derivatives. Class conflict will only rarely rise to stark opposition, being characterized more commonly by overlap and obscurity.

Interpretation will then seek to recover those other voices which have been silenced and coopted, searching for traces and hints -- normally formal



-- that suggest the presence of something quite different from the overt messages of the text. The signals of such presences in narrative texts are many and varied: for example, a science fiction staple is the representation of physical and psychic mutants or aliens (1987c:52; 1976h:36); in Raymond Chandler's novels social class is expressed in spatial terms (houses and interiors) and not character merits (1983a:91); concerns over rising urban crime rates, mob violence or civil war often express conservative fears of class conflict (1972b:186; 1990g:106); or theories of aesthetic and cultural value, embodied in aesthetic judgment and taste, are generated out of class situations and conflicts (1976i:229; 1986-7a:43-45). Thus, while the dynamics of class conflict may be located by means of the ideological contours, the diversity of those contours entails a similar range of class signals.

The purpose of locating those messages is to reconstruct the oppositional cultures which form polemical partners to the cultural production of dominant classes. Other sources for such reconstructions are the fragmentary traditions and narratives of popular culture where these have survived: Jameson identifies particularly the peasant traditions of folk songs, fairy tales, and occult religious systems. Continuous with these traditional items are contemporary restorations of the alternative cultural production of women, native peoples, homosexuals and so on. The purpose is not to generate a liberal awareness of pluralism or multiculturalism but rather to restore the oppositional situation which produced and continues to produce such traditions in the first place. However, if mass culture -- to which Jameson's devotes a good deal of energy -- is introduced to this list (Jameson does not do so but it clearly belongs here) a problem emerges: like mass culture the control of these alternative traditions often shifts over to the very same producers of high or dominant culture. Jameson's argument would remain the same: the ideologies are still there and their most obvious signs are formal.

#### 5.4. Summary

In this second horizon of Jameson's interpretive schema the edges of that horizon have been expanded. This applies to both the superstructure and the base: in comparison to the first horizon's text and (inaccessible) political history, the second horizon is concerned with ideology and class. The major interpretive strategy involves the identification of "ideologemes" and of contradictory class discourses. It is significant that the base is more accessible in this horizon than in the first; in fact, such accessibility seems

directly proportional to the level of abstraction achieved (each horizon becomes progressively more abstract). As already argued, this feature of Jameson's approach is an advantage in study of the Hebrew Bible. I have included material from other work by Jameson, specifically on the dialectic of ideology and utopia, the question of religion as a dimension of ideology, psychology and national allegory as interpretive tools. The latter two highlight the other major feature of this horizon which is the question of the relation -- embodied in the definition of ideology -- between individual and totality. I have also foreshadowed a criticism based upon this relation.

## 6. Third Horizon: The Historical Phase

If the first horizon of Jameson's model corresponds to the literal level of medieval allegory, and if the second horizon is comparable to the combined allegorical/moral middle phase of medieval interpretation, then the third horizon of Jameson's model bears a similar function to that of the final or anagogical stage of the medieval schema. The final levels of both Jameson's and the medieval approach concern nothing less than the widest of all possible interpretive contexts: the sweep of history (recalling that Jameson's attraction to the medieval schema lay in its ability to provide interpretive closure by means of totalization). Compared with the first level and its immediately accessible text, this horizon is the most remote -- and therefore abstract -- for the interpreter whose limitations are those of any specific biological unit. In one sense the function of the second horizon, with its ideology and class, is to cushion the impact of this final level which is so important to Jameson yet at the same time so speculative.

The basic run at this level involves returning in part to the formal and structural dimensions of the text, but reading them now in a somewhat different way from the first level: these formal elements, with the addition of other formal traces, serve as various "sign systems" which in their variety and contradictions suggest the relationships between the different modes of production. Two areas, then, require some explanation: form in its new capacity and mode of production, comprising the realms of superstructure and base respectively. The interpretive strategy is, as expected, focused on contradiction.

### 6.1. Superstructure

We begin, as with the previous two horizons, with the superstructure, specifically the question of form. In order to specify the role of form in this horizon Jameson speaks of the "ideology of form": the formal and structural features -- note the plural in contrast to much formal analysis which is content with the dominant form alone -- identified in part in the technical and formalist analysis of the first horizon are on this occasion understood to bear their own distinctive ideological content. This content then reveals itself as the messages appropriate to particular modes of production. Such a description, however, conceals the complexity that is in operation, although there is some suggestion that there is a more direct causal relationship between base and superstructure in this final phase. Nevertheless, the ideology of form itself is primarily concerned with the clash and contradiction of forms in the texts and their continual movement and change even within the confines of a specific text. In their contact with one another formal and structural items are always undergoing minor and major alterations. Such is the case with the biblical text in which older traditions with their own forms and structures are placed under the control of different forms; in this act of bringing the older into contact with the newer form each undergoes change, and it is this sort of contact and transformation that is crucial for Jameson. Often such transformations are signalled by the nature of distortions or twists which disrupt the expected outcome of a particular formal feature, or they are extraneous and unexplainable items which do nothing to advance the plot.

### 6.2. Interpretation

Two important terms relating to ideology of form make their appearance at this point: figuration, or the way various forms represent their respective modes of production; and cultural revolution, which deals with the formal transformations noted above. Both features also comprise the prime interpretive strategies of this third phase of interpretation, so for the purpose of consistency I move onto the question of interpretation.

### 6.2.1. Figuration

Figuration is essentially a formalist enterprise which concerns the relationship between the vast complexes designated "modes of production" and the text being read; that is, figuration is another way of speaking about mediation in this third horizon. More specifically, figuration refers to the variety of ways in which the modes of production mark their presence in the whole range of cultural products.<sup>60</sup> Such marks or traces often point to the foundations without which cultural products would not exist. Two specific points about the way in which figuration operates need to be emphasized. First, the figures or traces of the modes of production in texts provide indirect rather than direct correspondence: texts contain peripheral, distorted and symbolic figures of modes of production and the tracking down of the connections between the two realms involves a good deal of careful sorting and sifting. In an inversion of the roles of importance, the most significant features of a cultural product are thus the unexplainable and insignificant ones: distortions of perspective, breaks and ripples in form, lapses, stylistic clashes, uncomfortable and even boring stretches (1983c:215; 1984k:78), a faint malaise, the odd or discomfiting item that needs to be chased down (1990c:133 / PCLLC:112).<sup>61</sup> They seem to do nothing as far as narrative action or plot is concerned and are irreducible to narrative meaning, either through a lack of such meaning or through an excess that touches on far more than the narrative and explodes its boundaries. Such figures are unable to be contained by the ostensibly controlling and dominant structure of the narrative, and thereby signify something beyond the text.<sup>62</sup>

Second, this understanding of the relationship between text and context, superstructure and base, provides the final expansion of what is meant

<sup>60</sup> Terms equivalent to figuration situate it in wider discussions of culture. Figuration is often interchangeable with representation, asking how history or modes of production are represented in cultural products and how those products represent history (e.g. 1986-7a on Hans Haacke, 1988g:57-59 on modernism, and 1990c:144 on postmodern architecture). A third term, reference, is also used: in this case the search is for social, economic, political and historical referents of a text.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. in "magic realism" film "de-narrativization" or "reduction to the body" (1986a:319 / SV:147) constitutes the crucial break or discontinuity on the formal level which signifies a break in modes of production.

<sup>62</sup> Figuration is very much indebted to Freud's use of the term "displacement" to describe how sometimes unimportant details (slips, peripheral parapraxes, etc.) are the key to an interpretation (for example a peripheral dream image with a low emotional content may hold the key to the meaning of a dream filled with powerful images and activity).

by the "text." Whereas the boundaries of investigation in the first horizon were those of the individual text, and while this was expanded in the second horizon to locate the text within ideological and class discourses, limited only by society, in this third horizon the text functions as a depository of traces or figures which potentially may be located in any cultural product. The limits in this final and widest level are the limits of the totality of culture in all its forms.

Three types of figuration used by Jameson which are pertinent to the biblical analyses are: conceptual traits, space or spatial representation, and sentence production. Firstly, a prime example of the conceptual type of figuration is religion (see 1981c). This role of what is properly, for Jameson, an ideological construction indicates some looseness or dialectical play between the interpretive horizons: not only does ideology suggest class dynamics but it also indicates the appropriate mode of production in the sense that each mode of production enables and produces certain conceptual formations while precluding others.

Secondly, there is space and spatial representation, which functions as a primary mode of figuration. Not only is this so in the contemporary situation of late capitalism (thus Jameson) but space is also an important dimension in the biblical text. Examples of spatial analysis as utilized by Jameson include science fiction (1987c), architecture (1990c) and film (1992a), but an example analogous to the biblical texts under consideration is Jameson's thesis concerning modernism and the imperial phase of capitalism: the new spatial language of modernism constitutes a marker or figure for the difficulties and unrealized efforts in representing the new world system which is monopoly or imperial capitalism (1988g). This imperial phase is analogous to the imperial situation which saw the production of much of the biblical material, the difference being in the global nature of the capitalist empires (a global nature enabled by capitalism) and the much more limited nature of the ancient empires (limitations imposed by their modes of production). The expectation will therefore be that the formal and structural organization of the texts will function as the indication or figuration of the representational dilemmas of locating Israel within the larger empires; such figuration will register the completeness or incompleteness of the attempt to represent such a situation.

On a more particular level, in the analysis of the biblical texts I will note descriptions of various spatial items specifically concerned with architecture and building: the (re)building and (re)fortification of cities which takes place in all the texts; the dynamic of inside/outside which

appears with boundaries such as those between Israel and Judah. Similar signals come from the realm of geographical organization and layout, such as the patterns of the cities (re)built in our texts for defence purposes and geographical implications (spatial reduction) of large numbers of people gathered in one place to hear a solitary speaker (2 Chronicles 13). Even nature and the landscape have their place within spatial analysis: as with Jameson's readings of narrative closure by means of natural space in Chandler (1983a), natural reduction in Le Guin (1975g) and narrative closure in MacIntyre (1987c), nature will play a role in the reading of 1 Kings 13. Spatial analysis therefore functions as a major mode of figuration in the biblical texts.

Thirdly, for Jameson style, or more specifically sentence production, is an important interpretive tool: "any concrete description of a literary or philosophical phenomenon -- if it is to be really complete -- has an ultimate obligation to come to terms with the shape of the individual sentences themselves, to give an account of their origin and formation" (MF:xii). From his earliest publication -- the discussion of the "rhythm of time" in Sartre's sentence construction (SOS:40-63/1962) -- Jameson repeatedly directs his critical gaze at the basic units of sentences themselves and the process of sentence production seeking the traces and figures of social and economic situations. Such studies include: Wyndham Lewis's flailing and mechanical sentences (FAWL:25-34); the skill of nonalienated work in Hemingway's sentences (MF:412); the vivid sentences of Mailer's stylistic superstition (1972b:189); the effortless production of Wallace Stevens' rich but impoverished sentences (1984b); the pure stylistic experimentation and social representation of Chandler's sentences (1970c:625, 634-636); the declarative and perfective sentences of E. L. Doctorow's postmodern Ragtime which effect a subterranean violence to American English (PCLLC:24-25). In each case sentence production signals a particular feature of life under the capitalist mode of production (in this way Jameson historicizes the discipline of stylistics [IT1:121-123]). Whether such an approach may be applied to the biblical text remains to be seen, for uncertainty rules over the tantalizing yet troubled zone of "style" in terms of the biblical text: nevertheless I will be making use of sentence analysis in what follows, at which time it will be possible to adjudicate its usefulness.

A type of figuration I will not use is generic discontinuity which has to do with the transformations undergone by genre. Jameson argues for an awareness that any one text or genre itself is a confluence of often conflicting genres; this confluence now may be understood as the figuration of the

various modes of production existing at any one time (PU:99; 1982g; see PU:103-150; e.g. 1973b; 1982e:149-150; 1984g<sup>63</sup>). This lining up of formal or generic codes with modes of production suggests a tendency, despite the efforts to avoid it, of a slide into homology or direct causal connections which becomes apparent in the third horizon of interpretation (I will return to this problem).

These are then some examples of figuration; I will also be searching for others specific to the biblical texts. It should be emphasized that as with the interpretive strategies of the previous two horizons, figuration functions to locate the contradictions in the text and thus suggest contradictions within and between modes of production.

#### 6.2.2. Cultural Revolution

Such contradictions are foregrounded in the second significant area for the ideology of form, namely cultural revolution: "that moment in which the coexistence of various modes of production becomes visibly antagonistic, their contradictions moving to the very center of political, social, and historical life" (PU:95). Here the characteristic closure of so many of Jameson's studies comes into focus, in which the final step of analyses that began in many different ways comprises the identification of a specific type of cultural revolution. Cultural revolution does not so much describe a mechanical relationship between base and superstructure but rather a dynamic cultural response to changing circumstances. It is then concerned with

...the relationship of formal and cultural change to ... its social "determinants," which present a radically altered situation (new raw materials of a social, psychological, or physical type) to which a fresh and unprecedented aesthetic response is demanded, generally by way of formal, structural and linguistic invention" (1988g:50).<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> A comparable example is the development of modern or "free-style" Arab poetry, over against traditional Arab poetry. This generic transformation may be dated to 1948, with the defeat of the seven Arab nations by Israeli guerrillas and the establishment of the state of Israel. The political and economic influence on form is quite direct: Israel appears as a fully capitalist, western nation in a third world Arab space, and this provides the generic stimulus. This argument was presented by Prof. I. J. Boullata, of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, in a discussion at the Doktorklub of the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill, March 14, 1991. It is precisely the sort of thing Jameson argues concerning generic discontinuity.

<sup>64</sup> Thus, formal innovation and change is due to historically new types of content, as for example with modernism, whether in China (1984g:76-77) or in the imperial centres of Europe (1984b:10; 1988g:59).

However, "cultural revolution" describes not just the stages of transition in which one set of cultural forms are radically transformed or replaced by another -- for instance with the Enlightenment (1985c:373) and the Reformation (1981c:53) as part of the bourgeois cultural revolution which coincides with the gradual rise to dominance of the capitalist mode of production -- but rather a process that is permanent and may be assumed to be underway at any particular time due to the coexistence of various modes of production. In other words, just as the modes of production relate to one another in a shifting and uneasy fashion (see below) so also the various cultural forms define themselves in continually changing ways over against each other. Potentially, then, every cultural production will embody some form of cultural revolution, or rather, will be situated within the perpetual process of cultural revolution. While Jameson recognizes the transitional peaks of such cultural revolutions the universalizing of such an analytical concept both strengthens and weakens it: it adds power to cultural analysis in searching all texts rather than a select few for cultural revolution; but it also weakens the specificity of the concept, making all cultural analysis appear similar. Another way of saying this is that the approach becomes too powerful, rendering every text as a product of cultural revolution. I suspect that Jameson would probably feel happy with this, since every text in one way or another is situated in one cultural revolution or another and since the differences in each moment of cultural revolution account sufficiently for diversity. However, a reason for such a move may lie with settling some accounts in the Marxist tradition, specifically the problem of the incompatibility of synchronic and diachronic descriptions of systems (a problem which Jameson feels he has solved). Theoretically the notion of cultural revolution would operate in an analysis of the biblical text, but it would be better to restrict it to more obviously transitional phases (as in GA:212).

I will conclude this discussion of interpretation with a criticism of these two approaches. Both figuration and cultural revolution are caught in a double-bind: while they have the potential to be very fruitful in analysis they also constitute the most unmediated forms of Jameson's interpretation. In other words, there is a tendency to read modes of production directly from the traces which mark the texts, or to connect cultural transformation with changes in the base without any significant mediation. One effort towards providing some middle-term is to speak of the nonsynchronous development of modes of production (see below), but it seems to me that a Marxist approach will inevitably make some direct causal connections



between base and superstructure at some points in its analysis. That is, there remains a limited validity to mechanical causality within Marxism (see PU:25-26; also 1972b:180; 1974a:124) and in Jameson's schema that point is the third phase of interpretation (so also Frow:39-40; Kellner 1988:261; Newton-Demolina:303; Pechter:295; Wellek:121).

### 6.3. Base: Mode of Production

In this horizon the base is understood in terms of modes of production. The phrase, however, would appear to have two meanings. In a more restricted sense it refers to the social and economic base upon which figuration and cultural revolutions depend. Although it is difficult to tie Jameson down here, it might well be argued that in its more general, Althusserian, sense -- designating the whole of reality -- mode of production is the fundamental category for Jameson's analysis since its comprehensiveness subsumes the other categories such as class and ideology within it (see the diagram of the traditional Marxist framework of reality earlier in this chapter).

Perhaps the best way to approach the whole area of mode of production through a problem which is basic to biblical interpretation, namely historicism, the relationship between past and present horizons, or the ways in which the past is understood. The attempted solution to this problem of historicism will of course depend heavily upon the way in which it is presented. Jameson's formulation in the crucial forward statement of PU, "Marxism and Historicism" (1979c / IT2:148-177), follows the lines of the incommensurable pair of Identity and Difference: the same historical period has, depending on the situation of the historian and student, all the familiarity of our own family history and at the same time all the strangeness of the lost universes of Inca and Aztec civilization. After establishing and working through the four logical possibilities of approaching the past -- antiquarianism, existential historicism, and structural typology, Nietzschean antihistoricism -- Jameson argues for what he terms a "structural historicism" (see also 1975d:943), a combination of the second and third categories which overcomes their particular deficiencies. The notion which enables this powerful recovery is that of mode of production<sup>65</sup>: the struc-

<sup>65</sup> "...the Marxist "solution" to the dilemma of historicism outlined here will consist in squaring the circle we have already traced, in positing a mode of Identity that is also one of radical Difference, and in producing a kind of *structural historicism*, in which the vital and, if one likes, properly libidinal investment of existential historicism in the past is somehow derived from or positioned within a conception of the logic of historical and cultural forms more satisfactory than that proposed by structural typology. We have

tural features of a particular situation, which is the concern of a structural typology, are reordered in terms of mode of production. The existential historicist question of the relationship between an individual and the text from the past which is being interpreted (such as the Hebrew Bible) is now understood as a mediation or indication of the more comprehensive and collective relationship between two or more modes of production: "[w]e must try to accustom ourselves to a perspective in which every act of reading, every local interpretive practice, is grasped as the privileged vehicle through which two distinct modes of production confront and interrogate each other" (1979c:70 / IT2:175). This recasting of the interpretive process also means that a past mode of production may have something critical and utopian to say through its difference with the present mode of production, and that both past and present modes of production prefigure the future in some way. Indeed, Jameson advocates the strategy of Marx, who felt the study of past societies important (his own example was ancient Greek society) in order to break open and reactivate the atrophied utopian imagination of the present (1973c:xvi; 1976a:110). My own interpretive situation is that of late capitalism, and I leave it to Jameson and other theorists of late capitalism and its attendant cultural moment, post-modernism, to provide the analysis of the details and problems associated with this present social form. What is of interest of course is the mode of production(s) of the biblical text: part of the burden of the following chapters is to attempt an answer to this question.

In the "Marxism and Historicism" article (1979c) Jameson uses the category of mode of production in its comprehensive sense. Our interest, however, is also in the more specific sense which designates the base in the third horizon of analysis. In this specific sense mode of production means the dominant mode by which the necessary (food, clothing, shelter) and luxury items of living are produced. The concept of mode of production is normally broken down into the two areas of the material forces of production -- technological, ecological and demographical -- and the social relations of production, which are characterized by the conflicting ruled and ruling classes outlined in the second horizon. It is the different ways in which these two areas -- forces and relations of production -- are organized that constitute the different modes of production throughout history. Each

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already suggested that such a conception is to be found in the Marxian notion of the mode of production..." (1979c:66-67 / IT2:172).

mode of production also has what is termed a "cultural dominant," a particular form of culture which is specifically suited to the mode of production in question and which therefore dominates over other cultural forms that are less suited (see also 1984i:xv). The following table lists the various modes of production and their cultural dominants as these have been presented and argued over in Marxist scholarship (see PU:89; 1979c:67 / IT2:172).<sup>66</sup>

Mode of Production	Cultural Dominant
hunting and gathering (tribal society, primitive communism or the horde)	magic and mythic narrative
neolithic agriculture (the <i>gens</i> or hierarchical kinship societies)	kinship
Asiatic mode of production ("oriental despotism" or tributarian MP)	religion or the sacred
ancient or classical mode of production (the <i>polis</i> or oligarchical slaveholding society)	"politics" in terms of citizenship of the city-state
feudalism	relations of personal domination
capitalism	commodity reification <sup>67</sup>
communism	original forms of collective and communal association

While most of Jameson's critical attention is directed towards the latter three modes, our interest, as far as the biblical texts are concerned, is in the earlier modes of production, particularly the Asiatic and ancient modes. The cultural dominants in these two cases -- religion and "politics" -- are

<sup>66</sup> Debate has focused on the validity of the Asiatic mode of production and the possibility that slavery and socialism constitute distinct modes of production (1979c:67 lists slavery as distinct, but not so in PU:89). Apart from these specific concerns, the notion of mode of production as a whole has been subject to lively discussion. See Althusser and Balibar:199-307; Anderson 1974a; 1974b; Bailey and Llobera; Hindess and Hirst 1975; 1977; Melotti; Wittfogel.

<sup>67</sup> In his work of the mid-eighties and later Jameson has distinguished between three phases of capitalism with their respective cultural dominants: classical capitalism (realism), monopoly or imperial capitalism (modernism), and late capitalism (post-modernism). Realism and modernism have been part of his analyses from the beginning, but postmodernism has dominated his more recent writing.

significant in terms of the biblical text. As with the notion of class in ancient Israel, the most important contribution to the topic of mode of production in ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East is that of Norman Gottwald. I will engage with his work at the appropriate points in the analysis of the biblical texts.<sup>68</sup>

### 6.3.1. Nonsynchronous Development

The nature of and relationships between the various modes of production have been and continue to be areas of intense debate within Marxism. Jameson engages with the debate in two areas: the question of the synchronic and diachronic, and that of a necessary sequence of modes of production or an evolutionary progression of stages which then function as a series of convenient categories in which cultural products may be located. The suggested solution to these problems is that of non-synchronous or uneven development (see also 1979c:68-69 / IT2:173-174; 1982g; 1985e:xii; also Melotti:8-27), which is where the interpretive category of contradiction makes its appearance in the base of this third horizon. The essential argument is that at any particular point in history, in any society, several modes of production are in operation in varying strengths. One mode of production is dominant -- as with its related cultural moment -- while others exist in various complex states of disintegration and emergence: earlier modes of production remain as disjunct elements sedimented within the new structure while hints and suggestions of modes of production to come may also be found in that same structure.<sup>69</sup> In this fashion Jameson attempts to show that the essentially synchronic notion of mode of production also bears within it a diachronic dimension, specifically in regard to the traces of past and future modes of production. Such an understanding also breaks down the need to regard modes of production as a linear or evolutionary progression and thus makes it

<sup>68</sup> It seems to me that a more fruitful use of archaeology for the study of ancient Israel lies in this third horizon and the notion of mode of production than in the first horizon with its interest in historical detail (a limited use in regard to the second horizon's focus on social class may be envisaged). A negative example comes from Whitelam (1986) who uses archaeological material concerning trade, agriculture and demographic patterns for the purpose of specific historical reconstruction when this material is more suited to the broader questions of mode of production.

<sup>69</sup> The similarity between this notion of nonsynchronous development and that of the relationship between form and content in the construction of texts -- old content brings old forms which are reshaped -- is not by chance.

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impossible to classify texts in terms of solitary modes of production "since the texts emerge in a space in which we may expect them to be crisscrossed and intersected by a variety of impulses from contradictory modes of cultural production all at once" (PU:95).<sup>70</sup>

Contradiction therefore carries all the way through from the first horizon to the base of the third and final horizon. Contradiction characterizes the relationships between the various modes of production and this shows up in the appropriate cultural forms, specifically in regard to two points concerning culture which we have already encountered: the idea of a cultural dominant and that of cultural revolution. First, a cultural form is dominant in the same way that a mode of production is dominant: other contradictory cultural forms are by no means absent within the dominant form. Second, the notion of cultural revolution now becomes clear: the process of the decline and rise of various cultural dominants is due to continual transitions between modes of production. The idea of cultural revolution therefore relies upon the idea of nonsynchronous development.

### 6.3.2. Periodization

Jameson's understanding of mode of production does not, however, remove him from a commitment to periodization: there remain dominant modes of production and their concurrent cultural dominants which determine the nature of the various periods outlined in the table above. His approach nevertheless renders the borders of such periods more fluid and the relationships between the periods more dialectical. Regarding fluidity: it is impossible to determine a decisive break between periods since such transitions are gradual and the varying dimensions -- economic, political, cultural and so on -- proceed at different rates (see 1987m:33-34). Thus, for example, culture may in a certain situation foreshadow a new mode of production while economics lags behind and politics holds onto structures from an earlier mode of production. Indeed, Jameson argues that one of the advantages of a periodizing theory is that it enables the utopian pos-

<sup>70</sup> Mohanty (1982:39-40) argues that the idea of a sedimented history which is demanded by this understanding of the complexity of modes of production contrasts with the more linear view espoused earlier in PU (PU:19-20). Mohanty's nervousness lies more in the area of a fear of totalization, but his point concerning linearity is nevertheless valid, as is indicated by Jameson's own later disavowal of such linear "master narratives" (PCLLC:xi).

sibility of imagining different social formations, which ought to be the role of a Marxist cultural politics (1982f:80; see 1975h).<sup>71</sup>

As far as the dialectical relationship between periods is concerned, Jameson argues that the nature of a particular mode of production -- for instance, the Asiatic mode of production -- is constituted by its relationship to other modes of production, particularly those in closest proximity -- in our example, these would be kinship societies and oligarchical slaveholding societies -- since these have subordinate positions within the structure of the dominant mode of production.<sup>72</sup> Jameson is thus committed to the activity of periodizing, i.e. of reinterpretation in terms of mode of production, and this is ultimately what Jameson means with the slogan "always historicize" (PU:9).

The question of periodization brings us to some final comments on Jameson's understanding of history. It is in the context of mode of production that the most basic definition of history is to be found in his work: it is described, following Althusser (Althusser and Balibar:188), as an "absent cause," a vast entity whose effects may be felt but which it is impossible to understand or conceive in any detailed or comprehensive fashion except in such abstract terms as mode of production. The image -- appropriately astronomical for an impression of scale -- that is often used is drawn from Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss 1963:341-378): history is comparable to the heavenly satellite or gravity mass hidden below the horizon and invisible to the naked eye, a mass which nevertheless has a profound and usually deforming effect on narrative structure and action -- which brings us back to the notion of figuration (see SV:214; LM:25-26). Evidence of the absent cause may be read off the formal properties of the text but is not

<sup>71</sup> Regarding cultural politics, Jameson sees his role, like Sartre (1972d:219; 1982b:122) or the third world political intellectuals and ideologues Roberto Retamar of Cuba or Ernesto Cardenal of Nicaragua (1989d), as contributing -- through writing and pedagogy -- towards the creation of a properly Marxist culture in the U.S.A. which would serve to legitimate Marxist discourse (1975h; 1976g; 1982f:72-73). In this capacity the constant search from the earliest published work on politics and literature (1968) to the latest -- including some studies of specific political artists such as Gustave Courbet (1976i) and Hans Haacke (1986-7a) -- returns continually to the question of a viable political art, synonymous with a Marxist aesthetics.

<sup>72</sup> Further relationships would exist with feudalism, capitalism and so on, especially given the transition of some societies from the Asiatic mode of production to capitalism (e.g. the Indian subcontinent), thus bypassing feudalism. The most comprehensive statement of the dialectical relationship between modes of production may be found in the long final chapter of SV, entitled "The Existence of Italy" (SV:155-229; see the statement on p. 6). See also 1984g:73 which argues for a more dialectical understanding of the phases.

detectable empirically (1986a:316), although some critics have suggested that the cause is more hidden or distant than absent (Montag:99; Frow:38). If history is at all accessible it is only so indirectly, mediated via texts: Jameson proposes "that history is *not* a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious" (PU:35).<sup>73</sup> This notion of the absent cause -- applicable to all horizons although more properly to the third -- will prove useful at certain points in the analysis of the biblical texts.

Jameson's understanding of history is, as with the final level of medieval allegory, both abstract and comprehensive, but in his own defence Jameson would argue that, following Lukács, the most total is also the most concrete, and that a little history often disguises the absence of a greater historical awareness (1974d:606; for further discussion on Jameson and history see Attridge; Mohanty; Weber; White 1982; 1987:142-168).

#### 6.4. Summary

In this third and final -- historical -- level of Jameson's allegorical scheme the context is the mode of production, understood in terms of non-synchronous development; the superstructural focus is on the traces or figures of those modes of production in the texts, specifically in terms of sign systems; and the major interpretive strategy is the tracing of such figures with a view to locating the contradictions in the many-layered base with its overlapping modes of production. This interpretive phase is also the most unmediated of the three, moving directly from superstructure to base.

<sup>73</sup> As expected, the use of "Real" with a capital indicates its Lacanian sense: for Lacan, the Real (over against the Imaginary and the Symbolic) was absent; it "resists symbolization absolutely." Jameson follows Althusser's extension of Lacan's notion of the Real to cover history (see 1987f:221 / PCLLC:94; 1982f:83-84; 1977f). The other source of Althusser's designation of history as "absent cause" is Spinoza, from whom the phrase itself is acquired (see PU:35). The mention of Lacan highlights the Freudian dimension of a notion such as absent cause which is detectable in its effects on the form of a text: this is another formulation of repression and displacement.

## 7. Summary and Conclusions

I have presented Jameson's reading strategy as a twofold process, a somewhat uneasy alliance between an approach designated as metacommentary and an overarching Marxist interpretive method. Metacommentary (also described as transcoding) foregrounds the act of interpretation by comparing the strengths and weaknesses of various methods and readings. As an effort to deal with the pluralism of methods, it also bears within itself the logic of pluralism, giving limited validity to each of the methods.

The Marxist method, by contrast is a totalizing approach which cannot operate without such a totalizing imperative. This allegorical model of interpretation is rooted within the traditions of biblical literary interpretation, specifically those of medieval allegory and Northrop Frye, as well as the Marxist and Freudian interpretive traditions. The scheme attempts to categorize certain problems and discussion in Marxism -- such as the proper place for considerations of class, ideology and mode of production -- by providing three consecutively wider historical horizons on the central Marxist problematic of the relationship between base and superstructure. Thus in the first horizon there is the individual text and the close detail of history, in the second ideology and class, and in the third formal figuration and mode of production. The consistent interpretive thread through the three levels is the need to sustain the analysis until the point of contradiction is attained.<sup>74</sup> These successively wider horizons provide a more organized way of stepping back and taking a larger perspective in order to situate the problem or question, which is the classic form of the Hegelian dialectic (as it is described repeatedly in MF). It should be noted, however, that the three levels are not always used together in any one analysis (so also Wood:52 who feels there is a lack of oscillation between the three); in other words, an analysis may restrict itself to one or two of the levels, depending upon the object of analysis, although there is always a tendency on Jameson's part to attempt some form of resolution in terms of mode of production. Even when the three levels are employed in a systematic fashion, as in the most recent offerings of The Geopolitical Aesthetic, they are not explicitly identified as such and the reader requires a certain degree of familiarity with Jameson's work to be able to trace the unfolding, which

<sup>74</sup> The basic necessity for contradiction has caused some problems: Goldstein (148-149) feels the critical value of conformity is lost, while Montag (101) feels that Jameson explains them away. In a similar vein to Montag, Wells (14-16) argues that Jameson allows no room for indeterminacy.



moves in ever new and different ways, of the three levels or phases of interpretation.

As foreshadowed I will try to avoid being as elusive as Jameson about the application of the three phases of interpretation: the following table may function as a template or reference guide for the chapters on biblical interpretation.

Phases:	1) Literal	2) Social	3) Historical
Superstructure	Focus on form of individual text (which is understood as attempted resolution of contradiction).	Focus on ideology (especially ideologemes, religion, and ideology and utopia).	Focus on traces or "figures" of modes of production.
Interpretation	Search for contradiction (moving from form of text through ideological antinomy and closure to contradiction in base).	Search for contradiction (moving from ideological to class conflict). Also seeks the ways people relate to the totality: uses psycho-analysis and national allegory.	Search for contradiction, as expressed in cultural change. Also identifies types of figuration, such as concepts, space and sentence production.
Base	Either specific political history or an elusive "absent cause" (which applies to all horizons).	Social class and conflict between ruled and ruling classes.	Modes of production, understood in terms of non-synchronous development and periods. History as absent cause.

At various points in the presentation above certain criticisms were noted, although I have excluded those which attack Jameson's Marxism (e.g. Culler 1973:296; Erlich:148; Newton-Demolina). Any application must be carried with an awareness of these problems, particularly the ambiguity regarding the base in the first horizon, and the lack of adequate mediation in the third horizon. A third criticism is the increasing omniscience or privileged position of the critic as Jameson's corpus grows. In

earlier works, particularly MF, Jameson was concerned to include the interpreter within the process of dialectical criticism (as noted by Brown:131-132, although he sees the incompleteness of the process:138-139). This concern unfortunately transforms itself into the study of other critics and other interpretations, particularly in the second approach to metacommentary noted earlier (in which a major interpretation is analyzed closely). The absence, from Jameson's own description of the three interpretive levels, of the basic ideological question of the relationship between individual and totality signals the exclusion of a consideration of his own critical practice as he engages with cultural products, the rarity of such occurrences merely reinforcing the general dearth (see IT1:xviii and PCLLC:297-299; see further Grossberg:174; Parrinder:107). There is a significant danger that Jameson's critical omniscience will translate into the biblical analysis.

With these qualifications in mind, we have Jameson's Marxist interpretive scheme, the specific approach to the interpretation of texts advocated by Jameson as proper to Marxism, which remains the "untranscendable horizon" (PU:10), the "absolute horizon of all reading and all interpretation" (PU:16). I have indicated earlier the tension between such claims by Jameson and the pluralist practice of metacommentary or transcoding. The solution to the relationship between metacommentary and the Marxist method is to defy the liberal logic of the former by assuming that Marxism is not merely another code which one may use but rather the controlling method for all other methods.

In the analysis of the biblical texts which follows, I apply the strategy of metacommentary in order to provide a base for Jameson's controlling Marxist method. Metacommentary provides an opportunity to consider briefly the scholarship already done on these texts. In the application of Jameson's Marxist method I will make use of those items emphasized in the preceding discussion of the three horizons of reading (my presentation has in fact been organized to highlight those areas which will be used) and then tabulated in this conclusion. The decision when to use a certain feature will depend to a large extent on the nature of the text: thus, for instance, I argue for national allegory in 1 Kings 11-14 but do not find it appropriate in the other texts. In a similar fashion spatial analysis plays a large role in the analysis of 2 Chronicles 10-13 but not in the other two texts. However, while the text may set the boundaries of analysis, closing off certain options but enabling others, the problem of recognizing an ideologue upon first meeting one, or figuration, or libidinal investment,

depends to a large extent on one's sensitivity and alertness to these elements, a sensitivity developed through close association with Jameson's approach. Alongside intuition is the necessary but onerous task of poring over the biblical texts, initially allowing for all options and then settling, after much thought and reshuffling, upon those which prove to be enduring. This at least is the way I have sought to apply Jameson's approach to the biblical text.

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Chapter 2  
HISTORICAL DETERMINISM IN 1 KINGS 11-14

1. Introduction

In line with the distinction between theory and practice which still dominates textual analysis, I move on from the theoretical discussions of Jameson's methods to the practical task of interpreting texts. Both approaches discussed in the previous chapter will be used: metacommentary and the three-level Marxist method. I will, however, use metacommentary in a more introductory way, identifying the types of interpretation of the text that have been made and thereby providing the interpretive situation with which the present interpretation must relate. This part of the analysis will also provide the opportunity to decide which interpretations may be mined most productively. In contrast to metacommentary, the second part of the analysis, which will attempt an application of Jameson's Marxist method to the biblical text, is more extensive. This phase will explore the possibilities Jameson's scheme for the biblical text.

Although metacommentary and the Marxist interpretive scheme may potentially be used on any text, I have presented them in the preceding chapter in such a way as to highlight those areas which are important for the biblical analysis. Thus, after the introductory section of metacommentary I will make use of the following items in the three-fold Marxist scheme. In level one I seek to identify the main textual structures and possible contradictions between them, relate these structures to conceptual contradictions (antinomies) which underlie them, and locate the role of narrative and ideological closure. This level is unable, however, to make contact with specific political history. I also introduce some of my own terms, such as narrative control and organization. In level two I am concerned with the identification of ideologemes and the ways they exhibit signs of class opposition. In other words: how might the ideological features of the text, which come in the form of religious issues, be understood as class discourse? Some ideologemes are located, the major one being connected with the dominant structural feature identified in the first horizon. In this second level I also make use of the psychoanalytic category of the libido, or libidinal investment, and national allegory, both of which serve to relate the individual to the social whole. In level three the main search is for figuration: the formal (sentence production) and conceptual (the ideological dimensions of the structures identified in the first horizon and the major

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ideological/religious issues of the second) traces of modes of production in tension. There is a search for utopian items as well.

For my analysis I have chosen three texts: 1 Kings 11-14, its Septuagint translation in 3 Reigns 11-14, and 2 Chronicles 10-13.<sup>1</sup> As noted earlier, the three texts provide very different accounts of the breakup of the Kingdom of Israel after Solomon. 1 Kings 11-14 is torn from the tangled mass of the much larger narrative conventionally termed the "Deuteronomistic History"; the Septuagint text presents no such larger unitary complex, although some continuity of translation strategy is found through 1 to 4 Reigns, which translate the Hebrew 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings; 2 Chronicles 10-13 is also caught in the net of a narrative stretch known as the "Chronistic History."<sup>2</sup>

These texts have been chosen for a number of reasons, the first of which is their importance. Not only are they found at a significant point in the narrative of Israel's history -- the division of the kingdom -- and in the structure of that narrative -- such as the pivotal role of Jeroboam in northern Israel's history and destruction -- but they also contain some major methodological cruxes which continue to vex and engage critics working with a variety of methods. Thus, for instance, theologians have been fascinated by the problems presented in the prophetic double-play of 1 Kings 13, textual critics have argued over possible solutions to the textual difficulties of 1 Kings 12 // 3 Reigns 12 // 2 Chronicles 11, and historical critics have puzzled over questions of sources, traditions and their redaction at this intersection of traditions, as well as over the more specific questions of historical reconstruction such as the role of Jeroboam in the disruption or the nature of Yahwistic worship. More recently social scientific criticism has focused its attention on the dynamics of class and economics in the account, and some literary critics have cast glances towards the same texts. The texts may be described, therefore, as methodologically "thick," although, as with much of the Hebrew Bible, the number of structuralist, poststructuralist, ideological, feminist, and other studies remains minimal.

<sup>1</sup>The Septuagint translation of 2 Chronicles 10-13 has not been included, since it, unlike 3 Reigns 11-14, follows the Hebrew quite closely. A fascinating study in itself, it is not one for this dissertation.

<sup>2</sup>The terminology of Deuteronomistic History and Chronistic History is of course indebted to Martin Noth. The essential assumptions concerning these narratives are not unchallenged (see, for instance, Rendtorff 1993), but they command sufficient support to continue their use. If such large units do eventually not hold up, then a retreat to the safer and more limited contexts of 1-2 Kings and 1-2 Chronicles would not affect my arguments unduly.

The second reason for the selection of these texts is that they highlight the question of interpretation -- a fundamental concern of Jameson -- since they constitute three interpretations of the same events, or, alternatively, two reinterpretations of a primary narrative (1 Kings 11-14). Thirdly, the function and nature of comparison is foregrounded by these texts. From the side of the texts themselves, comparison becomes necessary due to the pattern of continuity and variation -- three distinct versions of the same story -- in the relationships between the texts. Conversely, from the side of method comparison is one of the features of dialectical approaches such as Jameson's, particularly in a practice such as metacommentary: features which would not otherwise appear significant are thrown into relief through comparison within and between texts and interpretations. Finally, these texts form part of larger slabs of text which are understood to be historical literature, that is they purport to refer ultimately to real people, objects and events (see Long:3-4). For Jameson history is also crucial; as we have seen, each level of interpretation attempts to make the final connection to the "Real," however difficult that may be. These then are the reasons for the selection of the three texts: narrative and methodological significance, and the importance of interpretation, comparison and history.

This chapter will be concerned with the first and base text, 1 Kings 11-14. As indicated above, the structure is quite simple: a relatively brief section on metacommentary will be followed by a more detailed interpretation in terms of the modified Marxist interpretive method. For the sake of clarity I will restrict the activity of comparison to the discussions of the other texts in the next chapter.

## 2. Metacommentary

Given the methodological importance of 1 Kings 11-14 it should come as no surprise that it has been the focus of many studies.<sup>3</sup> However, it takes little reading to notice that if these interpretations were organized according to the criterion of volume a conspicuous dominance would be held by historical critical approaches. My interest, however, is almost conversely proportional to the amount of work in each category, and thus the organization of this material seeks to allow the smaller categories greater

<sup>3</sup>Such interpretations may deal with part of this stretch of text (most commonly 1 Kings 13), the whole unit (very rare), overlap with neighbouring material (usually the Solomon narrative in 1 Kings 1-11), or comprise much larger sections within which our text is included.

representational space. I have therefore arranged material in the following categories: theology, text criticism, historical criticism, social scientific approaches, and literary and poststructural approaches.<sup>4</sup> In the process of providing a synopsis of these different approaches, I will identify those insights which come close to findings in my own analysis of the text and which have assisted in the development of that interpretation.

Theologians have been drawn to the ambiguities and problems of 1 Kings 13 and perhaps the most significant interpretation is that of Karl Barth, for whom the passage is an example of the *unterscheidende Wählen* (differentiating election) of God by means of a dialectical interplay between old prophet and man of God, Israel and Judah, Jeroboam and (strangely) Josiah, grace and sin, election and rejection. The value of Barth's interpretation is that he sustains the analysis until the theological point may be made, providing in the process a number of connections important for my later interpretation (see further Klopfenstein:639-646). Another explicitly theological reading is the homiletical study of Uriel Simon, who sees in 1 Kings 13 the central theme of "the fulfillment of the word of the Lord in its due time" (Simon:116).<sup>5</sup>

The border between properly theological readings such as Barth's and historical critical concerns (see Klopfenstein, who assesses Barth in the light of historical criticism) is bridged by those studies which deal, firstly, with the nature of prophecy, particularly in regard to the criteria for determining its truth or otherwise (Crenshaw:39-49; Dozeman; van Winkle, but see Deboys 1991) and secondly with the theological concerns of the Deuteronomist (Ackroyd 1968:62-83; Lemke). That these are explicit issues in the texts enables such essentially theological issues to be dealt with in historical critical terms. Most of these studies focus upon 1 Kings 13, but their value for this study is that they ensure that prophecy remains a major concern of these chapters, a point I will exploit in a more formal direction.

<sup>4</sup>An alternative organization of these categories might use a periodizing hypothesis: premodern (theological and text critical), modern (historical criticism), and postmodern (social science, literary, poststructural, ideological approaches and so on).

<sup>5</sup> I have not been able to acquire some of the other theological studies: H. Bruston, "La signification spirituelle du schisme entre Juda et Israel au temps de Salomon." FV (abbreviation unknown) 69/4: 3-9; Y. M. -J. Congar, "Considérations sur le schisme d'Israel dans la perspective des divisions chrétiennes." *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 1 (1951): 167-191; J. L. Leuba, "Le dualisme Israël-Juda: Exposé d'histoire et de théologie bibliques." *Verbum Caro* 1 (1947): 172-189.

More commonly, however, questions concerning the prophets and their profession are approached with strictly historical critical criteria in mind. Historical criticism of these chapters may be divided into the normal types of source, form and redaction criticisms, although some works will include more than one of these approaches. I will also mention separately comparative studies and those explicitly concerned with historical reconstruction. As noted earlier, the bulk of studies fall into the historical critical category.

Traditional source critical studies base their work on certain elements of these chapters: the origins and development of the prophetic materials in Kings are one area of interest (G. Jones I:64-75; Noth 1991:107-111; Seebass 1975, 1976; Vogels; Weippert 1983); another area deals with the formulaic frames, concerning which opinions are divided over whether the Deuteronomist is responsible for their composition (Gray:5) or whether some form of original royal or court annals or records constitute their source (Noth 1991:100-102; Montgomery:31; Bin-Nun, who provides a survey of earlier studies<sup>6</sup>), or a mix of both options (Wellhausen 1963:274-276; Campbell; O'Brien:180-185; Nelson 1987:35-36). Both of these concerns -- the prophetic and the annalistic -- are important for the first stage of my own discussion of 1 Kings 11-14, but without the detailed analysis of sources such as the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (see Gray:6; Jones I:57-60; Mettinger:36-42; Noth 1991:100-107; van Seters:292-302; Wellhausen 1973:286-287; Liver, and the references mentioned there) and the piecemeal sources and traditions which commentators feel may be identified (see Debus; Gray:14-35; Montgomery:24-44; DeVries 1985:142, 148-9). Also, unresolved battles have been waged over the dating, provenance and contours of the postulated pre-deuteronomistic form of 1 Kings 13 (see the survey of largely German works in Lemke:301-304; also Dozeman; W. Gross:100-107; Provan:78-81; Würthwein).

Form critical work has been less intense, with more general acceptance of the existence of annalistic material, prophetic oracles and pronouncements, and even a riddle. The most comprehensive treatment comes from Long's commentary in "The Forms of the Old Testament Literature" series, which functions as the standard reference for all things form critical. Van Seters also has made a significant effort to identify the various genres in Kings. Otherwise, debate has centred over the genre of 1 Kings 13, with

<sup>6</sup> Bin-Nun mentions Wellhausen, Hoelscher, Noth, Lewy, Begrich, Jepsen, Maisler. Such studies often use the formulae in the search for a chronology.



suggestions of "parable" (Rofé 1974:158; 1988:173; van Seters:304; van Winkle), "legend" (Dozeman; Plein:17; references in Lemke:303), "midrash" or "ancient tale" (see Wellhausen 1963:277; Kittel:112; Lemke:303-304; Robinson:161), and "prophetic authorization narrative" (DeVries 1985:169).

The third of the traditional historical critical trio is of course redaction criticism, which tends to include the other two within its orbit. The agenda on this level has been and remains determined by Noth's postulation of a single major exilic redaction termed the Deuteronomistic History. Thus studies are largely concerned with the extent to which the Deuteronomist(s) were responsible for their material, how much was taken over and in which ways, whether there was more than one Deuteronomistic redaction and whether there were other, non-Deuteronomistic redactions (see, for example, Campbell; Dietrich; Lemaire; Mullen 1987; Nelson 1987; O'Brien; Peckham; Provan; Wallace; Weippert 1983:361-375; see the fuller discussion of these options at the close of the first interpretive level). A standard move which combines source and redaction criticism is to allocate material to northern and southern sources and then account for their combination (so Bin-Nun; Campbell; Debus; Nielsen 171-208; O'Brien; Plein). My interest, however, lies in the way in which traditional material is handled by the compiler of this material, specifically in terms of Jameson's distinction between form and content, and the ideological messages emitted by the formal patterns of earlier "raw materials" which have subsequently been reshaped.

While the historical critical, as well as textual critical, attention to minutiae may at times be mind-numbing and often self-defeating (see Long 1984:15-18; Polzin 1989:1-2; van Seters, who directs his polemic at redaction criticism), such attention has managed to highlight some important features of the texts: the development and function of the regnal formulae, prophetic material and 1 Kings 13, as well as the redactional or compositional activity of shaping a new narrative out of what is often formally resistant material.

Alongside the staple types of historical criticism may be found comparative studies and emphases, which cut across the domains of form and source. Efforts have been made to enlighten interpretation by comparison with the Mari material (Lipinski), with Assyrian royal grants for exemption from taxation (Weinfeld 1971), with suggestions that Jeroboam is modelled on the literary feature of the "archetypal *Unheilsherrscher*" of ancient Near Eastern literature (Evans; Holder), with Gilgamesh and the people's saying

in 12:16 (Debus:25-26) and most usefully with the figurative language and ideology of ancient Near Eastern kingship (Younger). The commentaries of Gray and Montgomery both rely heavily upon other ancient Near Eastern material to assist interpretation. Apart from Younger, these studies have no immediate relevance for my interpretation, except perhaps at the final level of modes of production, but the connections in this case may be too complex to be of much worth.

Inherent in the whole historical critical approach is the need for historical reconstruction, both generally but selectively (Alt:314-323; De Vaux; Donner; Miller and Hayes:218-249, who all merely paraphrase and harmonize the material in Kings and Chronicles) as well as more specifically, depending upon select references in the texts themselves, from which a circular activity begins its rotations: the references are used as a basis upon which to develop an historical backdrop while the historical reconstruction serves to explain the references (so N. Allen; Bartlett; Grønbaek).<sup>7</sup> Another dimension of historical reconstruction is the use of archaeological evidence to support the historical referentiality of the text (Mazar). There is also a subgroup of studies whose concern is the reconstruction of either the political structures (Malamat; but see Debus:30-34) or the cultic and religious dimensions of the division of the kingdom, the reforms of Jeroboam and the priestly, especially Levitical, participation in those events which are believed to lie behind our story (Kittel:108-111; Seebass 1976; Halpern; Morgenstern 1937-8, 1964; Motzki; Nielsen 171-208; de Vaux; even Hoffmann's detailed discussions end with historical considerations). A further, much larger, subgroup is concerned with determining the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah (in which case our texts necessarily become part of a wider discussion): much energy continues to be expended with little resolution (Begrich, especially for major pre-1929 studies:1-54; DeVries 1985:180-182; Gray:55-75; Hayes and Hooker; Hughes' excellent study; Jones I:9-27; Laato; Montgomery:45-64, who provides a list of pre-1951 references; Thiele).

Reconstruction of particular historical events and relationships, however, is a curious short-circuit inherent in historical criticism, for, as was argued in the previous chapter, the biblical material is very resistant to

<sup>7</sup> N. Allen's argument serves as a good example of such argument: the move of Jeroboam's capital from Shechem to Penuel (1 Kgs 12:25) may be understood as an attempt by Jeroboam to gain religious and political control from the Levites at Shechem, who had been placed at Shechem as part of the development of a civil service under David and Solomon and who were thus answerable to Jerusalem.

recovering the details of daily and annual life. Such historical reconstruction therefore is of relatively little use in the interpretation of 1 Kings 11-14; our interest is in the much wider and more abstract social and economic picture. A further study might investigate the possible reasons, the enabling and disabling forces which may account for both the insights and blindnesses in historical criticism as a whole, particularly its concern to tie the text down to concrete objects and events. Such a study would need to consider the fact that historical critical work has a built-in time factor: these interpretations held a virtual monopoly on discussions up until the end of the seventies of this century. Already in that decade were a few signs of alternative approaches to these chapters which did not belong to the broad methodological category of historical criticism.<sup>8</sup> Often termed "literary" approaches, it would seem to be more of an outbreak of a methodological pluralism which was formerly repressed under the monolithic control of historical criticism.

However, before passing on to consider such studies, an older, pre-modern, method continues its lively work: text criticism (a good example is Kittel's commentary). Most of the work and debate in this area includes discussions of the material in 3 Reigns and 2 Chronicles, and for this reason such studies will be dealt with in the following chapter (see the references there). The significance for this study as a whole, however, is that it is really only within the discipline of text criticism that detailed and continuing comparison between the texts is undertaken. It is my intention not to leave this comparative activity to the text critics but to extend it by means of Jameson's approach.<sup>9</sup>

The final group of studies to be considered here are those whose unifying characteristic is a negative: they do not exercise historical criticism in the conventional sense of the term. Most would implicitly assume some historical critical data, but what is perhaps most notable is their methodological divergence from one another. I will attempt to organize such studies into some order, but given their relative scarcity in comparison

<sup>8</sup> Van Seters constitutes a curious in-between case, espousing many of the values of post-historical critical studies, such as attention to the careful structuring of the final form, yet spending most of his time discussing historical critical questions (so also Polzin 1989:13-16).

<sup>9</sup> Related to text criticism is the method of philology, which has little use for my purposes. Manfred Görg, for example, argues for the Egyptian origin of the word *nir* (thus continuing a theme in his increasing numbers of short articles). Lipinski argues for a comparison with Mari material in order to understand *zeqenim* and *yeledim* in 1 Kgs 1-19.

to historical criticism, there will be some lone exemplars in some categories. It is also notable that only a few of the studies are restricted to 1 Kings 11-14 (R. L. Cohn 1985a; Frisch; Gross; Simon); the remainder generally deal with larger textual slabs or issues.

The first subgroup comprises those studies which employ various social scientific tools. These studies are, however, in a state of betwixt and between, partially under the umbrella of historical criticism -- such as the older research of Mendelsohn (1942; 1949; 1962) and the interest in the institutions and organs of the state (Tadmor; Malamat; see Debus:30-34) -- and partially under post-structural approaches with their emphasis on the social, political and economic dimensions of both interpreter and text (see especially Gottwald's effort at developing a hermeneutics of social class [Gottwald 1992]).

Secondly, and perhaps most centrally, are so-called "literary" studies whose slogan is "the text itself" (with all the appropriate New Critical associations). A relatively loose example comes from Robert L. Cohn who deals with the structure of the literary units and the rhetorical manipulations of the author (1985a). More disciplined is Albert Cook who, on the basis of earlier work on the nature of "fiction," challenges the tendency of literary critics such as Frye to play down the historical dimension of Samuel and Kings. Another study is that of Parker (1988) who, although dealing with 1 Kings 1-11, articulates the assumption of literary approaches that the text must be viewed holistically, that it contains "a unified and coherent structure". For Parker the main compositional strategy in the first chapters of Kings is that of repetition and symmetry, characterized by two structurally balanced but thematically opposed halves (1 Kings 3-8 and 9-11), one presenting Solomon positively as the ideal king, the other negatively as the apostate king (Parker 1992, but see Brettler 1991 and Walsh 1992b, who argue that Parker is not correct on the structures). Cohn, Cook and Parker indicate their debts to Robert Alter's The Art of Biblical Narrative, with Cook especially giving attention to minute detail, repetitions, patterns of inclusion and exclusion, foreshortenings and silences, and literary structure.<sup>10</sup> Uriel Simon also belongs in this literary company, arguing on the basis of "internal literary exposition" (Simon:86) -- along with a heavy

<sup>10</sup> In some ways these studies resemble the discussions of the role and activity of the Deuteronomist in shaping the material into a large historical work; Noth is perhaps the best example. The difference is that the older studies always wished to move on to particular points of historical contact or reconstruction while these newer studies rarely ask historical questions.

theological-homiletical dose (see above) -- for a single comprehensive prophetic narrative in 1 Kings 13. The theological affinities of newer literary approaches are developed most extensively in the useful commentary of Nelson in the "Interpretation" series (1987).

The value of these "literary" studies in general lies in their emphasis on the text as a unit worthy of consideration in its own right: this relates in many respects to the first horizon of Jameson's schema in which the text is the centre of attention. Further, the studies mentioned above often work with the seemingly insignificant items of a narrative: the function of such items is of course understood somewhat differently in the light of Jameson's approach. Finally, I will pick up some of the suggestions of Cohn regarding structure (the contrast between the annalistic and the prophetic), of Simon concerning the importance of the prohibition and the word of God in 1 Kings 13, and the occasional insights of Nelson's commentary.

Thirdly, sections of 1 Kings 11-14 have been included in a couple of studies which operate in the fashion of Propp and Lévi-Strauss, discerning an underlying pattern or theme while noting individual or creative variations on the theme. Thus, Robert L. Cohn (1985b) studies the four cases of the dying monarch in Kings, of which one example is 1 Kings 14, while Culley (1992:87-89) identifies 1 Kings 13 as primarily a punishment sequence set within a larger announcement sequence but which contains two embedded sequences, prohibition/transgressed and announcement/happened.

The next three methodological options are represented by solitary efforts and explorations. Thus the fourth subgroup, if it may be called that, is related to the one immediately above, adapting Propp's work on roles and functions as they have been systematized by Greimas. The exponent, Gross, terms this "role analysis," a less abstract version of Greimas' approach. The other major interpretive tool is that of Richter: Gross in fact wishes to use role analysis to enhance Richter's highly ordered program of interpretation. Although this a very suggestive study, it has limited use for my own analysis.

Fifth, Richard Nelson (1988) has made use of Boris Uspensky's theories of narrative point of view -- which operates on the four levels of ideological, phraseological, spatial/temporal, and psychological -- to interpret the structure of the Book of Kings. Although this is a curious mix of levels, Jameson does speak of each of these dimensions in his own way, but the modernist and Jamesian concern with point of view is regarded with the suspicion due to any product of the process of reification and fragmentation

(PU:154, 219-222; IT1:9-10; SV:111-112). The value of this work is the ability to identify conflicting ideological material (Nelson 1988:46-47).

A sixth subgroup foregrounds the history of interpretation, particularly as it takes off from the initial text into post-biblical periods. The lone example relevant to our texts traces the interpretation of the question of intermarriage and Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter from the early chapters of Kings into the medieval period (S. Cohen). Cohen is interested in the changing religious and social circumstances which affect interpretation, which is comparable to my interests. An example close to home is the effort to account, within a larger span, for the difference between the presentation of Solomon's marriages in Chronicles and Kings.

I have left until last what I will broadly term ideological approaches, since the discussion of these approaches will lead into a consideration of two people (Jobling and Walsh) whose work has the closest affinity with the approach taken here. The designation "ideological criticism" is chosen with the Althusserian sense of ideology in mind: in these works there is an effort to articulate the various complex connections -- intellectual, imaginary, unconscious -- between the individual text and wider social, political and economic patterns. Two relatively recent studies attempt to bring an ideological dimension to the more classical historical critical disciplines: one directed towards identifying the political agendas of the proposed four stages of development of 1Kgs 11:29-40, moving from a legitimization legend for the North to an effort to understand its collapse (Weippert 1983); the other, although falling outside our texts, being one installment of a number of studies using source criticism as a "tool for appreciating the richness of ideological debate in ancient Israel" (Brettler 1989:282, on 2Kgs 17:7-23). I have relatively little use for approaches which make historical criticism central and append a further dimension to it, such as ideological criticism (so also Wessels on Jer 22:24-30). More interesting, however, is Frisch's suggestion that 1Kgs 12:21-24 contains a clash of both religious and political interpretations of the schism. This is much more promising since it identifies the political with Rehoboam and the religious with the prophet Shemaiah, thus pointing the way to a connection between these conflicting ideological options and the contrast, noted by R. L. Cohn (1985a) between the annalistic regnal formulae and the prophetic material. In other words, although he does not make the conscious step, Frisch enables a link between structure and ideology which is basic to Jameson's approach. A similar type of connection is made by Parker's argument that the balanced structure of the Solomon narrative has an ideological message

concerning Solomon's rise and fall; all of which is then tied up with the relationship between the dual themes of law and wisdom, as well as the respective patterns of dis/obedience and ab/use (Parker 1988; 1992). Apart from the very promising play between form and ideology suggested by the studies of Frisch and Parker, a further significant feature is that they tend to work with oppositional pairs. This was noted in the previous chapter as important for Jameson's approach, although he regards such pairs as indicators of the ideological limitations and closure of a text rather than definitive statements of their meaning.

Perhaps the most interesting and difficult to place are the two studies by Polzin (1980; 1989). I prefer ideological, although his own designation is "literary"; yet the application of the approach of Bakhtin-Voloshinov to Deuteronomy-Judges and 1 Samuel would see these studies at home in the area of political criticism (see below), save that Polzin largely depoliticizes what is a Marxist approach to texts. One awaits eagerly the studies on 2 Samuel and Kings, since Polzin is interested in questions of formal and ideological dialogue and tension in the narrative. Jameson himself makes use of Bakhtin-Voloshinov in describing the nature of ideology or class consciousness in the second horizon as essentially dialogical and thus antagonistic (PU:84). A fascinating study would attempt to locate the strategies of containment by which Polzin excludes the political ramifications of his studies.

Before passing on to consider Jobling and Walsh, a summary: this section on metacommentary has ranged over most of the critical approaches to these chapters. Some were found to be more useful than others: Barth's theological method for its totalizing ability; source criticism for its interest in prophetic material, regnal formulae and 1 Kings 13; redaction criticism for the highlighting of the way in which the author(s) must deal with ideologically and formally resistant material; textual criticism for its comparative activity; social science approaches for foregrounding questions of social class; literary approaches for attention to the text as a unit and to peripheral details (along with some more concrete proposals concerning structure); Propp-type approaches for the ability to take in a wider picture and offer comparisons at the level of narrative structure; interpretation studies for highlighting interpretation itself; and ideological studies on a wider front for dealing with issues closer to the heart of Jameson's approach such as ideology, form, and oppositional pairs. Those which were less useful have been noted above, but this summary indicates that there may be some justification to Jameson's claim to include a plurality of

approaches within his own Marxist schema. However, as noted earlier, the methodological richness exhibited in this summary takes on a different look if the volume of work is considered. In this light the vast bulk of work on Kings has used historical critical approaches; in other words, most interpretations speak the same methodological language with some variation in dialect. Given the amount of historical critical work I have in fact found as much that is useful in the few structuralist and poststructuralist studies as in the endless ones that belong to the historical critical family. It is for this reason that the treatment of historical critical studies has been more cursory in comparison to the consideration of the other approaches, particularly those of Walsh and Jobling, whom I now consider.

Jerome Walsh has undertaken two studies which bear some striking resemblances to what I am attempting to do. Essentially, he is concerned with the effect that conscious or unconscious choices by the reader of horizon, method or level may have on the interpretive process. In other words, Walsh's interest is in horizons of interpretation. In order to highlight the effects of such choices he compares the results of different contexts or horizons. Thus, in the case of 1 Kings 13 three possible contexts in which the chapter may be situated out of a larger number are selected -- the chapter itself, the Jeroboam narrative, and the Deuteronomistic history -- with the result that different aspects of the chapter are emphasized depending upon the respective context (Walsh 1989). As a balance to the concern with textual context, in another study Walsh takes on the question of methodological selection: in an effort to determine whether different methods explicate part of a text's meaning or whether they provide total interpretations which exclude others (see the comments in chapter one on strategies of containment) Walsh undertakes a comparative study of three methods in a study of 1 Kings 21 (Walsh 1992a). He uses stylistic analysis which is concerned with the surface structure (at this level he interacts most extensively with recent literary or synchronic studies), syntagmatic analysis which deals with deeper sequential structures (with a debt to Culley), and paradigmatic analysis which focuses on the deep structural relations of narrative roles (relying upon Greimas). The result is comparable to the earlier study: some elements are highlighted by one method and neglected by another, while some questions are answered differently by each.

Walsh's approach resembles both metacommentary and Jameson's concern with levels or horizons. Firstly, the testing of the strengths and weaknesses of the different methods is precisely what Jameson envisages



with metacommentary: that which is hazy or absent under the discipline of one method may come into focus in another. Walsh does not, however, offer any assessment of the comparative value of the methods he uses, nor does he find any resolution to the more total picture characterized as the relationship between diachronic and synchronic approaches, a problem Jameson feels he has resolved (PU:89-95). The second, and more superficial, resemblance with Jameson's approach lies in the suggestion of levels in the three methods used -- using the common metaphor of distinctions in depth -- and in the notion of horizons of reading distinguished by their expanse. Walsh indicates therefore that the sorts of questions which interest Jameson are also being considered in a more limited sense within biblical studies.

More significant than Walsh's work is that of David Jobling, who in a series of studies (1987, 1990, 1991, 1992a, 1992b) has been working at a comprehensive mode of biblical analysis with an explicitly left political agenda. The importance for this study is that Jameson is one of the pillars of Jobling's program, and thus we would expect him to push the issues much further than Walsh. Jobling's approach may best be characterized as "political" in the sense used by Ryan (1989): an approach which locates its base in Marxist critical practice but has moved out to include other major dimensions, most notably feminism, deconstruction and liberation struggles (into which feminism is subsumed). Alongside this wider net of radical approaches is the agenda for political struggle and change which is the hallmark of such a political criticism. Both dimensions -- comprehensiveness and political change -- are systematically embraced in the programmatic essay, "Writing the Wrongs of the World" (1990). What is missing, however, from this otherwise intensive and noteworthy paper is some effort to relate these theoretical endeavours to the social and economic situation of late capitalism, an effort which is all the more necessary, and curious for its absence, given both Jobling's political commitment and his exegetical activity.

I will spell out this contradiction in terms which interest me more directly (his appropriation of Jameson and his biblical interpretation): Jobling fails to use the hermeneutical key of his exegetical work -- mode of production -- in elaborating his theoretical framework.<sup>11</sup> It is only in the

<sup>11</sup> "Late capitalism" is mentioned in an epigraph on p. 88 (1990) but is not developed in Jobling's own discussion. The closest he comes is in a Foucauldian displacement of such questions into those of power and discourse (1990:99-102), and in a brief mention of "History" (105). He also hedges around the question in an effort to consider his own place as a privileged, rich, North American intellectual. I would suggest that mode of production is the absent factor which generates the writer's block mentioned early

final pages of the study of 1 Kings 3-10 (1992a) that we find an all too brief consideration of the contemporary situation of the critic which was virtually absent from the earlier programmatic essay (1990). Therefore it is the work of biblical interpretation which is of greater interest and here we find that Jameson plays a much more crucial role. Although Jobling sometimes identifies the notion that history is an absent cause as Jameson's fundamental affirmation (1987:92; 1992b:3) he follows Jameson (Jameson 1979c, although there is no evidence that Jobling has referred to this article) in fixing on mode of production -- mediated through Gottwald -- as the basic category of -- for Jobling, biblical -- interpretation (1991; 1992a:72-74; 1992b:16-19). In the final analysis history as an absent cause and mode of production are different ways of speaking about the same thing -- it is virtually impossible for people to conceptualize that which forms the very framework of existence -- but the difference of emphasis is that the former relies upon more Freudian notions of repression and displacement while the later belongs to conventional Marxist discourse.

The two pieces of biblical interpretation form a close pair, although the study of Psalm 72 (1992b) is chronologically prior to that of 1 Kings 3-10 (1992a; their publication order is reversed). There is a curious obverse relationship between the papers: while the former paper is more explicit in its intention of using Jameson's three-level model of interpretation, its actual use is problematic. Conversely, the study of the Solomon material constitutes a much more successful application of Jameson's approach, yet the explicit acknowledgment of Jameson is quite muted. I will summarize both studies before offering some critique.

The paper on 1 Kings 3-10 begins with an interest in the literary structure of these chapters (level one?), moving thence to an "isotopic analysis" of the three semantic fields of economics, sexuality and wisdom (the ideologeme analysis of level two adapted in the light of Jobling's own earlier structuralist work [1986]), and finally suggesting a clash between the communitarian and the tributarian (Gottwald's terms) modes of production as the final ground of the isotopic contradictions (level three). The essay on Psalm 72 offers three "readings," which seem to correspond with Jameson's three levels, interspersed with two digressions which are intended to lead into the following reading. The first reading deals with the constitutive elements of the text, which includes the three themes of the

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in the paper (1990:82).

king's justice, plenty, and relationship with the nations, as well as the perspectives of permanence, space, sustenance and participants. This first reading then considers these themes and perspectives in the light of a formal analysis of the psalm, which locates two parts with contradictory ideological patterns; namely a "perpetual motion machine" (vv. 1-7) over against "the king's righteousness as motor" (vv. 8-17). An excursus concerning the ideology of the royal psalms then leads into the brief second reading, whose concern is the contradictions in the two "codes" of economics and law in the light of the two parts of the psalm. The second excursus on modes of production sets up the final or third reading which attempts to relate the contradictions both in the text (the two parts and the relationship with the royal psalms) and in the Asiatic mode of production itself in the areas of economics, law, the nations, and trade and centralization.

These two studies are rich with suggestions and new insights, there is some valuable discussion of the question of mode of production as a hermeneutical category for use on the Hebrew Bible, and they provide some good examples of an appropriation of Jameson's three-level schema against which to compare my own efforts. At the same time there are some problems which I would like to identify and avoid. Firstly, there is a much greater reliance on the explicit content of the text, particularly in the focus on themes and isotopes, and relatively little discussion of the form of the text. The study of Psalm 72 is a little more balanced in this regard than that of 1 Kings 3-10: in the former the formal contradictions between the parts of the psalm are developed to an extent, but the energy flags as Jobling turns into the latter stages of the analysis. Indeed, it is difficult to say that form is a central concern in both papers; which is surprising given Jobling's earlier structuralist works. As has been made clear in the previous chapter, Jameson lays great emphasis on the analysis of form as the way to locate contradictions not only in the form of the text but also in the resonances of ideology, class and mode of production. In my own analysis I will be far more interested in the form of the text. Perhaps one of the reasons for such a neglect may be located in Jobling's concern with the question of mode of production, which brings us to the next major problem.

Secondly -- and this is noted by Jobling himself (1992b:4) -- the second horizon of Jameson's schema as used by Jobling is a self-effacing and retiring member of the trio. For Jameson, this is the horizon of ideology and class, of individual and totality. Jobling argues that the problem

here is the "limited knowledge of detailed historical contexts" (1992b:4), but such a problem, while valid to a limited extent at this level, is much more acute at Jameson's first level which intends to relate the individual text to the details of political history in the form of an imaginary resolution to a real contradiction. I argued in the previous chapter two points which are relevant here: that for biblical studies this connection between such a limited area of base and superstructure -- of political history and text -- is virtually impossible but that at the same time Jameson's contradictory position on the status of the base in the first horizon -- it is sometimes described in terms of the immediate and easily knowable events of everyday life and at others as an elusive reality both constructed and hidden by the text -- indicates an unconscious awareness that there is a broader problem here. It is perhaps symptomatic in this respect that Jobling makes no mention of the historical base in the first horizon, opting then to slide over the base in the second in favour of mode of production in the third. What is required here, therefore, in order to bolster the stakes of the second horizon is a more extensive discussion of the nature of class and ideology; something along the lines of the detail and depth of analysis of the issues concerning mode of production.

This point is closely related to the third problem, which is the truncated form of the model after it has been appropriated from Jameson. In place of widening perspectives or horizons of the relationship between base and superstructure, Jobling operates with a model that moves in the three phases of structure, isotopes or ideologemes, and mode of production; that is, from the superstructural concerns of the first two horizons to the base of the third. This is particularly clear in the later study of 1 Kings 3-10. Jobling is of course free to adapt Jameson's approach in the light of the biblical text and of his own interpretive requirements, as he did earlier with the structuralism of Greimas and Lévi-Strauss (1986:11), but this should be made clear in the initial presentation of Jameson's approach (1992b:3-4).

Fourth, there is some category slippage taking place in these studies: issues and questions from other horizons invade and crowd out the issues of the horizon in which they are more properly located. To some extent this is endemic in Jameson's system -- an instance is the discussion of ideology at all levels but its proper location in the second -- but at the same time Jameson argues that the levels are an effort to place various central Marxist issues in their proper contexts and avoid category mistakes (1990i). The most obvious culprit for Jobling is the economic, which, due perhaps to his

focus on mode of production, is found in the first and second levels as well as the third.

Finally, it would have been useful if some form of metacommentary had been in operation in these two studies. A discussion of other approaches to these texts and the relationship between the adapted model from Jameson and these other approaches would have added to the power of a Jamesonian analysis. Despite these criticisms, it should also be recognized that Jobling is moving over vast territories traversed by few travellers. In doing so he has highlighted the sorts of issues which need to be addressed in further work in these areas.

In concluding the discussion of metacommentary I refer to the summary of the material preceding the considerations of Walsh and Jobling: the analysis of the texts will build on, and, more often, treat somewhat differently, the various features and questions raised in the use of other methods. As far as Walsh and Jobling are concerned, Walsh has indicated that fruitful work may be done by reading texts and methods in terms of levels or depths, while Jobling's appropriation of Jameson has indicated the important problems which must be addressed and has provided some essential groundwork on the question of mode of production.

Having completed my particular use of metacommentary -- as an introductory survey noting those elements which may be incorporated in a subsequent analysis -- the next step is to analyze the text using the three levels or phases of Jameson's Marxist allegorical method. It will be recalled that these move in three widening horizons each of which is characterized by the relationship between base and superstructure: in the first the concern is with contradictions in form, thought and an elusive specific history; in the second with contradictions in ideology and class; in the third with figures or traces of conflicting modes of production. I will take each phase of interpretation in turn.

### **3. 1 Kings 11-14: First Horizon**

In this first horizon I will be concerned with identifying the various structures of the text, particularly, since the understanding of form drawn from Jameson is conflictual, in the way they clash with one another. That is, I am interested in how the structures of the text struggle over formal control rather than live in tolerant harmony. This will then lead into questions of ideological antinomy, or conceptual contradiction, and ideological closure in an effort to locate the conceptual background to the text's formal

contradictions. This horizon will close by considering the difficulties of saying anything about the details of everyday events -- to which the text refers and in the context of which it was written -- while noting at the same time that the bulk of historical critical energies attempt precisely this difficult task.

### 3.1. Superstructure

The analysis begins with the superstructural dimension of the first horizon of Jameson's allegorical scheme: a formal analysis of the text itself. In this relatively small number of chapters, extracted stubbornly from the Deuteronomistic History, three formal features appear that are characteristic of the larger whole of Kings, while a fourth is specific to this narrative chunk alone: prophetic organization, regnal or annalistic formulae, authorial commentary, and the insertion of a different narrative piece in the surrounding material (chapter 13). For the purposes of definition, they might be described as various efforts at the framing or organization of somewhat unwieldy and uncooperative traditional materials. The question of ideology will impinge in the analysis of such features, but at this stage the focus is upon the form of the text, specifically on elements such as narrative control, the strategic location of material, the physical ordering of the narrative action and character, and the patterns of closure and continuity.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from authorial commentary, these formal features have been identified and worked over quite well by others, but my approach differs in that it focuses upon their relationship with one another, particularly the patterns of domination and control exercised by certain formal features over others. Nelson's commentary comes closest with its interest in the various structures and themes of Kings -- chronology, parataxis, analogy, prophetic words, evaluation and the pattern of apostasy and reform (Nelson 1987:8-12) -- but these are understood in a nonconflictual and liberal manner. Long's (19-20, 21-25) depiction of parataxis, based upon van Seter's work and more recent research on Herodotus, is more conflictual: parataxis is essentially analogical, encouraging the reader to see the analogical connections between apparently disparate material placed side by side in a work with a specific plan and direction. A properly conflictual approach,

<sup>12</sup> In what follows I use both "form" and "structure" mostly as interchangeable terms. If there is a difference, form has wider reference which includes questions concerned with genre, while structure is focused upon the patterns by which a narrative is organized.

however, will be interested in the way these disparate materials clash with one another, the way some structures attempt to bring other already existing structures into line by relegating them to subordinate and relatively minor roles. The success of such operations varies from text to text, and on rare occasions the text becomes a battlefield between two or more evenly matched structures manoeuvring for control. In this text one form dominates, although not without a struggle, while the others tag along. The following discussion moves from a discussion of the regnal formulae and their relationship with the surrounding material, to a consideration of the nature of the prophetic organization and its relationship with the regnal formulae. The remaining two features fall into place alongside the major players.

### 3.1.1. Regnal Formulae

Beginning intermittently in these chapters and later strengthening to a dominant structure that spirals throughout the books of Kings are the formulaic frames that encase the alternating reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah. In focusing on the question of these formulae, I work at the most basic level of a formal analysis, namely, sentence production. While there are what appear to be formulaic elements in the record of the close of David's reign in 1Kgs 2:10-12, the first full-throated example comes with Solomon in 1Kgs 11:41-43. Two other examples are found in our chapters: the close of Jeroboam's reign (1Kgs 14:19-20) and that of Rehoboam (1Kgs 14:29-31). A comparison of the three passages will illustrate their similarity as well as the minor variations characteristic of formulae:<sup>13</sup>

1Kgs 11:41-43:

וַיֵּתֶר דָּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְחִכְמָתוֹ הִלּוּאֵיהֶם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דָּבָרֵי  
שְׁלֹמֹה: וְהַיְמִים אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בִּירוּשָׁלַם עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה: וַיִּשְׁכַּב  
שְׁלֹמֹה עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבֹּר בְּעִיר דָּוִד אָבִיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ יָרֵבֶעָם בְּנֹו תַחֲתָיו:

1Kgs 14:19-20:

וַיֵּתֶר דָּבָרֵי יָרֵבֶעָם אֲשֶׁר נָלַחַם וְאֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ הֵנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דָּבָרֵי הַיְמִים  
לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: וְהַיְמִים אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ יָרֵבֶעָם עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה וַיִּשְׁכַּב עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּמְלֹךְ נָדָב בְּנֹו תַחֲתָיו:

<sup>13</sup> I have found Bin-Nun and Long (1984:160-164) very helpful in regard to the formulae.

1Kgs 14:29-31:

וַיָּתֵר דְּבָרֵי רַחֲבָעַם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הִלְאִי־הֶמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי  
יְהוּדָה: וּמִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה בֵּין־רַחֲבָעַם וּבֵין יִרְבָּעָם כָּל־הַיָּמִים: וַיִּשְׁכַּב רַחֲבָעַם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּקְבֹּר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעֲמֻנִית וַיִּמְלֹךְ אַבְיָם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:

These closing formulae have the following elements in common:<sup>14</sup> a) citation of putative sources (11:41; 14:19, 29); b) formal notice of the king's death and place of burial (11:43a; 14:20b without notice of burial, 31a); c) notice of succession (11:43b; 14:20c, 31c).

It is beyond the scope of our selected chapters to consider the remaining closing formulae in 1-2 Kings (see especially Provan, who focuses on the formulae), but even these three cases indicate a pattern of set formulae with variables at two levels: in the structure of each formula<sup>15</sup> and in the selection and arrangement of the formulae into the total closing state-

<sup>14</sup>Scholarly tradition now designates nine items or independent formulae:

Introductory formulae:

- Royal name and accession, with synchronisms in divided kingdom (up to Hoshea)
- Age at accession (Judah only)
- Length of reign
- Capital city
- Name of Queen mother (Judah only)

Assessment:

- Verdict

Concluding formulae:

- Source citation
- Death and burial
- Notice of succession

<sup>15</sup> E.g. the first formula in the cluster form our three examples: if spaces represent slots to be filled with items such as names or verb combinations, brackets indicate optional inclusion, and slashes signify alternating possibilities, the basic structure is:

וַיָּתֵר דְּבָרֵי א...[וְכָל־]אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ... הִלְאִי־הֶמָּה/הֵנָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי  
יְהוּדָה/יִשְׂרָאֵל

The pattern is quite firm, but there are slots for the king's name and for expansion of the verbal structure after the relative (עָשָׂה is the most common, but not universal, base verb). וְכָל may be included or excluded with the relative. The formula toggles between interrogative marker and predicator of existence (הִלְאִי־הֶמָּה is much more common than הֵנָּה), and between יְהוּדָה and יִשְׂרָאֵל at the end. Similar observations concerning consistency and variation may be made about the formal notice of death and burial, and of the introduction of the successor.



ment.<sup>16</sup> As will be noted below, it is characteristic of formulae to have a basic frame of fixed formulae into which may be inserted other relevant formulae from a wider pool. It would be possible (but not necessary for this analysis) to list a pool of such formulae which were used in different combinations depending upon the circumstances and details of the reign.

Regnal formulae are not, however, restricted to the close of a reign: 1Kgs 14:21 provides an example of a formulaic cluster for the introduction of Rehoboam's reign.

וּרְחֲבֹעַם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ בִּיהוּדָה בֶּן־אַרְבָּעִים וָאַחַת שָׁנָה רָחֲבֹעַם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁבַע  
עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר־בְּחֵר יְהוָה לָשׂוּם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם מִכָּל שְׁבִטֵי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשָׁם אָמוּ נָעֲמָה הָעֲמֻנָּה:

As this is the first example in the books of Kings of formulae introducing a reign and the only example of such introductions within 1 Kings 11-14, it is useful to compare it with the other appearances (1Kgs 15:1-2, 9-10; 22:41-42; 2Kgs 8:16-17; 8:25-26; 9:29; 12:1; 14:1-2; 15:1-2, 32-33; 16:1-2; 18:1-2). Such a comparison reveals a pattern of five introductory formulae referring to the kings of Judah (a similar analysis may be made for the Israelite kings). The pattern is as follows: a) dating by means of synchronism or cross-reference to the king of Israel (except Rehoboam and Jehoshaphat, 1Kgs 22:41-42); b) notification of the accession; c) age at accession; d) length and location of the reign; e) name of the king's mother.

As with the closing formulae, there is consistency and variation in both the structure of each formula and in the selection or omission of certain formulae (Rehoboam also has the addition of *יִשְׂרָאֵל...הָעִיר*). Thus, we find the following pattern:

- a) [בְּשָׁנָה ... לְ... [בֶּן־...] מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל]
- b) מֶלֶךְ ... [בֶּן־...] מֶלֶךְ/עַל־יְהוּדָה
- c) בֶּן־... שָׁנָה ... הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ
- d) [...] שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם

<sup>16</sup> Thus, in the three examples from 1 Kings 11-14 there is some additional material. 11:42 and 14:20a have statements on the length of reign, an item which found in only two other closing formulae: David (1Kgs 2:11) and Jehu (2Kgs 10:36). Normally, the length of reign appears in the opening formulae. Further, 14:30 adds a comment regarding continued war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam and 14:31b refers to the king's mother.

e) [...] [...]בַּת- [...] [...]אִמּוֹ

Variation within individual formulae is accounted for, as above, by: empty spaces which indicate slots for names, year numbers and places of origin; brackets which signify items that may be included or excluded; and slashes indicating alternating options. The other form of variation is in the arrangement and selection of formulae: only b) is found in all examples, while in others the order is rearranged. This model is sufficiently flexible to deal with multiple variations found in the opening formulae.<sup>17</sup> The evidence of introductory formulae therefore reinforces the argument that the regnal formulae play a significant role in the structure of the narrative.

Thus far I have been concerned with the opening and closing formulae of the regnal framework. A third type are the formulae which provide religious assessment of a monarch. Later I will exploit the potential clash between such assessments and the material between the formulae. The only example in 1 Kings 11-14 of formulaic religious assessment concerns Judah, although Rehoboam seems to be understood (1Kgs 14:22):

וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוֹרָם הָרָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּקְנְאוּ אֹתוֹ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתָם בְּחַטָּאתָם  
אֲשֶׁר תָּטְאוּ

Unfortunately, an extensive treatment of these formulae is not required for this study. Two observations will suffice. First, the following categories apply in determining the nature of these formulae: those which refer to Israel or Judah; those with positive or negative assessments; those which have a mitigation (of both negative and positive assessments) and those which do not; and the location of such assessments in the opening or closing formulae. Not all the logical possibilities are exploited by Kings. In the light of these categories 1Kgs 14:22 may be categorized as a negative assessment without mitigation of the kings of Judah in the opening sequence (so also 2Kgs 8:27; 16:2-3; 21:2, 20; 23:32, 37; 24:19). The other assessment formulae in Kings may also be designated according to this schema.

Secondly, the structure of the formulae themselves fall into four types, which may be seen as either variations on two major types or as different additions to a universal stem:

<sup>17</sup> I have not, however, accounted for solitary variations (such as the addition concerning Jerusalem in the material for Rehoboam), as the sample pool is far too small to ascertain whether they are unique or more consistent variations.

- a) i) וַיַּעַשׂ/וַיַּעֲשֶׂה [...] הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה [...] וַיִּלְךָ בְּכָל-דֶּרֶךְ [...] יִרְבָּעַם/אֲבִיו [בְּיָנֶכֶת] [וּבְחֶסְתָּאוֹ] אֲשֶׁר הִחֲטִיא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>18</sup>
- ii) וַיַּעַשׂ/וַיַּעֲשֶׂה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה [...] לֹא סָר מִכָּל/מִן/עַל/מִן-חַטָּאוֹת יִרְבָּעַם בְּיָנֶכֶת אֲשֶׁר הִחֲטִיא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>19</sup>
- b) i) וַיַּעַשׂ .. הַיֵּשֶׁר/הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה [כְּ]... [דָּוִד אֲבִיו]<sup>20</sup>
- ii) וַיַּעַשׂ [...] הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה [כְּ] [...] [דָּוִד אֲבִיו] רַק/אֲךָ הַבְּמוֹת לֹא-סָרוּ עוֹד הָעָם מִזִּבְחִים וּמִקְטָרִים בְּבָמוֹת<sup>21</sup>

Both types of the a formula apply to Israelite kings alone, while some of the bi type also apply. Most of bi and all of bii apply to Judean kings.<sup>22</sup> At the simplest level, all the formulae for theological assessment comprise a variety of additions to the phrase: וַיַּעַשׂ/וַיַּעֲשֶׂה ... הַיֵּשֶׁר/הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה. Four points are relevant to the following discussion of the function of the formulae in 1 Kings 11-14. Firstly, the theological assessment of Rehoboam in 1Kgs 14:22 is of the bi type; second, Rehoboam is one of three Judean kings (the other two are Ahaziah and Ahaz) who receive a negative assessment without mitigation before the destruction of Israel<sup>23</sup>; third, Jeroboam is one of two kings who do not receive a formulaic assessment (the other, Shallum, reigned for one month and was deposed); fourth, Jeroboam himself appears as a formulaic factor in the assessments of nearly all the Israelite kings, as formulae ai and aii indicate above.

Despite the small sample there is sufficient data in Kings as a whole to designate 1Kgs 11:41-43; 14:19-20, 21-22, 29-31 as regnal formulae

<sup>18</sup> 1Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19 modified, 25-26; 22:53; 13:2 modified.

<sup>19</sup> 2Kgs 3:2-3 modified; 13:11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28.

<sup>20</sup> 1Kgs 11:6; 14:22; 16:30; 2Kgs 8:18b, 27; 16:2; 17:2; 18:3; 21:2, 20; 22:2; 23:32, 37; 24:19.

<sup>21</sup> 1Kgs 15:11, 14 modified; 22:43b-44; 2Kgs 12:2-3; 14:3-4; 15:3-4, 34-35.

<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether 1Kgs 15:3-4 and 2Kgs 8:18-19 constitute formulaic combinations due to the smallness of the sample and the variations between them.

<sup>23</sup> Rehoboam also joins the company of kings after the fall of Samaria who receive, apart from Josiah, total condemnation.

which attempt to frame or organize the narrative material.<sup>24</sup> These formulae are arranged with a certain flexibility which sees variation both within specific formulae and variation in the selection or use of formulae. In this respect I follow Nelson (1987) -- over against others such as Campbell, Lemaire, Provan and Weippert 1972<sup>25</sup> -- on a general level, who argues for "free variation" in the formulae, although he allows a little too much for individual creativity in the formulae.

In these few chapters the formulae occupy a relatively small amount of space; most of the space is given over to material which may be regarded for the moment as narrative fill-in, details which enhance the basic outline provided by the formulaic frames. The relationship between the frames and the intervening material is quite fascinating, particularly between the theological assessment of the three kings -- Solomon, Jeroboam and Rehoboam -- in those frames and their depiction in the remaining narrative. Here the first signs of tension in the narrative make their appearance.

Solomon and Jeroboam form a pair: both are presented as leaders who betrayed a divine sanction and neither have any theological assessment in the relevant formulae. The contrast between negative portrayal in the intervening narrative and absence of any assessment in the formulaic frames is perhaps weakest with Solomon, for he is provided with a formulaic condemnation outside the expected structure (1Kgs 11:6) in the midst of the section (11:1-8) in which he is credited with bringing about the division of the kingdom through an uncontrollable libido which then afflicted his religious judgment and affiliation. Further, the punishment itself (loss of kingship for the Davidic family, which is announced in the form of direct divine statement [11:11-13] and prophetic announcement [11:31-39]) is mitigated in two ways: Solomon will not see the loss in his own time and a remnant will remain with the Davidic line. Finally, the majority of theological assessments take place in the opening formulae, with which Solomon is not provided. Despite these factors, there remains a contrast between the condemnation of Solomon in the bulk of the chapter and the

<sup>24</sup> Beyond these formulae the sample becomes too small, although Provan deals with the whole *במזת* theme in a formulaic setting. Thus he argues (74-77) that a basic judgment formula exists in 14:22-24 which has been heavily reworked. See also Campbell:179-180.

<sup>25</sup> These people regard formulaic variation as signs of different redactional layers; thus, Provan and H. Weippert (1972; see the criticisms by van Seters:316) base their redactional arguments on the formulae, while Campbell (139-202) and Lemaire use the formulae as one form of evidence in such arguments. Nelson plays both ways: free variation in the pre-exilic author, followed by rigidity in the postexilic.

calm absence of any suggestion of disruption in the closing frame (11:41-43).

Jeroboam also is subjected to a similar tension: the narrative from 1Kgs 12:25 to 14:18 details a grim picture of religious apostasy and decline, at the centre of which is the failure to live up to the requirements of the covenant (11:38), and yet the closing formulae depict a serene close to a long reign (enhanced by the synchronistic notices in 15:1 and 9 in which he reigns during the time of three Judean monarchs) with no suggestion of anything untoward. In the absence of any formulaic condemnation whatsoever -- in contrast to Solomon -- a more striking tension appears with the contrast between the closing formulae for Jeroboam's reign (14:19-20) and the formula in which Jeroboam himself is the feature: **הַטָּאוֹת יִרְבְּעוּ בְּיָנֶכֶד אֲשֶׁר הִחֲטִיֵּא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל**. This formula appears in nearly all the assessments of the kings of Israel after Jeroboam, sounding its way as a redactional theme (see Mullen 1987) throughout the books of Kings, and counting as the major factor in the reason provided for the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians (2Kgs 17:21-23). Thus there is a formulaic contrast between one formula in which Jeroboam is the epitome of apostasy and the other which closes his reign with a notable absence of any condemnation.<sup>26</sup>

The tension between intervening narrative and formulaic frame in the accounts of Solomon and Jeroboam highlights a recurring feature in Kings: the delay of an announced punishment to an offspring one or more stages further in generational development. This is made explicit for Solomon (11:12,35) but not so for Jeroboam, whose successor Nadab takes the prophesied punishment (14:10-11, 14; 15:27-30). It might be described as a tension between prophetic condemnation and the inexorable pressure of an older annalistic structure which prevents the enactment of the threatened punishment against the one who perpetrated the wrong.<sup>27</sup> This directs us towards the prophetic involvement in the narrative, which will reinforce such a tension.

First, however, there is the conflict between frame and narrative in the account of Rehoboam. Once again the conflict is slight but nonetheless present. Rehoboam's official notice of succession comes after the struggle

<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to note that in the concluding formulae for Jeroboam there is no mention of the place in which he reigned nor where he was buried. The evidence, however, is ambiguous on the importance of these absences.

<sup>27</sup> Mullen (1987:219-220) argues that both the permanent promise to David and the presence of a righteous king cause the prophecy-delay-fulfillment pattern.

over the kingship depicted in 1 Kings 12. In this pattern it follows a standard structural pattern in the books of Kings: normally a king is introduced with the appropriate introductory formulae; however, if there is a struggle over the succession -- as was rarely the case in Judah but much more so in Israel -- then in terms of narrative structure and sequence that struggle is resolved before the official formulae are able to roll into place and announce the new king. Yet in the case of Rehoboam this structure does not work quite as smoothly: after the struggle over the succession in 1 Kings 12 Jeroboam takes centre stage and officially concludes his reign before Rehoboam is granted formulaic recognition, despite the narrative fact that Jeroboam's reign (twenty two years) was five years longer than Rehoboam's. In other words the focus on Jeroboam has created a Judean time lag, for not only is Rehoboam held back from his post from the conclusion of the succession struggle in 1Kgs 12:25 to the formulaic introduction of 14:21, but the subsequent two Judean kings are provided with synchronisms to Jeroboam's reign despite the narrative closure of his reign in 1Kgs 14:19-20. Apart from this feature of narrative structure,<sup>28</sup> on a more theological level, the condemnation in the formulaic section of 14:21-24 is based upon religious misdemeanors, whereas the negative picture provided of Rehoboam in 1 Kings 12 turns around the questions of political naïveté and the weight of delayed punishment hanging over from Solomon. This is, however, an ideological tension which is the proper realm of the second horizon.

### 3.1.2. Prophetic Organization

A major structural dimension of 1 Kings 11-14 is therefore the control exercised by the formulaic frames. I noted a number of tensions which suggest that this control is not total, a suggestion which is reinforced by the prophetic organization 1 Kings 11-14. The phrase "prophetic organization" refers to two steps of analysis: first, in 1 Kings 11-14 prophets play an important role in the narrative; second, the narrative itself is organized according not only to the role of the prophets but also to the physical placement of such prophetic involvement and incidents in the narrative structure. In the same way that the regnal formulae are strategically placed in order to organize the narrative, so also the appearances of the prophets are purpose-

<sup>28</sup> The first in a series of such features, alternating between Israel and Judah; see Long:23.

fully located for narrative organization. "Prophetic organization" therefore functions as shorthand for this feature of the narrative.<sup>29</sup> Both prophetic organization and regnal formulae attempt to achieve structural dominance, which results in a contest for the formal control of these few chapters. This constitutes the major formal contradiction of this text, a central element of analysis in this first horizon.

From the perspective of prophetic presence, the most striking feature of 1 Kings 11-14 is the narrative closure effected by the figure of Ahijah: the complete account of Jeroboam's rise and fall is encased within the mediation of divine favour (11:29-29) and disfavour (14:1-18) by the prophet. The story in between these interventions plays out on a prophetic level the relationship between Israel and Judah, a relationship which therefore has a commentary at both the level of king and prophet. Thus, another prophet -- Shemaiah -- provides Judean weight (12:22-24) to Ahijah's focus on Jeroboam, while the bulk of 1 Kings 13, which covers half of the intervening narrative, brings together two prophetic figures, one from Israel and one from Judah. The tightly closed unit from 11:29 to 14:18 squeezes out the consideration of the fall of Solomon (11:1-25) and the mostly formulaic description of Rehoboam's reign (14:21-31). At the same time the unit holds connecting lines out to the surrounding narrative by allowing the introduction of Jeroboam as one of three adversaries to Solomon (11:26-28) to precede Ahijah's first intervention, and by leaving the formulaic close to Jeroboam's reign (14:19-20) until after Ahijah's last piece. Two other links -- the pre-emptive words of punishment Yahweh addresses directly to Solomon (11:11-13) and the fulfillment of the announced punishment of Jeroboam at the appropriate time (15:27-30) -- function as indicators of the wider narrative control sought through the prophetic organization of the narrative.

The following table provides a more spatial view of the prophetic organization.

[11:1-8: Solomon's apostasy]
[11:9-13: Solomon's punishment announced]
[11:14-28: Three adversaries for Solomon]
<b>11:29-39: Ahijah bestows favour on Jeroboam</b>
11:40: Conclusion to the three adversaries
11:41-43: Formulaic close for Solomon

<sup>29</sup> Savran (160-162), Rofé (1988:99-104) and von Rad (1953:78-81 / 1966:209-211) argue that control is exercised through the schema of prophetic fulfillment: the relevant texts for our chapters are, according to Rofé and von Rad, 1Kgs 11:11/1Kgs 12:1-20, 1Kgs 11:31-39/1Kgs 12:15, 1Kgs 13:1-10/2Kgs 23:15-16, 1Kgs 14:7-11/1Kgs 15:29, 1Kgs 14:12-13/1Kgs 14:17-18.

12:1-21: The split of the kingdom  
 12:22-24: **Shemaiah restrains Rehoboam**  
 12:25-33: Jeroboam's building and cultic activities  
 13:1-32: **Man of God and old prophet from Israel**  
 13:33-34 Connector back to Jeroboam  
 14:1-18: **Ahijah bestows disfavour on Jeroboam**  
 [14:19-20 Formulaic close for Jeroboam]  
 [14:21-31 Rehoboam's fortunes]  
 [15:27-30: Jeroboam's punishment fulfilled]

A few comments are in order on the basis of this table. Firstly, it does not account very well for the overlay of the story of the three adversaries and the first of the Ahijah pronouncements. Indeed, from a different perspective this first prophetic intervention distends and imbalances the story of the three adversaries.<sup>30</sup> Secondly, such distortion of the structures in the text signifies a struggle for formal dominance: thus, the prophetically organized unit of the Jeroboam narrative places a large gap between the story of Rehoboam's succession struggles (12:1-24) and the formulaic presentation of his reign (14:21-31). As noted above, under normal circumstances a contest over succession is followed closely by the official notice of succession.

Thus, there is a unit in which closure is strong but which still has connections with the preceding and succeeding narrative. The unit also causes noticeable rearrangements in the wider structure. I have considered the broader lines of the prophetic organization of the narrative; a closer look at the structure of each segment of prophetic involvement will provide more detail of the narrative control. The common denominator of each of the four segments (11:29-39; 12:22-24; 13:1-32; 14:1-18) is the presentation of a word from Yahweh. Sometimes a prophetic sign is included. Thus, in 11:29-39, after meeting Jeroboam on the open road, Ahijah tears a new cloak he is wearing into twelve pieces, giving ten to Jeroboam. The sign sets the stage for and reinforces the statement from Yahweh (11:31-39), which has a number of functions: announcement of the punishment of Solomon and the mitigation of this punishment (it is meted out to Solomon's son) (11:31-36); promise of the kingdom to Jeroboam (11:37, compare the "dynastic grant" delivered by a prophet to Jehu in 2 Kings 9:1-10 [so Mullen 1988]); covenantal conditions on that promise (11:38); reiteration of mitigated punishment on the house of David (11:39).

<sup>30</sup> Solomon's pursuit of Jeroboam (11:40) would seem to fit more properly after the notice of Jeroboam's rebellion in 11:27-28, although the fit is not exceptionally smooth. Critics have argued that the episode with Ahijah is an insertion or a disturbance to the narrative (Gray:264; Montgomery:253).



Ahijah's pronouncement on behalf of Yahweh has set the agenda for the following account of Jeroboam: the loss by Rehoboam, Solomon's son, of ten of the twelve tribes to Jeroboam (12:1-24) and Jeroboam's subsequent failure to abide by the conditions stipulated by Ahijah (12:25-33; 13:33-34). At the same time, parts of Ahijah's speech echo the words addressed to Solomon directly from Yahweh's mouth (11:11-13), providing, it would seem, more immediate divine sanction for the direction taken by the story (1Kgs 11:11-13 is echoed throughout 11:31-32, 34-36, but most strongly in 11:31b-32). The function of the second prophetic segment (12:22-24) is to reinforce yet again the words of Ahijah: to ensure that Rehoboam does not disrupt the narrative control and direction, Shemaiah steps in with a divine prohibition against going to battle over the issue. In a section which will become significant at the third horizon of interpretation, Ahijah ties up the narrative which he set in motion with a delivery to Jeroboam's wife: a reiteration of the act of transferring the kingdom to Jeroboam (14:7-8a); a notification of the breach of the conditions (14:8b-9); and announcement of punishment (14:10-11). Ahijah himself adds some points to Yahweh's word, providing an answer to the initial query concerning the fate of the sick child (14:12-13), which also mitigates the total condemnation of 14:10-11, and a trajectory providing an agent of divine punishment (14:14).

In sum, there would seem to be significant narrative control exercised by the prophetic involvement: the narrative closure is strong enough to contain the story of Jeroboam within certain confines to the extent of distorting the surrounding narrative, and the divine word mediated through the prophets directs the narrative action of the unit. The prophetic organization of the narrative may well lay claim to being the dominant form of this narrative.

However, there are signals that this dominance is under some challenge. The first group of problems focus on the structure of the prophetic speeches. To begin with Ahijah's opening intervention, the explicit concern with the mitigation of Solomon's punishment reflects a tension: if Solomon had done the wrong, why is he not punished? The question that looms is one of consistency, to which I will return in the discussion of ideology. On a more formal level, Ahijah's speech twists and turns over the problem of inconsistency. A brief table will illustrate:

11:31b:	announcement of punishment;
11:32:	mitigation of punishment;
11:33:	sin -- reason for punishment;
11:34:	mitigation of punishment;
11:35:	announcement of revised punishment;
11:36:	mitigation of revised punishment;

11:39: punishment and mitigation.

More problems exist with Ahijah's delivery. The number of pieces into which Ahijah's garment is torn and their distribution do not add up: of the twelve pieces, Jeroboam takes ten to signify the tribes he will be given, while one tribe is to be left to the Davidic line (11:32, 36; see 11:13).<sup>31</sup> Further, the plurals *עֲזָבוֹנָי*, *וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ* and *הָלָכָו* in 11:33 sit uneasily in a description of Solomon's activities. These problems have set historical critics on the hunt for multiple layers in the development of Ahijah's first speech (e.g. Campbell:23-32, who compares it with 1Kgs 14:7-11, 21:19-24 and 2Kgs 9:6-10; Dietrich:15-20; Mayes:118; McKenzie 1985:205-206; Nelson 1987:109-116; O'Brien:163-71, and see his note 125 for further references; Plein; Seebass 1976; Weippert 1983). The signs of such a development are certainly there, although the precision with which the various pieces may be disassembled is questionable.<sup>32</sup>

Other problems with the narrative control may be found in Ahijah's concluding speech. In this case, there is the curious structural feature in which Ahijah delivers the divine word (14:7-11) and then adds some more of his own (14:12-16) which qualify the words of Yahweh: in 14:10-11 the dishonourable death for all the house of Jeroboam is mentioned, yet in 14:12-13 the honourable death of the child who is ill is prophesied; the announcement of the punishment of Jeroboam is expanded by Ahijah to an announcement regarding the Babylonian exile (14:15-16).

A second group of problems is located in the relationship with the regnal formulae, and it is here that the major formal clash of this text may be located. In respect of their physical location, the striking point about these two major forms of narrative organization is the complete lack of congruence between them. The prophetic and divine speeches seem to ignore the formulaic frames with which they stand in close proximity; each organizing or framing device treats the other as part of the narrative fill-in. They do not intersect at any point. As far as content is concerned, the contrasts between the mitigated condemnation of Solomon and his dignified death and burial and between Jeroboam's utter rejection and the stately close of his reign have been noted earlier. In the same vein of difference

<sup>31</sup> Many ingenious solutions have been suggested; e.g. DeVries argues that by the time of Dtr Benjamin had been absorbed into the tribe of Judah, thus leaving one tribe over (1985:151). The author would seem to have forgotten this, for Ahijah is still depicted as tearing his cloak up into 12.

<sup>32</sup> The historical critical attempt to locate the text at precise points in history will be our concern in the discussion of the base in the first horizon of analysis.

between prophetic word and formulaic statement Shemaiah's prohibition against fighting between Israel and Judah (12:24) is contradicted by the note in the closing formulae for Rehoboam (14:30; echoed in 15:6).<sup>33</sup> From the perspective of the whole of the books of Kings, regnal formulae and prophetic organization alternately dominate: 1Kgs 15-16, 22:37-53, 2Kgs 8:16-19:13; 20:20-25:30 are dominated by regnal formulae and related material, while 1Kgs 17:1-22:36, 2Kgs 4:1-8:15; 19:14-20:19 are controlled by prophetic material focused on Elijah, Elisha and Isaiah. Only in 2Kgs 1:1-3:27 is there some balance between the two major forms of narrative control. Yet this is the only exception to the fundamental formal clash in this text between the regnal formulae and prophetic organization.

### 3.1.3. Ideological Antinomy and Closure

The move from a focus on the superstructural dimension of this first interpretive horizon to its subtext is overdue. The analysis therefore will give attention to that which mediates between the base and superstructure in the context of the first horizon, namely, the conceptual or ideological realm which lies between society and text. It will be recalled that for Jameson texts are attempts to solve social contradictions, but that the contradictions must be expressed as thoughts or concepts prior to the production of the text. Such conceptual contradictions are designated ideological antinomies. In the same area may be found the efforts to resolve the contradiction conceptually and formally in the text: these efforts are known as strategies of containment, seeking to restrict the problem by producing both narrative closure at the level of text and ideological closure at the level of thought. The search here then is for patterns of closure or containment and for antinomies.

The question of narrative closure has already been dealt with in the earlier discussion, from which there is a logical progression to the problem of ideological closure. Both of the major structuring devices -- the annalistic and the prophetic -- attempt in their own way to bring about narrative and thus ideological closure. The regnal formulae assume the validity of kingship and its continuity in the face of significant obstacles and

<sup>33</sup> Gray's discomfort with this contradiction provides a classic illustration of failure to deal with the formal tension of the passage: "[n]o doubt there was a state of warfare between the two kingdoms under Rehoboam and Jeroboam, but since neither Kings, Chronicles, nor Josephus gives any specific details it is likely that that this was rather an armed truce, both sides fortifying frontier fortresses" (Gray:349).

even of divine disapproval. In the very use of similar formulae for the opening, closing and assessment of reign after reign, in both Israel and Judah, the worldview presented is filled with the king and kingship to the exclusion of other ideological concerns.

By contrast, ideological closure in the prophetic structure works with the powerful medium of the word of Yahweh, a feature emphasized by Barth and Simon in 1 Kings 13. The liberal recourse to divine speech, usually but not always (1Kgs 11:11-13) in the mouths of the prophets, provides what seems to be the ultimate form of ideological control and closure. In these chapters of 1 Kings the word of Yahweh comes in three types: an announcement which is subsequently fulfilled (11:11b-13; 11:31-36, 39; 13:2-3, 5, 32; 14:8-18); a covenant or conditional arrangement which provides good fortune if the conditions are followed and ill fortune if they are not (11:11a; 11:33b, 37-38; 14:7-9<sup>34</sup>); and prohibitions with dire consequences if they are broken (11:2; 12:24; 13:8-9, 16-32). Each provides a form of narrative closure, perhaps the strongest being a direct announcement the fulfillment of which is expected in due course. Given the dominance of the prophetic structure in 1 Kings 11-14 I would argue that the major way in which ideological closure is exercised is through the word of Yahweh. The limits within which the passage will play out its ideological options and questions are therefore set by this fundamental category of the divine word, which attempts also to control the regnal formulae through theological assessment. With ideological closure determined by the domination of the divine word, it would seem that ideological antinomy will operate in terms of the same category.

In the search for the antinomy, it is necessary to introduce the structural fractions of 1 Kings 13 and what may be termed authorial commentary. Both fall into place alongside the major structural features of 1 Kings 11-14, tending to be defined by the parameters established by the prophetic organization. 1 Kings 13 (to which we will return for a different purpose on the second interpretive level) contains a prophetic story with the action focusing on the three characters of Jeroboam, the Man of God from Judah and the old Israelite prophet. It is generally agreed to be a foreign body in the wider narrative but its importance is in part due to its placement at a crucial point in the narrative: it appears precisely when the split between Judah and Israel is complete.

<sup>34</sup> Gerbrandt makes the covenant central: the Deuteronomistic expectation is that the king should be a "covenant administrator" (102).

If 1 Kings 13 is viewed in the light of the major feature of ideological closure -- the word of Yahweh -- then its placement also has thematic and ideological significance. The chapter follows the description of Jeroboam's apostasy in 12:25-33, which was to establish him, for the remainder of Kings, as the epitome of sin and the symbol of divine rejection, eventually affecting even Manasseh of the south (see Cross:279-281; Long:28-29; Mullen 1987). From the perspective of the divine word 1 Kings 13 comes at the point when the announced punishment (11:11-13, 31-39) against Solomon is complete (12:1-20), the promised transfer to Jeroboam has taken place (11:31-39; 12:1-20), the prohibition delivered to Rehoboam by Shemaiah has been obeyed and is in force (12:21-24), and the covenant established with Jeroboam broken through his cultic activities (11:37-38; 12:26-33). In other words, two of the three types of divine word have taken their course -- fulfilled announcement and prohibition -- and the reader would expect the third -- breach of covenant -- to have an outcome consistent with the reliability of the word of Yahweh exhibited in the other cases. This consistency of the divine word indicates that both narrative closure and the patterns of ideological closure are functioning smoothly: Yahweh is in control.

The first episode in 1 Kings 13 (vv. 1-10) continues in the same line, with an announcement of the destruction of the cultic objects through which Jeroboam had erred (vv. 2-3). Some jolts are present -- the immediate collapse of the altar with Jeroboam apparently still lodged upon it, a collapse which constitutes an overcharged fulfillment which by rights should have held off until Josiah (2Kgs 23:15-20), and then the compassion for Jeroboam's withered hand -- but from the perspective of an ideological antinomy this first episode sets the scene for a transition to the second, which concerns the encounter between the man of God and the old prophet (vv. 11-32). The identification of the man of God as a legitimate agent of Yahweh is firmly in place after the episode with Jeroboam's altar, but he is also subject to a curious prohibition -- against eating, drinking and commuter travel on the same road -- of divine origin. I will argue in the second level that the prohibition is a major feature of both stories, which means that, since prohibition is one of the three ways the divine word operates in 1 Kings 11-14, the word of Yahweh is a central concern in 1 Kings 13 as well. Yet it is under severe ideological attack. First, the old prophet of Bethel claims to have a word of the Lord also, which runs counter to the prohibition (13:18). The man of God agrees to break the prohibition in the light of this new divine word (13:19), and subsequently finds himself the

subject of an announcement of punishment (13:20-22) and then a rapid fulfillment of that announcement: he is killed by a lion on the return journey (13:23-24). Here then the prohibition is joined by an announcement/happened sequence (see Culley 1992:88-89) with both now functioning to question the word of Yahweh. This questioning goes a step further at the close of the story in which the old prophet, who formerly lied (13:18), speaks a genuine prophetic word which is one with that of the man of God (13:31-32). At one level the problem is focused on true and false prophecy (see Dozeman; Lemke; van Winkle), but at a more fundamental level it is the word of Yahweh itself which is the problem: who bears the word? where may it be located? when is it genuine and when is it false? In the surrounding narrative the divine word seems to be in control, but in 1 Kings 13 this begins to disintegrate.

The ideological antinomy becomes clearer, but I will call on the fourth formal feature of these chapters to make the final step. This feature is comprised of the smaller interventions which I will designate as commentary, more comparable to tinkering and minor adjustments than the vast structural edifices of the regnal and prophetic features already discussed. The basic definition of commentary is that which breaks the narrative flow to make a comment on that narrative, whether for the purpose of clarification, as reading and interpretive directions, or as asides addressed directly to the reader. As with the prophetic and the regnal devices for organizing the material, commentary in its own way -- the slow and steady working of the odd comment -- attempts to control this rather disparate collection of materials. It is possible to designate a number of types of commentary: some speak with the same ideological voice -- a moral and religious focus -- as the prophetic sections (11:2, 4, 6; 12:30a; 13:33-34), others note prophetic fulfillment (12:15, 24b; 13:5b; 14:18b), others reflect the formulaic material of religious assessment (11:6), while others are directed to the reader, filling in information (12:2), making the reader aware that this is a document of the past (12:19) or providing a crucial interpretive twist (13:18b). In a formal sense, most commentary threatens to break the frame of the narrative by offering comments upon it: such acts place the story in a specific time and place. A few make this explicit in their content, as with 12:19 and the phrase **וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם** but the significant comment

for our pursuit of the ideological antinomy is located in the dangling clause (minus a copula) at the end of 13:18: **כִּחֵשׁ לוֹ**.<sup>35</sup>

The crux in this case is one of sentence production: is the subject of the piel **כִּחֵשׁ** the same as the subject of **וַיֹּאמֶר** at the beginning of v. 18 (the old prophet), or is it the **מְלָאךְ** who brings the word of Yahweh to the old prophet? Virtually all those whom I have been able to consult follow the first option -- that the old prophet is the agent of deception -- which then makes the rest of the passage flow somewhat more easily. The man of God may then be accused of the fault of disobedience, while the main discussion focuses on the question of true and false prophecy and its criteria. Indeed, this interpretive option presents enough ideological problems for the passage to be worth some consideration. To ensure that there is no doubt that the **דְּבַר יְהוָה** claimed by the old prophet is fraudulent the commentator pitches in as soon as the purported word of Yahweh has been delivered to make it clear that this oracle is a fraud.<sup>36</sup> All would seem to be quite clear: the old prophet of Bethel uses deception to lure the man of God to break the prohibition. However, within a few words the old prophet is visited by a **דְּבַר יְהוָה**, the arrival of which this time forms part of the narration and not the reported speech of the old prophet himself (13:21-22). In the light of his earlier performance, is this to be understood as a genuine word? Apparently, for the word of Yahweh speaks of the immanent destruction of the man of God for his disobedience in breaking the prohibition. Once more before the close of the chapter is the old prophet a vehicle of the word of Yahweh: in 13:32 he speaks in support of the **דְּבַר יְהוָה** spoken by the man of God against the cultic places of Samaria (13:2-3). With the commentator's contribution the count for the old prophet from Bethel is two genuine and one fraudulent oracle: how is one to decide (see Deut. 17-18)?

However, the process of problematization gains greater force if the subject of **כִּחֵשׁ** is the **מְלָאךְ**. Some have entertained the possibility that this was meant to be a "lying spirit" (**רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר**), as in 1Kgs 22:19-23 (so Montgomery:261; Mauchline:344). The basic sense is the same: an agent of Yahweh is in the business of deceiving human beings, with some form of

<sup>35</sup> Niccacci has nothing to say on this verse. For Gesenius-Kautsch (490) it is a "circumstantial verbal clause" as an antithetical affirmative, translating as "wherewith however he lied to him." For Thenius (189) absence of the copula indicates explanation rather than advancement of the story (compare Zeph 3:5; Jer 7:26).

<sup>36</sup> R. L. Cohn argues that the clause, most likely a gloss, explicates the meaning inherent in the text: the old prophet claims to have a word of Yahweh only after a request made without the mention of divine authority (Cohn 1985a:34).

divine sanction.<sup>37</sup> The idea is certainly not foreign to the books of Kings (see 2Kgs 8:10),<sup>38</sup> and its possibility is reinforced by the absence of any form of punishment meted out to the old prophet, who has become in this understanding a prophet who brings a genuine word of Yahweh on all occasions. The questions are displaced from those of obedience and the veracity of prophecy to a more fundamental consideration of the workings of Yahweh. If Yahweh is the cause of the deception and subsequent destruction of the hapless man of God from Judah, then questions begin to arise concerning the reliability of the divine word in relationship to human activity.<sup>39</sup> The sentence structure of 13:18 leaves open both possibilities, and both cause problems, but I would highlight the second option -- that Yahweh is responsible -- if for no other reason than that it has been neglected. The ambiguity is itself a sign of the difficult questions being entertained.

The full force of the antinomy comes to the fore when the doubtful status of the word of Yahweh is compared with its working in the narrative which surrounds 1 Kings 13. There, as was noted above, in its inexorability the word of Yahweh provides the major means of narrative closure: in chapter 11, 12 and 14 the prophets act as media for a divine word which operates according to conventional patterns, all of which becomes problematical in the light of the uncertainties over the word of Yahweh in the intervening chapter. The ramifications are wider than the few chapters of 1 Kings 11-14 if one accepts the statement that "the focal point of deuteronomic historiography is the prophetic word of God fulfilled in Israelite history" (Weinfeld 1992:15; see Rofé 1988:99-104; Savran:160-162; von Rad 1953:78-81 / 1966:209-211). Authorial commentary and 1

<sup>37</sup> Many commentators attempt to discount the lie in various ways. Some argue that it was done with good intentions, whether for hospitality (Rofé 1974:162), or in the line of duty (Klopfenstein:658), or to test the man of God (DeVries 1985:171; Wilson:190). Some suggest that it is late gloss attempting to rationalize the narrative (DeVries 1985:171; Würthwein:187). By contrast, Thenius (190) discredits the old prophet: God may speak even through this lying prophet, like Balaam. Other efforts are more ingenious. Kittel (115) twists around the problem: even if it came from an angel of God it is still a lie and the man of God bears the blame. Nelson's categorical denial -- ostensibly giving voice to the narrator's intention -- of divine deception in ch. 13 affirms the presence of such a motif through the strength of the denial (1987:87).

<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Rofé (1988:181) argues that the lie is a non-issue, for "the Bible is replete with small lies told for accepted reasons, even by prophets and important personalities," such as David to Ahimelek (1Sam. 21:1-9), Elisha to the army of Aram (2Kgs 6:19) and Jeremiah to the nobles (Jer 38:26-27).

<sup>39</sup> Contra Barth, for whom "die Quintessenz von 1. Kön. 13 ist, daß das Wort Gottes bleibt" (1946:452 / 1957:409).



Kings 13 have therefore combined to produce the fundamental ideological antinomy of 1 Kings 11-14 and thus place a question mark over role of the divine word in the Deuteronomistic History: how reliable is Yahweh in dealing with humans? How arbitrary is the dispensation of divine favour or disfavour?<sup>40</sup>

### 3.2. Base: Political History?

The diagnosis of 1 Kings 11-14 within the first interpretive horizon is almost complete: the major forms of the text have been identified as have the patterns of ideological closure and antinomy of which the text constitutes an effort at a formal resolution. The final question within the first level is that of the daily political history to which this text is more immediately a response. In the discussion of Jameson's method I argued that such an effort at specific historical location for a biblical text is doomed to failure due to the shortage of information and that Jameson himself had some trouble delineating the status of the base at this point. A small ray of hope appears with the connection between the mention of Shishak's invasion in chapter 14 and an inscription at the Temple of Amon at Karnak (see Mazar; also Aharoni:283-288; Gray:344-346; Montgomery:268-270). However, the hope is in vain, for even if the inscription were reliable (see the doubts of Miller and Hayes:243) and thus opened up a contact with political history, it would provide a referent for the text's content and not its context, or time of composition.

Normally we would gather what we have achieved in this horizon and pass on to the next, but a few comments must be made concerning historical critical approaches. It would seem that much historical criticism functions precisely at the level of historical concentration characterized by the base of this first horizon: while the final purpose of historical criticism remains one of historical reconstruction and location, much of that location has been carried out with a high degree of apparent specificity. The most glaring examples of such efforts are those which seek, or more often merely assert, the historical base or reliability of the content at every turn (so Malamat; Montgomery; Gray; DeVries 1985) and those which assign sources and redactional levels to particular historical conjunctures on the basis of the most minimal information.

<sup>40</sup> Nelson (1988:46-47) notes other points where the Deuteronomistic scheme is undermined, particularly the mismatch of deed and consequence and the changing attitudes of God.

A selective survey reveals three main paths taken by scholars since Noth set the agenda by arguing for a comprehensive and unitary production by an exilic author, running from Joshua through 2 Kings and designated the Deuteronomistic History (1991). Firstly, there are those who hold to the single author position, although not always with the source assumptions of Noth (e.g. Hoffmann; Long 1984:21; McConville 1989; Peckham with modification<sup>41</sup>; von Rad 1953:74-91 / 1966:205-221; 1962:342). A second position stands in an ambivalent relationship with the pre-Noth situation: in contrast to that situation for which the idea of unity extended no further than Kings this second position agrees with the notion of a Deuteronomistic History; but at the same time it attempts to revive the pre-Noth argument that there were two redactions (so Wellhausen 1973:272-294<sup>42</sup>), but now extending such a hypothesis to the whole History. Thus Cross (1973:274-289) argued for a major redaction in the time of Josiah (Dtr<sup>1</sup>) -- as propaganda for that king with the themes of judgment and hope -- and a light revision in the exile (Dtr<sup>2</sup>). With some minor variation mostly associated with dating the redactions Cross has been followed by many, mostly in North America (Friedman 1981a, 1981b; Gray; Mayes; Montgomery; Nelson 1987; Provan; Rofé 1988:97-105; Weippert 1983). McKenzie, in a change from an earlier position (1985)<sup>43</sup>, has a new permutation on the first and second positions, arguing for a single Josianic redaction with supplementary glosses and editions but no systematic later redaction (1991:147-150). Thirdly, in Europe, the so-called "Göttingen school" has argued for three redactions: DtrG(eschichte) or the Deuteronomistic History proper, with two subsequent expansions -- DtrP(rophetie) and DtrN(omistisch) -- over a short space of twenty years during the exile (580-560 BCE) (e.g. Dietrich:110-148; Veijola). The German proclivity for ascribing verses and even phrases with great precision to multiple redactional levels has also caught on with the work of Campbell (although his polemical target is Dietrich) and O'Brien. A slight variation follows Smend in arguing that the three redactions identified by

<sup>41</sup>Peckham regards Dtr<sup>2</sup> as Noth's Deuteronomist; but for Peckham "Deuteronomistic History" refers to the whole sweep from Genesis to 2 Kings, for which J, Dtr<sup>1</sup>, P and E comprise the sources (in that order).

<sup>42</sup>Noth himself argued that the theory of two phases of Deuteronomistic redaction, popular as he wrote, mistakenly identified preexilic source material as Deuteronomistic (Noth 1991:122, n1).

<sup>43</sup>In this article MacKenzie attempted to combine the conclusions of the double redaction theory and the triple redaction of the Germans.

the Germans in fact derive from a deuteronomistic school (see Jones 1:40-44).<sup>44</sup>

In the second and third positions outlined here there has been some debate over the role of a so-called "prophetic history." Some argue that such an account was a pre-deuteronomistic prophetic document or "record" which functioned as the basis for the Deuteronomist (Campbell; O'Brien; McKenzie 1985, but not in 1991), while for others this material comprises a secondary redaction and is thus later than the prime deuteronomistic document (Dietrich; Veijola). However, while this debate highlights the importance of prophetic material in Kings, and the Deuteronomistic History as a whole, the piecemeal deliniation of such a redaction<sup>45</sup> coincides only partially with what I have described as a prophetic organization of the texts.

To a large extent the strategy of containment operative in these historical critical debates has served to make any contribution yet another effort to determine the lines of redaction and their respective dates. Perhaps the most ambitious attempt at dating and placement -- and thus an example of the logical outcome of much historical critical study -- has been made by Lemaire, who, refining Weippert's work (1972) in finding three redactions of the regnal formulae under Hezekiah, Josiah and the exile, finds no less than seven redactional stages in the development of the royal school textbook of Kings, each with its specific date and occasion: Abiatharite history of David (970 BCE), Zadokite (early in Solomon's reign, 960 BCE), a history of Solomon's reign (920 BCE during Rehoboam's reign), a history of the divided kingdom until the reconciliation under Jehoshaphat (850 BCE), proto-Deuteronomistic under Hezekiah (710-705 BCE), Deuteronomistic under Josiah (620-609 BCE), exilic edition (560 BCE).

Such specific locations in time and place, and the search for ever more redactions or the fine-tuning of existing ones, rely on evidence that is far too meagre and which the nature of the biblical text itself shortcircuits (see the strictures of Long 1984:15-18). Yet the texts with their tantalizing hints of compositional layers keep inducing people to pursue such studies.

<sup>44</sup> For fuller details arranged in ways different from mine, see the surveys in Lemaire; Long 1984:14-18; Mayes:1-21; McKenzie 1985:203-204 and 1991:1-20; O'Brien:3-22; and Provan:1-21).

<sup>45</sup> O'Brien follows his supervisor Campbell in attributing only certain parts to the so-called Prophetic Record; e.g. in Ahijah's first speech of 1 Kings 11:29-39 only vv. 29-31, 37, 38b come from such a record. The remainder of the speech is distributed to three other levels of redaction (Dtr, secondary dtr and later glosses) (O'Brien:163).

Indeed, the impression of this study's distance from historical critical studies should be tempered by a small group of studies which attribute to sources or redactions the structural distinctions I have made between regnal formulae, prophetic organization and the insertion of chapter 13. Von Rad (1953:74-82 / 1966:205-212) finds both a "framework schema" comprised of the regnal formulae and a "theological schema" determined by the patterns of prophecy and fulfillment. Next comes Noth, who argued that the Deuteronomist's sources for the period of the Kings of Israel and Judah comprised two larger conglomerates -- on the one hand the Books of the Chronicles of Israel and Judah respectively (themselves based upon official annals) which provided the chronological framework and on the other hand the prophetic cycles of both Elijah-Elisha and prophetic interventions in royal life, from which the Ahijah and Shemaiah material derives (Noth 1991:100-109) -- and smaller local sources based mostly at Mizpah and Bethel, from which 12:32-13:32 is drawn (Noth 1991:130). Van Seters (292-306) makes similar basic distinctions between annalistic sources and prophetic legends, except that he follows Rofé in arguing for the late date of the latter. The two major structural features of my analysis are echoed in the source distinctions made by Montgomery between the "annalistic" material and the "historical story," the most significant section of which is the "Prophetical Story," (38) produced by the "Schools of the Sons of the Prophets" (39). Mayes (1983:109) also feels that a cycle of such prophetic stories forms a source. The source allocation is reorganized into redactional layers by Jepsen (in Die Quellen des Königsbuches, as noted by Gray:6-7 and followed by Trebolle:22) for whom the first redaction is a synchronistic chronicle of the reigns of Israel and Judah based upon annals, the second a prophetic redaction (the main Deuteronomistic redaction) in which various notices were integrated along with narratives from prophetic and historical sources and the third is a post-exilic priestly redaction. The first two stages compare with my formal distinctions, as does the suggestion that Deuteronomistic comments were added at various indeterminate points.

The value of these studies is increased when they are prised loose from their desire for specific historical location. The irony, however, of historical critical approaches to these texts is that only the more amorphous situation of the final redaction -- the exile -- meets the requirements of a social situation with a real contradiction which is reflected in the ideological antinomy and for which our text is an imaginary and formal resolution. But in order to make that argument, it is necessary to pass on to the second horizon of interpretation.

### 3.3. Summary

In sum, the basic formal contradiction is that between the annalistic and prophetic features of the text, the latter being the dominant structure. The antinomy of the text is located in the light of that dominant structure: the reliability, or lack thereof, of the word of Yahweh. Despite many efforts at specific historical placement, such attempts are fraught with pitfalls which it is better to avoid. Indeed, the analysis of form, closure and antinomy points the way to wider questions of the second phase.

## 4. 1 Kings 11-14: Second Horizon

The second horizon is that of ideology and class: the text becomes one gesture in the wider interactions of ideologies, which in themselves constitute the various forms of class discourse. The search therefore is for the specific ideological units Jameson has termed ideologemes and their class situations and functions. The fundamental interpretive strategy is once again that of contradiction. As part of the relationship between ideology and class -- indeed as basic to the definition of ideology -- the previous chapter noted the theme of the interaction between individual and social totality: thus, I will make use of some psychoanalytic theory concerned with libidinal investment and I will identify 1 Kings 13 as a national allegory, which will serve to lead on to the final horizon.

### 4.1. Superstructure: Ideology and Ideologemes

In the first phase of analysis it was argued that 1 Kings 11-14 is comprised of four structural features, two major and two minor, which constitute an attempt on a formal level to resolve the problem of the reliability of the word of God. In this second phase, the particular contribution of this text -- the undermining or questioning of that reliability -- is understood to be a move or an option in a much wider ideological debate and conflict.

Before proceeding, however, it will be useful to recall some of the arguments and points made concerning ideology in the previous chapter. Firstly, Jameson's understanding of ideology follows that of Althusser: ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions -- social, political, economic -- of existence. It is the way we understand our place and function within the social totality of which we are

inevitably a part. Secondly, it was argued that the equivalent of ideology in pre-capitalist societies is religion, or rather, that religion was a form taken by what is now understood to be ideology. More precisely, and with a debt to Durkheim's notion that religion is the expression of the highest collective values of a group, "religious and theological debate is the form, in precapitalist societies, in which groups become aware of their political differences and fight them out" (Jameson 1981c:38-39). Religion therefore carries out the same role as ideology: to articulate at the level of the superstructure the class and political struggle upon which it is based. Theological debates express class debates; religious discourse expresses class discourse. It is a little ironic that a Marxist method such as Jameson's should bring us to emphasize the religious and theological dimensions of the text; indeed this second phase may be described as the realm of theology and class. Finally, the major unit and focus of analysis in this horizon is the "ideologeme," the "smallest intelligible unit [conceptual or belief system, abstract value, opinion or prejudice] of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social classes" (PU:76). The ideologeme mediates between abstract concepts and specific narratives, providing raw materials for the elaboration of both.

In what follows I will try to identify some ideologemes by referring back to the major structural features of these chapters: in the same way that what I termed the prophetic organization of the narrative effectively dominated the alternative narrative organization and control attempted by the regnal formulae, it would seem possible to identify the respective ideological units or ideologemes related to these major but contradictory structural elements of the text. I will suggest therefore that there is a royal ideology engaged in a losing battle with a more comprehensive ideologeme. A third ideologeme may also be identified which belongs to neither of the other two.

#### 4.1.1. Royal Ideology

While the kings receive a buffeting in the sections where they encounter Yahweh and the prophets -- Solomon (11:1-13), Rehoboam (12:21-24), Jeroboam (13:1-10, 33-34; 14:1-18) -- there remains the safe haven of the regnal formulae. Here there is still some space for the king: everything that is mentioned in the formulae -- time of reign, age, name of father and mother, length and place of reign, theological assessment, other activities and sources, ruling, warring, death, burial and successor --

clusters around the king as the centre. Apart from these repeated details, there is the more fundamental assumption that an account of Israel and Judah may be told most profitably and adequately by recounting the details of the kings who ruled; and this spills over into the intervening narrative as well. The very repetition of the formulae provides an automatic continuation of the office of the king, thus shifting the focus from the individual king to the perpetual kingship (on the interplay between particular and general, especially from a temporal perspective, see Long:25-27). Yet even the realm of the regnal formulae is no longer free from challenge to this royal ideology: the monarchy continues but it is subject to a series of negative assessments; despite Yahweh's promise of permanence to the Davidic line (11:12-13, 32, 34, 36; 15:4) punishment is merely postponed. The royal ideology of these texts is under severe pressure, not only in the intervening narrative but also within the regnal formulae themselves. All the same it seems possible to identify this royal ideology as one ideologueme of the text.

#### 4.1.2. Historical Determinism

The pressure upon the royal ideology would seem to come from what I will argue is the major ideologueme of 1 Kgs 11-14: historical determinism. In order to locate this ideological unit I will consider two sections which have been neglected thus far: Solomon's decline and condemnation in 11:1-13 and the account of the division of the kingdom in 12:1-15.

##### 4.1.2.1. Return of the Repressed in 1 Kings 11:1-13

The first verses of 1 Kings 11 serve as a transition from the account of Solomon in 1 Kings 3-10 to the material concerning Jeroboam and Rehoboam.<sup>46</sup> Structurally, the account of Solomon's libido<sup>47</sup> and apostasy is made up of narrative and theological commentary woven together (11:1-8), which is then followed by an oracle delivered directly to Solomon

<sup>46</sup> For Langlamet (1976) 1Kgs 11:1-13 is part of the later anti-Solomonic redaction which overlays the earlier pro-Solomon document. Critics cannot agree over the divide between the Solomon narrative and what follows: e.g. Parker (1988, 1992) takes the unit as 1Kgs 1-11, as does Brettler (1991), while Jobling (1992a) sees it as 1Kgs 3-10.

<sup>47</sup> I use the term libido here in its basic sense of sex-drive: it marks the beginning of a psychoanalytic stretch.

(11:9-13). It is possible to read a fluent narrative in 11:1, 3, 5, 7-8, in which Solomon marries foreign women for whom he then builds cultic places. The theological commentary intersperses this narrative at every second verse (11:2, 4, 6), weighing heavily with the divine prohibition Solomon is in the process of disregarding (Deut. 17:17 seems to be invoked; see Brettler 1991:91-95). There is a great deal of repetition with such an intertwining of narrative and commentary, but on each occasion the repetition advances by a few millimetres a significant thematic transition. The account moves gradually from a theme of sexuality to one of religion: a table will illustrate.

	<b>Narrative</b>	<b>Commentary</b>
v. 1	sexuality	
v. 2		sex -> religion
v. 3	sex -> religion	
v. 4		sex -> religion
v. 5	religion	
v. 6		religion
v. 7	religion	
v. 8	sex -> religion	

The basic line of the passage is that Solomon's libidinal failings, specifically in his old age, led to his religious failings. The religion-sex connections explored most extensively in Freudian theory would suggest some form of repression and displacement. Jobling (1992a) has pointed out that sexuality is excluded from the narrative space dealing with Solomon's reign in 1 Kings 3-10 in typical Golden Age conceptuality (except for the time-bomb of Pharaoh's daughter in 3:1, which is itself the flaw in the Golden Age crystal). A Freudian approach would interpret the location of sexuality in Solomon's decline as a return of the repressed: its repression from the bulk of the account produces a return in which it overtakes the whole narrative territory, being attributed with the decline of the united monarchy itself.<sup>48</sup> In other words the much more likely causes of collapse -- the economic and political difficulties and extravagances reflected in 1 Kings 9-10 -- have been displaced onto sexuality. Jobling identifies three themes in 1 Kings 3-10 -- economics, sexuality, and wisdom -- but he has missed the crucial fourth theme: religion, which remains a constant throughout the narrative concerning Solomon (1Kgs 3:3-15; 8:1-9:9; 11:1-43). It would seem that religion is the mode of displacement and transfer between the themes (economics to wisdom, wisdom to sexuality, economics and politics to sexuality [see Jobling 1992a:61-66]) and thus the way in

<sup>48</sup> The repression of warfare (4:24) and its return in 11:14-40 entice an analysis in terms of the later Freud's eros and thanatos.



which the various and unconnected themes give the appearance of a well-worked totality; that is, religion is the means by which the narrative holds together.

The suggestion that religion is the excluded concern of this material brings us closer to the ideologeme which this passage indicates. Once again Jobling provides the lead: the three themes of economics, sexuality and wisdom which Jobling has located in 1 Kings 3-10 constitute three significant dimensions of human existence. The events -- as narrated -- in the story of Solomon may be understood from a purely human perspective, and such a perspective provides an entirely plausible and comprehensive presentation. Jobling has approached the material largely from this angle, inadvertently following the hints in the text itself regarding the totality of the human perspective. But the religious angle provides a different and equally plausible interpretive option: these events form part of the total control which Yahweh exercises over human activity. Both approaches -- the human and the divine -- are overdetermined: each is plausible and total but each excludes the other. The material in Kings may be regarded as a concerted effort to wrestle with the problem of the relation of the divine and the human.

The passage in 1 Kgs 11:1-8 indicates this concern in its construction: the narrative sections (11:1, 3, 5, 7-8) present the development and outcome of basic human desires and wants, while the commentary (11:2, 4, 6) provides the more explicitly religious or theological understanding of the same series of events. Thus, in the narrative Solomon's expanding household may be understood as standard procedure among the ruling classes for centuries: a complex web of strategic political marriages with the express purpose of strengthening connections and improving one's economic and political position.<sup>49</sup> By contrast, the theological commentary provides a divine perspective upon the same events, a perspective which comes home with force in the closing verses with Yahweh's direct address to Solomon (11:9-13). The theological approach finally dominates in this story, but not without allowing room for the human dimension.

To summarize, in this brief analysis of 1 Kgs 11:1-13 I have invoked some Freudian terms and incorporated 1 Kings 3-10 in the discussion via Jobling. The conclusions are that sexuality functions as the repressed element in 1 Kgs 3-10 only to return with a vengeance in 11:1-13, that religion acts as the means of narrative cohesion, mediating between the

<sup>49</sup> If 11:4a is attributed to narrative rather than commentary, it adds the human explanation that Solomon's wives turned away his heart in his dotage.

themes of economics, wisdom and sexuality, and that over against these specifically human themes religion introduces the countervailing divine perspective.

#### 4.1.2.2. Divine and Human in 1 Kings 12:1-15

More room is given to the human dimension in the second passage under consideration here: the account of the division of the kingdom in 1 Kings 12 (see also Nelson 1987:77). As with 11:1-13, the structural contrast is between narrative and commentary, although the commentary on this occasion is much more retiring, appearing only in vv. 15, 19 and 24b. My focus is on the stretch up until v. 15. The situation before the account begins is that a direct divine pronouncement (11:11-13) and a prophetic announcement (11:31-39) have been made with the express purpose of directing the subsequent narrative action. The people who know about the divine narrative plan come in three pairs, whose relationship is constituted by communication from one to the other: Yahweh and Solomon (11:9-10), Ahijah and Rehoboam (11:29), and of course narrator(s) and reader(s).<sup>50</sup> The problem here is what I will term the politics of knowledge: the possession and restriction of knowledge is important politically within the textual narrative, but it also points the way to the deeper political resonances. To begin with the last pair: the real difficulty for the narrator is to construct a narrative which has some real human interest and tension while keeping the divine plan running close enough in the background so that it is not forgotten yet sufficiently behind the scenes so that it does not turn the story into a mechanical acting out of that plan. We as readers do, after all, know what is supposed to happen: the narrator has opted for this and now works hard to present the human perspective. It will also depend to some extent how far the reader is willing to accept such an angle.

The narrator's first step is to remove those with knowledge from the narrative action itself: thus, of the four within the narrative who know, only two (Solomon is dead and Ahijah withdraws from the action) are involved in some way with the action. Yet neither Jeroboam, whose presence or absence depends upon textual variations (to be discussed in chapter three), nor God, who takes a background role, are at the centre of this narrative

<sup>50</sup> Indeed, to formulate the question of knowledge in this way is to present the mechanisms of containment and ideological closure noted in the first horizon: the deliveries of the divine word to people within the text function as directions for reading the narrative itself.

sequence: the key players are Rehoboam, the people, and the old and young advisors, none of whom is aware of what ought to happen according to the divine directives. As far as the narrative itself is concerned, therefore, it may proceed on the human plane.

Further, the narrator refrains from making any comment concerning the action until after the crucial stage is over: up until 12:15 there is no commentary and any religious element is conspicuous by its absence. Thus, the action develops in terms of shifting levels of conflicting interests and the resolution, or rather irresolution, of that conflict. While one would expect that the primary conflict would be between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, it is in fact between Rehoboam and the people. According to the MT Jeroboam is in Egypt in v. 2, and when he does appear he is with the people (vv. 3, 12) with whom he must share verbs. On these occasions he does not initiate any action on his own, sharing verbs as subject with the whole assembly of Israel (וַיָּבֹאוּ יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־קֹהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּדְבְּרוּ v. 3) and the people (וַיָּבֹאוּ יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־הָעָם v. 12) and when he is involved as a solitary verbal participant he is either continuing in a state of rest (וַיֵּשֶׁב v. 2) or the object of action by an unspecified subject (וַיִּקְדְּוּ v. 1) which is presumably כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל from v. 1.

The conflict between Rehoboam and the people is enhanced by the inclusion of a generational opposition, between הַזְּקֵנִים and הַיְלָדִים. First, however, it is the people who set the agenda, gathering at the northern town of Shechem and forcing Rehoboam to follow them in order to be made king. The people continue to hold the initiative, making the issue of kingship turn on a reduction in the amount and pressure of expected service, or corvée, due to the king (the social significance of the corvée will be developed below). Rehoboam's response is to refer to his advisors and thus slide the conflict over into what I identify as the minor ideologeme of generational conflict; initially he consults the old men who, true to type, advise a non-confrontational response of mutual service and tact; then he turns to the brash young men who, again true to type, advise a harsher response of increasing the indentured labour requirements in order to bring the people into line. Fatally, Rehoboam listens to the latter and not to the people or the elders (the two groups fuse towards the end of the story in v. 15a). Rehoboam comes through as indecisive in his first act in the public sphere -- in contrast to Solomon whose initial challenge concerning the maternal dispute between the two prostitutes was resolved decisively and

individually (1Kgs 3:16-28)<sup>51</sup> -- and as politically naive, listening to the voice of machismo rather than diplomacy. The narrator is concerned to lay a good deal of the blame with Rehoboam: וַיִּצֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הָעָם קָשָׁה וַיַּעֲזֹב (12:13-14a). It all works well on the human level: the people seek relief, an inexperienced and indecisive king heeds bad advice, the impatience of youth meets the wisdom of age. Under these pressures the kingdom falls apart.

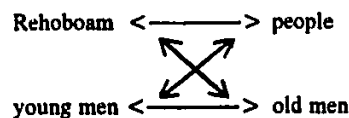
Yet, with all the human passions running through the passage, it is also well structured, taking on the form of a wisdom tale (suggested by Dillard 1987:85; Malamet:58): the immaturity of youth and the experience of old age, king and people (the folly of tyranny), oppose one another in a series of syntactically balanced and measured statements.<sup>52</sup> However, the most significant point of the account comes with the commentary in v. 15: וְלֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־הָעָם כִּי־הָיְתָה סִבָּה מֵעַם יְהוָה לְמַעַן הָקִים אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר (12:15). Quite explicitly the commentary makes the point that the narrative had to follow the divine directives established in chapter 11, that the events themselves were engineered in order to follow those directives.<sup>53</sup> The human acts and gestures take on a different sense as we are reminded of the divine strategy; indeed the human tensions and conflicts have suddenly been deflated, for an ordinary, down-to-earth account has been flipped over: all these events were under divine

<sup>51</sup> Yet the messages concerning Solomon are mixed, for it was the harsh service under his reign which brought the request for alleviation from the people (12:5).

<sup>52</sup> The oppositions have their respective sayings:

people (demand)		old advisors (advice: ignored)		people (saying in response)
v.	-->	v.	-->	v.
Rehoboam (defers)		young advisors (advice & saying: accepted)		Rehoboam (borrowed saying)

Or, in Greimasian fashion:



Only Rehoboam is without a saying of his own, indicating from another angle his lack of initiative.

<sup>53</sup> Montgomery (250) significantly describes the crucial phrase in v. 15 as "predestinarian," embodying "ancient fatalism.".

control in any case. The irony of course is that with this reminder of divine control Rehoboam's continued and futile resistance makes him even more culpable (12:18-24).

#### 4.1.2.3. Dual Causality and Historical Determinism

I have been concerned to argue that a major issue in 1Kgs 12:1-15 is the relationship between divine and human roles in the narrative, a relationship which was also identified in 11:1-13 to a lesser extent. The existence of a number of other stories with a similar concern for the divine-human relationship -- Joseph, Ehud, Solomon's succession -- has led Yairah Amit to speak of a "dual causality" operating in this material. Building upon suggestions by von Rad and Y. Kaufmann, Amit argues that a new narrative technique or form which may be termed "dual causality" arose in ancient Israel. Amit defines dual causality as:

a process of 'secularization' of history, which was achieved by granting a central place on the stage of events to human action while distancing God to a place behind the scenes and depicting him as a vigilant and supervising eye, this being in fact the central though covert reason for the course of events" (390).

The dual causality technique involves some tensions: on the one hand human activity is granted greater narrative space, on the other it remains subject to divine control. Narrative forms are therefore required to attempt a fine balance between plausible human initiative and the maintenance of divine dominance. It is in fact a "combination of two systems of reasoning" (Amit:391), which, when successfully achieved, produces two equally plausible ways of understanding the narrative.

For Amit the essential features of dual causality fall into four groups: realistic plot; complex character portrayal, including dialogue and introspection; reasonable time frames and representations of space; and the mediated or indirect involvement of God (dreams, prophets, narrative comments and so on).<sup>54</sup> Amit tends to make some assumptions concerning reality and realism -- that allowing more space for human causes is more realistic -- but it would seem in any case that a good deal of narrative craftwork is required: it remains as artificial and contrived as any other nar-

<sup>54</sup>While 1 Kings 12 has both narrative comments (vv. 15, 19, 24b) and prophetic mediation of divine involvement (vv. 21-24), I remain a little skeptical that these give more room for human action: true, Yahweh's intervention is at one remove, but the narrative control remains strong. This is why I hesitate to characterize chapter 14:1-18 or 11:14-40 as material which realizes the dual causality principle since prophets dominate the text.

rative construction. Thus, while 1Kgs 12:1-14 measures up on each of Amit's four categories, the form is arranged according to a wisdom schema in which the conflict is as much over linguistic cunning and syntactical balance as it is over the future of the kingdom of Israel. It is perhaps to be expected that wisdom approaches should be used, given the emphasis on human existence in the wisdom literature. All of which is to say that the "realism" of 1Kgs 12:1-14 is achieved not so much by a realistic description of human exchange but rather by means of a set of literary conventions -- those of wisdom -- which value human initiative. 1 Kings 12:15 then comes in as a minimal reminder -- fulfillment of prophecy -- that the divine mode of causality has the final say in these events.

1Kgs 12:1-15 comes close to achieving a believable dual causality. In the other parts of 1 Kings 11-14 the narrative and ideological dominance of the word of Yahweh through the prophets gives less room for human initiative. The passage considered earlier, 11:1-13, while highlighting both human and divine dimensions is less successful due to the prominence given to Yahweh. The account of the three rebellions (11:15-40) works quite well until the intervention of the prophet Ahijah, who controls the material until the close of that unit. Chapter 14 is taken up by Ahijah once again and then formulaic material closes out the remainder. Only the latter part of chapter 12 (vv. 25-33) may be characterized as a reasonable example of dual causality: after the intervention of Shemaiah to ensure that the story does not run away from the narrative directives given by Yahweh and Ahijah, Jeroboam is presented in an introspective frame of mind, an element of character portrayal in dual causality.<sup>55</sup> His doubts lead him to break the covenantal condition concerning the worship of foreign gods (see 11:38). In this case there is no mention of the divine angle on these events, apart from the short note in v. 30a that Jeroboam sinned: וַיְהִי הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה לְחַטָּאת. Yahweh is entirely removed from this short piece; only the knowledge of 11:38 reminds the reader that these actions by Jeroboam are crucial for Yahweh's favour or lack thereof. The main difference with 12:1-15 is that the ball is in Jeroboam's court: he has been given some conditions and it is up to him whether they are kept. He fails and the

<sup>55</sup> For character depiction, Amit lists narrative features such as "dialogues or other discourses which are spoken out loud, or hidden data like internal monologues or further means of penetrating the character's thoughts which expose his inner world; also more vivid reports on the deeds of the character and his mode of behaviour" (395). This story also follows the requirements of time and space: it contains a number of topographical names (396).

machinery of punishment rolls into place (chs 13 and 14). The divine absence in 12:25-33 also serves to emphasize Jeroboam's turn from Yahweh and thus functions as a suitable means of religious polemic, since these verses provide the origin of the phrase "sins of Jeroboam": חַטָּאות יִרְבְּעָם.

The mixed success in realizing the dual causality principle indicates the fundamental ideological theme or ideologue -- which by default must be religious -- operating in these texts: it is the problem of the way in which the divine may be understood to be involved in human affairs, the problem of the relationship between divine and human which may be termed "historical determinism" or "providence." To express it this way is to highlight the contradiction inherent within the ideologue: human and divine dimensions, voluntarism and determinism, are not easy to reconcile. Thus, the dual causality principle is one way of dealing with the problem, more explicit divine control another. However, as indicated by the existence of this narrative form outside 1 Kings 11-14, historical determinism is a problem wider and more fundamental than this stretch of text: the text therefore is one contribution to this greater ideologue. In order to grasp that contribution it is necessary to recall the antinomy located on the first level (which will also provide the opportunity to clarify the differences between ideological antinomy and ideologue). The questioning of the reliability of the divine word -- whether Yahweh can and may mislead human beings through a lying word -- constitutes the specific intervention of 1 Kings 11-14 into the wider debate. The truthful-deceitful word of Yahweh constitutes the text-limited antinomy, while historical determinism is the greater ideological problem to which the text is a response and of which it bears many marks. I would suggest therefore that the ideologue of historical determinism is basic to 1 Kings 11-14 and beyond.

It is this ideologue which is in the process of displacing the older one of royal identity which was identified earlier. Given the structural importance of both regnal formulae and the prophetic organization of the narrative, it would seem that the basic ideological clash is between the respective ideological dimensions of these structures: royal ideology and historical determinism. The class resonances of this conflict will be explored below.

#### 4.1.3. Literary Consciousness

There is, however, a third ideological element not clearly connected to the other two: literary consciousness. It is quite marginal in this text but in 3 Reigns 11-14 it comes to the fore. Structurally this ideologeme relates to the closing regnal formulae (11:41; 14:19, 29) which begin with a reference to a source for more information on the particular king whose reign, as far as the story is concerned, is drawing to a close. These first sentences of the closing formulae are autoreferential to a certain degree: the reader is meant to understand the present work as a written document (סֵפֶר) in the same way that the "source" is a written document (whether the other written documents are spurious or real matters little, although virtually all commentators take them as real). In other words, there is a consciousness that this is written material, that it is literature in some sense, and this serves to relativize the present text as yet another piece of writing dealing with these events. The autoreferentiality is foregrounded by the time frame of the sentence: the extended subject thrown out in front refers to time past (the acts of the king), but the main verbal activity (the participle פִּתְּגִים) refers to an existing situation in the narrative present, whether it is the time of the reader or that of the narrator or both. I designate this self-awareness of the text and thereby of its authors as a literary consciousness.

In summary: the superstructural dimension of the second horizon is concerned with the basic coherent units of ideology termed ideologemes. Despite its somewhat amorphous nature as an analytical tool, it seems to be possible to speak of three ideologemes in 1 Kings 11-14: royal identity, historical determinism and literary consciousness.

#### 4.2. Base: Class

The next turn in this interpretive phase is to the question of class, for Jameson argues that the proper location of ideology is in class relationships: various and often opposing ideological options may also be described as class discourses, giving expression to the aspirations, fears and legitimating strategies of different classes. The ideologeme itself may be understood, like the text in the first horizon, as the response to a determinate social situation, a symbolic resolution to a social contradiction. Indeed, the purpose of identifying ideologemes is in part to decode this class situation or contradiction. Contradiction, or even antagonism, is once again the operative word: the fundamental pattern of class discourses is a conflict between



those which attempt to legitimate the ruling class and those discourses which work at subverting it. In other words, ideological conflict is also class conflict between exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled; one ideology will attempt to justify the ruling class, the other to undermine it.

#### 4.2.1. Social Class in Israel

Perhaps the most consistent objection which may be directed at the emphasis on class struggle is that it is anachronistic to project this relatively modern and capitalist phenomenon back into pre-capitalist societies. As my concern is the social situation of Israel it is necessary to consider the work of Norman Gottwald as that relates to social class in ancient Israel. Although Gottwald has dealt with the question of class in much of his writing on the sociology of ancient Israel perhaps the most succinct statement concerns monarchic Israel (1985b). Before proceeding, it should be pointed out that there is an advantage and a limitation in using Gottwald's material: the limitation lies in the focus of Gottwald's research on pre-monarchic and monarchic Israel, for only one of the three texts chosen for analysis has a possibility of falling within monarchic Israel. The other two almost certainly do not and Gottwald's work in the later eras is more sketchy, although not negligible (see 1992a). Indeed, Gottwald himself notes that in the whole field of the social scientific criticism of the Hebrew Bible theoretical and descriptive material is relatively comprehensive up until Solomon but that in-depth study remains to be done on the social structural history of the later monarchy, the exile, restoration and diaspora (1992a:81). This is a curious mismatch between the concentration of social scientific study of the Hebrew Bible and the periods of time which saw most literary production; namely, in the later monarchy and afterwards. However, the loose fit between Gottwald's work and this study is also an advantage since it is possible to keep clear of the most controversial part of his work, namely the origins of Israel in social revolution.

While Gottwald argues that the question of class cannot be separated from that of mode of production -- and in this both he and Jameson would agree -- the focus here is on class (mode of production will appear in the final interpretive horizon). On a basic theoretical level Gottwald accepts the Marxist understanding of the dynamic of social class:

...the key Marxian analytic concepts are class as determined by relation of people to the mode of production understood as a combination of the material forces of production (including human physical and mental powers) and the social relations of

production, the latter meaning the way that producers (and non-producers where there is class) organize their work and appropriate the labor product. Class is seen to exist when some people live off the labor product of others. This living off the labor product of others is called exploitation in the objective sense that the value of one laborer's production, over and above that laborer's need for subsistence, is appropriated by someone else. This labor product beyond the subsistence need of the laborer is called surplus product which is also surplus value because the exploiter consumes or exchanges the "good" of the object produced thereby denying the producer the use or exchange of the object that embodies the producer's labor. (1985b:7)

The ways in which the surplus labor product is appropriated from the producer and the ways in which it is distributed may vary, but the essence here is that process of extraction itself. Like Jameson, Gottwald sees the conflict between producer and exploiter as the proper source of ideology. It is worth noting here that Gottwald's explanation of the dynamic of social class relates to the diagram of the relationship between base and superstructure (see above): Gottwald's description fills out some of the aspects of the infrastructural level, particularly that of the social relations of production, or class (although I have followed Althusser in the diagram by designating not the infrastructure but the whole model as mode of production).

Gottwald concludes that in monarchic Israel there were two major parts of both the ruling class (state functionaries who obtained their living through state taxes and land rent and those who [latifundaries] extended their land holdings by appropriating land through unpaid debt and then granting credit to peasants by allowing them to continue to work the land now appropriated) and of the exploited class (free agrarians with land tenure and tenant farmers who work the land of the latifundaries) in ancient monarchic Israel. This level of sophistication is probably not necessary for the purposes of this study, but it is useful to keep it in mind. Gottwald does not explicitly include the most basic form of taxation and rent, which is the taxation and rent of one's own labour, seen specifically in the *corvée* (see Krader 1975:168, 287 / 1981:326).

However, the situation is compounded by the two levels at which class operates in much of Israelite history, for not only are there class relations within Israel but Israel itself stands in a larger class relation with the various forces that exercised differing degrees of control over it; in this case Israel becomes the exploited "class" and the imperial power becomes the ruling class. Yet, even this schema is perhaps too simple since many different lines of relationship would exist between the ruling and exploited classes in Israel, their counterparts in other places of the empires, and the

ruling and exploited classes in the imperial centre itself. Thus, after the collapse of the monarchy, Gottwald argues that most of the ruling class went into exile in Babylon and that a sizeable proportion of a very depressed peasantry remained in Israel. The subsequent restoration of a portion of the ruling class led to their return to influence but also to continued clashes with the peasantry who had remained behind during the exile. The shifting nature of these relationships finally came face to face with the more efficient Roman practice of using slaves, which became dominant after the defeat of Judah and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 CE. Throughout Israelite history the nature of the class relationships varies depending upon the dominant mode of production at any particular time. Gottwald identifies three major modes of production for the history of Israel, but the place of that discussion is in the chapters directly concerned with the biblical texts.

Gottwald's basic conclusions will be assumed in the argument that follows: that in monarchic Israel both ruling and exploited classes existed. Exploitation took place in a twofold cycle of extraction: state taxation in labour and produce and state induced credit-debt (1992a:84-85). The complexity is increased by the various exploiter-exploited relationships within Israel, with other states, and with the imperial centre itself.

#### 4.2.2. Ruling Class Discourse

In the search for the appropriate class referents of the ideological dimensions mentioned above, I will consider both ruling and ruled class indicators. I begin with the most important ideologeme in 1 Kings 11-14, namely historical determinism, or the role of the divine in human affairs. However, the treatment of the issue in 1 Kings 11-14 provides no clear ideology of either the ruling classes or the exploited classes. Traces of a more straightforward legitimization of the ruling classes may be found in the regnal formulae (and the associated royal ideology), which by their very regularity and repetition, and by the continuation of the monarchy despite a string of theologically negative assessments, indicate an assumption concerning the permanence of the institution. Even Yahweh is bound -- partially at least since punishment must inevitably come -- to the permanence of the Davidic line and its location in Jerusalem (11:12-13, 32, 34, 36; 15:4).

However, as noted above the content of the formulae themselves indicate signs of strain. Historically, the ruling class legitimization of king-

ship falls into severe crisis with the final collapse of the monarchy (see 2Kgs 23:27). The signs of this may be seen in the relatively lesser role of the formulae and royal ideology in the narrative, being eclipsed by the concerns of historical determinism. Such an ideological unit in the text provides no comfortable legitimation of the power of a ruling class, no unchallenged assertion of the inalienable right to rule which would characterize a ruling class secure in its position over against those who were being ruled, no assumption of the eternity of an institution which even Yahweh could not abolish. There is rather a deep concern within these few chapters over the nature of power and the right to rule, for there is a strong political dimension to the question of the role of the divine in human affairs. That is to say, political and social matters and problems are debated and considered in theological terms and categories; this is how such problems are conceptualized. Thus, the concern over the question of the exercise of power and government -- which goes to the very heart of what it means to be a ruling class -- takes the form of considerations over the nature of divine approval and disapproval, of divine guidance and absence, of divine reliability and deception, and over the arbitrariness of the whole procedure. The ideological content suggests, therefore, if we invoke the Marxist understanding of class, a ruling class that has faced a removal from power, such as would be the situation of the Judean ruling class in exile in Babylon. It would also characterize the Israelite ruling class in its dispersion, but there is no evidence that such a group continued through as a unit from the Assyrian deportation.<sup>56</sup> By contrast, the evidence exists -- a group returned to Judah and a significant Jewish community with considerable intellectual and religious influence remained in Babylon -- to posit the presence of the Judean ruling class as a viable unit in Babylonian exile (see 2Kgs 24:14-16; 25:12-13; Gottwald 1992a:24; D. Smith:26-37). The traditional exploited classes remained in Judah. What we find with the ideologeme of historical determinism therefore is that it signals a profound "legitimation crisis" (see Jameson 1984i:vii-viii). The normal ideological legitimations have been found wanting along with the collapse of the social and political order through the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile. In such a crisis these fundamental justifications come under severe scrutiny and questioning.

<sup>56</sup>Amit (399) feels that the fall of Israel in 732 BCE was the stimulus for the development of the dual causality principle: the suggestion is on a similar line to mine, since this scholar bases the suggestion on the impression of a major social and political upheaval. The Babylonian exile is to my mind more plausible.

#### 4.2.3. Literary Class Consciousness

At this point I would like to pick up an earlier thread concerning a certain literary self-consciousness which operates in this text in order to make some suggestions regarding a particular class fraction of the ruling class. Earlier I argued that references to other sources in the closing regnal formulae have an autoreferential function: in the same way that other written works exist so also is this a literary work. This literary self-consciousness focuses on writing itself as the labour undertaken by those composing the text and thus implies a large amount of time available for the education and practice of reading and writing, time not available to those involved in spending all their time producing essential foods and other items. In other words, there is a strong class-consciousness in these words of a scribal or professional class fraction: economic and political need has generated a class of such people who are required for the operation of the state.<sup>57</sup> They are distinct from other elements of the ruling classes in that they are removed from more direct political and military activity (these are the tasks of the king in 14:19 -- וְאִשֶּׁר נִלְחָם וְאִשֶּׁר מָלַךְ); for them writing takes the place of these other forms of work, in the same way that Thucydides retired from Athens to Thrace and then wrote his history of the Peloponnesian war.

If such a literary class consciousness is combined with the ideological crisis indicated by the ideologemes, particularly by historical determinism, then the territory becomes that of "ideologues," writers and artists whose function it is to produce a new cultural framework during transitional periods. "What is at stake in their cultural production is therefore the retraining, the collective re-education, of a whole population whose mentalities and habits were formed in a previous mode of production" (Jameson 1985c:374). Their task is one of both the demolition of the old and outmoded cultural and ideological products and the reconstruction of new ways of conceptualizing the world. It is a role description which suits the Deuteronomist, who may be characterized as the ideologue for a "declassified" ruling class. I would suggest that it is in this light that the

<sup>57</sup> See the important work of Jamieson-Drake, especially pp. 147-157, who argues on the basis of comprehensive archaeological evidence that scribal activity and schools would have been possible only in 8th-7th century Judah at the earliest, at which time the evidence suggests Judah moves from a chieftainship to a full state. Mettinger's comments lack a diachronic perspective (19-51, 140-157).

heavy hand of Deuteronomistic editing and reconstruction of the raw material must be understood.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4.2.4. Cooptation of Exploited Class Discourse

It remains to note the ideological influence of the ruled classes on this text. To a remarkable extent it would seem that subversive currents -- questions concerning divine legitimation of the monarchy -- have been included within the considerations over historical determinism. This is a two-way affair: firstly, a strategy of massive co-optation and neutralization is under way; yet, given the changed political and social circumstances, the weight of subversive class discourses would seem to have overcome the neutralization program, thus contributing to the legitimation crisis noted above.

On a first impression there is much which attacks the class discourse of the ruling class: Solomon's decline and announced punishment (11:1-13), the insurrections instigated by Yahweh (11:14-40), Rehoboam's loss of the kingdom (12:1-24), Jeroboam's apostasy (12:25-33) and condemnation (13:1-10, 33-34), Jeroboam's announced punishment (14:1-18) and even Rehoboam's misfortunes (14:22-28). In fact, one may characterize the whole account as a coopted polemic against the ruling class. In this light the prophets and their religious and social criticism of the monarchy and the wealthy are often presented as champions of the oppressed and exploited (so Gottwald 1992a:20-21). In 1 Kings 11-14 Solomon, Rehoboam and Jeroboam come out very poorly in their encounters with the prophets Ahijah and Shemaiah, and even (for Solomon) with Yahweh.<sup>59</sup> I am, however, somewhat skeptical that these items express genuinely subversive currents of thought, for they have become part of the dialogue of a ruling class in distress. The impression is one of profound consideration of the validity or otherwise of subversive and disruptive discourse. Yet, as part of the ideological reconstruction undertaken by the Deuteronomist some fundamental modifications have been worked on these texts (see below)

<sup>58</sup> Gottwald (1990:2) argues that such a "neutralized" ruling class constitutes the class situation for Isaiah 40-55.

<sup>59</sup> The strong anti-establishment tone -- akin to the prophets -- of the Deuteronomistic history has led Mayes (138) to argue that the deuteronomistic movement was a fringe element in Israelite society. As I argue, Dtr is more mainstream than appears at first. Eslinger (196-198) argues that Dtr presents the kings as the cause of the people's sin. I have noted that the anti-monarchic element is one among a number.

turning these subversive materials to a different purpose. Essentially, the struggle is to provide a larger ideological perspective in which these different currents of thought gain a new and more comprehensive meaning, thus once again supporting a ruling class. The "religion of the landless" remains the religion of the declassed ruling class.<sup>60</sup>

I will therefore suggest and elaborate later on the argument that the material which is critical of the now obsolete ruling class discourse -- the religious and theological directions and assessments -- has become part of a new ruling class discourse in which the religious is once again central (as it was with the divine legitimation of kingship). Thus, with the mark of suspicion placed against religious and theological discourse, it is necessary to make a dual twist in the argument and suggest that the more properly subversive may be located both in that which is the target of theological polemic and in that which attributes developments to causes other than religious. Regarding religious polemic, it might be suggested that the strong condemnation of Jeroboam's religious incentives, which formed the basis of the "sins of Jeroboam" motif, have as their target not so much religious practices of the north but rather popular forms of religion expressed in part by the representation of Yahweh as a calf or at least with a calf as a footstool.<sup>61</sup> In the case of non-religious causes of narrated events, it is useful to bring back the dual causality principle at the level of class discourse. In the earlier discussion of this phenomenon it was used as evidence of the ideologeme of historical determinism, or the role of the divine in human affairs. However, in the final analysis Yahweh was always in control, directing events from behind the scenes, in either predictable or unpredictable ways. It is then in the human dimensions of these stories that subversive elements may be found. It is no accident that 1 Kings 12 was found to contain the most successful attempt at dual causality, for in the same chapter is located the most subversive element of the class discourse of the exploited: the contest over the *corvée*. The same text provides a related but different yield in this rereading in a different context.

<sup>60</sup> Thus in contrast to Daniel Smith who finds a more non-conformist type of theology in the exilic community. Norman Gottwald's comments in the "Foreword" concerning Smith's limits are appropriate.

<sup>61</sup> Aaron's defence in the related story of the golden calves in Exodus 32 -- that the people made him do it -- has perhaps more in it than seems at first. The idea of folk religious representation was first suggested to me in part by Donner 1973, although Hoffmann (73) concludes that 1 Kgs 12:26-32 is a deuteronomistic fiction designed to provide a clear definition of "the sins of Jeroboam."

Not only does 1Kgs 12:1-20 attribute the collapse of the united monarchy to the political stupidity of Rehoboam or to the direction of Yahweh (v. 15; 11:1-13 adds Solomon's libido to the list), it also makes the dispute over the corvée the immediate cause of the division (see Gottwald 1992b<sup>62</sup>). To be sure, even this is coopted under Yahweh's plan, but the material is there nevertheless. Forced labour, סִבָּל (11:28), features in the rebellion of Jeroboam against Solomon, but in chapter 12 the request of the people to Rehoboam is that the hard service (עֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה) and yoke (עוֹל) of Solomon be lightened. While this request is broad enough to include other forms of taxation and rent, as is the case with the exchange from vv. 6-16 and Rehoboam's ultimate refusal to listen to the people, the spark, according to the narrative, of violent conflict was Rehoboam's attempt to exact the corvée and call the people's bluff (v. 18). The well-known taskmaster of the corvée (מִסֵּ) Adoram (see 2Sam 20:24)<sup>63</sup> finds himself stoned to death over the issue. At this point the narrator feels called upon to comment that Israel has been in rebellion (וַיִּפְשָׁעוּ) ever since (עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה), although there is no indication in the narrative up until this point that it was rebellion, especially given its divine sanction in v. 15 and in the announcements of chapter 11. Rejection of מִסֵּ by the people requires immediate damage control and a comment is provided which will guide readers in their understanding (12:19). 1 Kings 12 thus includes the social and economic question of the corvée as a major cause of the decision of the people to depart from the united monarchy. Even this element is finally coopted under Yahweh's control but not without providing a different perspective on the major event of the division related in these chapters. Something of the ambiguity of the biblical material shows its face in the realm of class and class discourse: while ruling class paradigms ultimately dominate, in the process of cooptation the voices of the ruled may have their partial say. It would seem that the ideas of Jameson concerning class and class conflict are workable on the biblical text.

<sup>62</sup> The nature of the corvée has generated a reasonable amount of discussion. See further Mendelsohn 1942; 1949:96-99; 1962; Avigad; Mettinger:128-139; Gray:155-6, 251-2, 307; Dillard 1987:86-87; Soggin.

<sup>63</sup> The name Adoniram appears in 1 Kings 4:6; 5:28. Avigad (172) thinks that this is the same person as Adoram, as does Mettinger (133) but Gray (307) thinks not. It is impossible to decide. See the polemic against the corvée in 1Sam 8:11-12.



#### 4.2.5. Utopian Hints

The final concerns for class are those utopian suggestions which are so valuable to Jameson in his search for a viable cultural politics. For Jameson both ruling class and exploited class ideology is utopian in the sense that class solidarity functions as a figure for a utopian future. In the following I seek out the utopian hints of 1 Kings 11-14.

It would seem that both the faded ruling class ideology of the monarchy and the reconstructed ideology of the Deuteronomist bear their own utopian charge: the regnal material with its image of a divinely sanctioned king who is both obedient to and vice-regent of Yahweh feeds into the powerful messianic hopes of later texts. The Deuteronomist's reconstruction bears the utopian dream of a much vaster whole under the direction of Yahweh. However, the utopian imagination of the exploited classes shows through in piecemeal fashion, being more actively excluded from textual space. While the advice of the old men (12:7) and their siding with the people has all the appearance in its challenge to the king of a subversive utopian drive, and may be understood as such in a very limited perspective, in the long run their words form part of a conservative agenda which feels that the monarchy needs some repairs if it is to function properly and continuously.<sup>64</sup> They conclude their advice with the words which constitute their particular conservative utopian vision: וְהָיוּ לְךָ עֲבָדִים בְּלִיַּהֲיָמִים (12:7). Indeed, the old men merely echo the words of the people's initial request, in which they offer to serve the new king on the basis of the new working arrangements: אֲבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאַתָּה עָתָה הִקְלָה מִעֲבֹדֶת אֲבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה וּמַעַלּוּ אֲבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאַתָּה עָתָה הִקְלָה מִעֲבֹדֶת אֲבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה וּמַעַלּוּ (12:4).

The more properly subversive utopian wish is drawn from the people after the antagonism has been considerably sharpened, being expressed in the slogan or "national anthem" (Montgomery:250) of 12:16 -- מִה־לָּנוּ חֶלֶק -- but most especially in the small phrase at the end of v. 16: וַיֵּלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹאֲהֲלָיו. These words work against the two other ruling class systems in this text, presenting a picture of a world without kingship (the king merely comes from one of the clans), a world in which more localized forms of living and produc-

<sup>64</sup> Critics who identify, in line with the narrator, with the wisdom of the old men inadvertently reveal something of their own political agendas.

ing take place and a less than permanent form of abode is the norm.<sup>65</sup> That such an oppositional and subversive undercurrent remained alive is suggested by the appearance of largely the same saying in the mouth of Sheba in 2Sam 20:1 (and more loosely in 1Sam 25:10), whose unsuccessful rebellion against David is recounted in the remainder of that chapter.

#### 4.2.6. Summary

The infrastructure of the second level of Jameson's analysis is concerned with class and it would seem that it is possible to apply this part of the analysis to the biblical text. This is enhanced when the connection between class and ideology is incorporated into the discussion. I have suggested on this basis that the various class indicators -- the royal ideology of an older ruling class or the subversive leftovers from exploited class discourse -- have been coopted under the vaster scheme of historical determinism which is itself the ideological expression of a ruling class removed from power but seeking new ways to legitimate its claim to class dominance. A distinct place was also found for a literary class consciousness and for the role of the ideologue. With the identification of certain utopian elements in the text the second level analysis -- that of ideology and class -- is closed except for a concluding interpretation of chapter 13 which will provide the transition to the third and final level of analysis.

#### 4.3. National Allegory in 1 Kings 13

It was argued in the first chapter that despite its importance in the definition of ideology an undeveloped dimension of Jameson's second horizon in PU (it is a basic analytical tool in other works) is the relationship between individual and totality. In that chapter an effort was made to incorporate some elements of this relationship into the interpretative schema, one of which was the narrative feature designated "national allegory," which I will argue is a key to 1 Kings 13.<sup>66</sup>

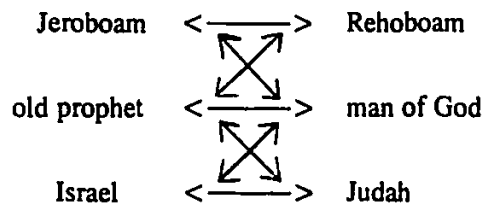
Briefly, 1 Kings 13 tells two related stories: 1) Jeroboam is performing a sacrifice when a man of God appears and prophesies against the altar,

<sup>65</sup> Debus (26) suggests "eine volkstümliche Erzählung" as one of the two ways the division of the kingdom is represented in 1 Kings 12 (the other is a short historical notice in vv. 2 and 20). For Debus, however, this folk material is historically unreliable.

<sup>66</sup> I am less interested in efforts to identify the sources and redaction of the chapter: see Dietrich:114-120; Jepsen; Klopfenstein: 646-652; Noth 1968:291-295; Würthwein.

causing it to collapse (Jeroboam apparently still being on it) and the king's hand to wither and recover. The man of God refuses an invitation for a bite to eat due to a divine prohibition against eating, drinking and returning by the same road. 2) In the second story a nameless old prophet, hearing of the events just related, sets off to find the man of God who is on his way home. The man of God is deceived into breaking the prohibition, which leads to his death by a lion. The old prophet retrieves the body, buries it and then utters a prophecy. The chapter's end notes Jeroboam's continuing sin.

As noted in the first level discussion of structure, what is interesting about this chapter is that while the text contains little that suggests a major political crisis, it comes at the climax of the story about the breakup of the kingdom of Israel. 1 Kings 13 is therefore a very good example of that process of displacement or repression which Jameson designates with the slogan "national allegory." The indicator that something like a national allegory is indeed happening relies upon the following slippage: Jeroboam versus Rehoboam (from chapter 12) becomes Jeroboam versus man of God (13:1-10), which in turn become old prophet versus man of God (13:11-31). The text suggests that the man of God from Judah represents Rehoboam and thus Judah; the old prophet stands in for Jeroboam and so Israel (as Karl Barth saw).<sup>67</sup> Thus:



In the first episode (13:1-10) the overt story line is a clear rejection of Jeroboam: he is humiliated, injured and his hospitality rejected by the man of God. The narrator presents God and the man of God (read: Judah) united against Jeroboam in a series of (mostly violent) oppositions which suggest that the only legitimate existence for Jeroboam and his kingdom is in subjection to the religious and political authority of the south; after the

<sup>67</sup> Further connections exist: firstly between the old prophet and the old men who advise Rehoboam and side with the people in chapter 12; the man of God then lines up with Rehoboam's young advisers. Secondly, Shemaiah is described as a man of God (12:22) while Ahijah is a prophet (11:29). Jepsen (182) partly sees a national allegory here, putting it in terms of a cultic conflict between Jerusalem and Bethel.

divine onslaught Jeroboam (like a victim in a Schwarzenegger movie) is left with a blown-up altar and a withered hand, and presumably bodies scattered all around. But I would like to pick up in particular what is perhaps the most neglected element in the many analyses of 1 Kings 13: the prohibition against eating, drinking and commuter travel on the same road.<sup>68</sup> For it is what seems to be peripheral or marginal -- at least to interpreters if not in the story itself -- to the main story that is the sort of thing that provides precious and crucial hints, since these odd items suggest that other things are happening in these texts, usually conflicting with the more obvious narrative action. I propose that this prohibition against eating, drinking and travelling is part of what may be termed the ideologeme of hospitality; that is, such a prohibition depends upon certain ideas associated with the basic ideological unit of hospitality. It is also one of the three ways in which Yahweh's word operates in 1 Kings 11-14 as a whole (covenant, announcement and prohibition). The importance of the prohibition, and thus of the hospitality ideologeme which lies behind it, is indicated by its repetition -- eleven times in different forms throughout the chapter -- and in its function in turning the whole consensus (divine favour for south and condemnation of north) on its head. It does so from its first appearance in 13:7, beginning a slow process of separating the identity of the man of God and Yahweh, a shift indicated also by the slide from miraculous to mundane and from violent to verbal conflict.

The first appearance of the prohibition is part of a threefold cluster in vv. 7, 8 and 9 (which is repeated in vv. 15, 16 and 17): an invitation or request (here from the king and later from the old prophet) meets with the man of God's refusal, which he then backs up with the original prohibition from God. Not only do the sources (king, man of God, God) and nature (invitation, refusal, prohibition) of the statements change, but the wording itself does some sliding about: the king's invitation asks the man of God to come in, sustain or refresh himself and receive a gift (v. 7); the response by the man of God brackets the giving of the gift ("if you give me half of your house": אִם־תִּתֶּנִּי־לִי אֶת־חֲצִי בֵיתְךָ v. 8) out of the equation, which is

<sup>68</sup> Of all the commentators only DeVries (1985:171-174), Nelson (1987:84) and Rofé (1974:159; 1988:170-182) have picked up the prohibition as crucial: for DeVries its function is to test the authenticity and radical obedience of the man of God, his punishment serving to authenticate the message he delivered as divinely inspired. For Nelson it is subservient to the central theme of the condemnation of Bethel, and for Rofé it is part of the evidence for understanding the Man of God as a (human) angel of the Lord. According to Rofé the story comprises polemic against angels and is late, being contemporary with the story of Jonah (with this last point van Setters:304 agrees).

expanded to coming with the king, eating bread and drinking water "in this place" (בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה); the report by the man of God of Yahweh's prohibition then makes one more alteration by adding returning on the road by which he came to the eating of bread and drinking of water (v. 9). These three items, then, become the content of the word from Yahweh -- לאֲתֹאכַל לֶחֶם (v. 9) -- which contributes heavily to the narrative machinery.

The second episode, meanwhile, beginning in v. 11, sees the second allegorical slippage take place (the first being the replacement of Rehoboam with the man of God): the conflict between the man of God and Jeroboam becomes one between the man of God and an old prophet from Bethel, in the north. However, just as the final element (the old prophet) of the full national allegory wheels into place, the allegorical references themselves start to shift (but more of this later).

Despite the strong impressions of closure generated at the end of the episode in 13:1-10, the narrative does indeed move on, generated by the hospitality ideologeme; for, once the scene is set -- following the narrative convention in which information is a trigger to action (the old prophet is told by his sons of the man of God's exploits) -- the narrative action focuses on the efforts of the old prophet to entice the man of God back to Bethel. Indeed, in vv. 15, 16, 17 we find a three-fold repetition of invitation (old prophet), refusal (man of God) and prohibition (God) virtually parallel with vv. 7, 8 and 9 to the point of word for word likeness (a parallel that reinforces my argument for a national allegory). It would seem that the primary motivation of the old prophet was to ensure that the man of God accepted the offer of hospitality by whatever means possible: indeed, the seventh appearance of the return-eat-drink sequence (v. 18) comes in the form of a lie, whether by the old prophet or by the messenger of Yahweh (the reverberations of the comment at the end of v. 18 were discussed earlier).

With the lie and the surprisingly rapid acquiescence (although perhaps not so surprising given all the preparatory hints) -- note also the eighth appearance of return-eat-drink, this time a statement of narrative action (v. 19) -- the narrative moves beyond the overlap with the first episode and achieves something of a turning point: the prohibition has been transgressed and we now await the punishment, the announcement of which is not long in coming. That announcement, indeed, comes in the form of a final prohibition triplet in vv. 22-23 (remembering the two earlier triplets in vv. 7-9 and 15-17 along with a double in vv. 18-19): here as report of both the

transgression carried in v. 19 and the prohibition (both in v. 22 -- an indicator of some sort of climax) and then finally as a subordinate temporal clause noting narrative action now passed. The three features of the prohibition -- eating, drinking and travel on the same road -- appear in each case in some form, but there are differences in the third item: firstly, movement of return to Bethel in the first appearance becomes the punishment itself in the second, namely that the man of God's body will not go or return to the grave of his ancestors (in Judah); secondly, in the third appearance (v. 23) there is the preparation for movement in terms of saddling up the donkey. This final cluster would seem to mark a resolution or turn of some sort, leading some commentators (e.g. Nelson 1987:85) to suggest a third episode that begins after v. 24, in which the prophecy of death is fulfilled (he is indeed a genuine prophet). I would rather speak of the end of both the identity of the man of God and God and of the end of the opposition between the man of God and the prophet leading to their gradual identification which culminates in the anticipated burial of the northern prophet beside the bones of the man of God (the final dimension of the ideologeme of hospitality).

The importance of the ideologeme of hospitality in this story is indicated by the eleven variations on the prohibition -- invitation, refusal, prohibition, transgression, [false] divine command, temporal clause -- and by coming from the mouths of everyone who can speak -- Jeroboam, man of God, old prophet, God [by relay], and even the narrator.

To tie all this together: the national allegorical function of the prohibition and its transgression -- and thus on a more basic level of the ideologeme of hospitality itself -- is to provide Bethel, and thus northern Israel with the legitimacy so desperately sought in the preceding chapter 12. The activities of eating, drinking and travelling on the same road between Bethel and Jerusalem (some 18 kilometres apart) provide fundamental social and economic recognition of the north; a narrative line that runs somewhat at tension with the other line, namely, the rejection of the north and Jeroboam's own impending punishment and doom (a narrative line to be picked up in the closing verses of this chapter). 1 Kings 13 may then be described as an imaginary resolution to the contradictory situation of a North and South in the people of Israel. Secondly, the prohibition functions as the allegorical counterpart to the "covenant" with the kings, specifically Solomon and Jeroboam, but more generally with the kingship as a whole in both north and south: if the kings will obey God's commands and not worship other gods, then all will be well, but if they do not prosperous

reigns are not on the agenda. Indeed, for this writer (Deuteronomist) there would seem to be a connection between the man of God's breaking of the prohibition and his death and the breach of the covenant by Judah and its eventual destruction. The possibility that Yahweh might bring about the breaking of the covenant -- in contrast to the conventional onus being on the king -- is suggested by the deception of the man of God (Thus the question of the covenant ties in with the larger ideological concern of "historical determinism").

I did, however, promise a complication of all this, which I described as a slippage or displacement of the allegory's referential scheme.<sup>69</sup> The initial indicator that something is amiss comes with the death of the man of God from Judah; for a national allegory, this is the wrong way around: Judah lasted well beyond Israel historically speaking, while for the allegory to work, the southern man of God cannot stand in for the northern Jeroboam. The second indicator is the tying up of the destinies of both protagonists, while the third comes from an entirely different quarter -- that of Nature. For in this second episode (13:11-31) there appear two donkeys (one ridden twice by the old prophet and the other borrowed by the man of God), a lion, an oak or a terebinth (הָאֵלֶךְ v. 14) under which the man of God sat, food and water. The slide from the national allegory begins with this second episode which concerns the destruction of the man of God, and that slide is marked by the presence of Nature, which was virtually absent in the first episode, and which increases in proportion to the growing identity of man of God and old prophet.

Nature, more particularly the animals, functions in this text as a figuration or representation of a larger entity, an absent totality -- to use Jameson's terms -- never concretely realized in an explicit form, yet detectable in its deformation of the episodes of this chapter and their national allegorical function like the operation of some heavenly satellite or gravity mass hidden below the horizon and invisible to the naked eye (the metaphor is borrowed from Jameson: LM:25-26; SV:214; see chapter one also). Apart from the class resonances that animals generate, -- they do all the work (carrying, killing and guard duty) -- there is a double referential jump: I would suggest that the lion, as agent of divine punishment, is the allegorical manifestation of God in this passage (or lion of Judah according

<sup>69</sup> Slippage is a basic Freudian category which is related closely with the notion of repression: the slip showing signs that something is being repressed or hidden from view and thus indicating the direction to pursue in uncovering that something.

to Barth), but then ultimately of the Babylonian (or Persian) empire itself, or rather emperor.<sup>70</sup> Note that the man of God from Judah (the figure of Judah) is cut down by the lion for breaking the prohibition, just as the Babylonians did to Jerusalem in 587 BCE for breaking the covenant (on this level the north was already destroyed with the altar and rejection of Jeroboam in the first episode), and note that the donkey and the lion stand guard duty over the body of the man of God, one on either side like a pair of sentries of a bodyguard or the soldiers of an occupying army. By not eating the body of the man of God (v. 28; in contrast to that person's breaking of the prohibition against eating) nor attacking the donkeys or the prophet, the lion exercises control by restraint; for at any moment the lion could attack and eat, in the same way that imperial control is exercised by the restraint of force.

More broadly, nature appears here as the Sartrean Other to the characters and action of this chapter, and the Other for Judah when this material was put together was the Babylonian or Persian empire itself. The plausibility of this conclusion is enhanced by the observation from the first chapter that national allegory comes into play when national or political identity is questioned or threatened by a larger political reality such as empire. It is at this point -- where the individual text relates to the total picture -- that chapter 13 kicks on to the third and final horizon of interpretation. It would seem, therefore, that Jameson's theory concerning national allegory is applicable at least to part (chapter 13) of these chapters chosen from the biblical text. It would strengthen the case if other examples were identified in the Hebrew Bible, but that task belongs to another study.

### 5. 1 Kings 11-14: Third Horizon

For Jameson, the third or historical horizon is the most comprehensive and total of all: if we use the same distinction between base and superstructure as used for the other levels, then on this third level the base is concerned with mode of production (in the sense of historical epochs such as feudalism and capitalism) while the superstructure is characterized by the various marks or traces of these modes of production. Jameson designates this usually contradictory presence of traces the "ideology of

<sup>70</sup>Hossfeld and Meyer (25) suggest that the lion is a folk motif, along with the offer of half the house to the man of God earlier.



form." I find this phrase unhelpful and so prefer to speak of figuration. Jameson attempts -- not entirely successfully -- to overcome the tendency to make direct causal connections between base and superstructure by arguing that modes of production exist and develop in complex and "non-synchronous" patterns and that therefore the corresponding traces or figures in the superstructure are likewise complex and contradictory. These figures come in different shapes and sizes: I will make use of conceptual material, formal features, and (in the next chapter) space.

Each mode of production has an appropriate type of culture which expresses and gives shape to the mode of production. At any period in history there will be one dominant mode of production and a corresponding dominant culture. At the same time there will be subordinate modes of production -- waning or waxing -- and thus subordinate cultural forms. Further, cultures may be out of synchronization with their modes of production, anticipating one that has not arrived or remaining behind after the mode of production has well and truly gone. The existence of different modes of production and of various cultures side by side leads Jameson to use the phrase "cultural revolution" as the best way to describe the tensions and conflicts between these elements and the continual process of change from one dominant to the next. In the following discussion I have altered the sequence in comparison to the previous two horizons: firstly, I look at the base and make a broad identification of the dominant mode of production; then I deal with the superstructure by considering the relationship between the major formal features of 1 Kings 11-14 and their respective ideological constructs; finally, I return to the question of the modes of production which form and ideology suggest.

### 5.1. Base: Religion and the Asiatic Mode of Production

A recurring point in this chapter and its predecessor has been the dominance of a religious approach in the cultural framework of our text. It was suggested that religion functions in largely the same way as what is later in the capitalist era termed ideology, and so political and social problems will often find themselves debated in religious terms. Similarly narratives are constructed in a religious framework. Religion was found to be basic to each of the structural and ideological features of 1 Kings 11-14. Thus, religious justification is structurally integral to the royal ideology associated with the regnal formulae. Even more so is religion the driving force of the prophetic organization of the narrative and its ideological con-

struct of historical determinism. The narrative commentary which one is tempted to attribute to the Deuteronomist comes under the sway of historical determinism although its other appointed task is the control of subversive elements. On the basis of the work of the previous two interpretive horizons I would therefore argue that the major form of cultural expression, or the cultural dominant of these chapters, is that of religion. The next step is to relate this point to the schema presented in the first chapter of modes of production and cultural dominants: here it was noted that the mode of production for which religion is the cultural dominant is that of the Asiatic mode of production. As a tentative conclusion and as a working hypothesis, then, I suggest the dominant mode of production for 1 Kings 11-14 is that of the Asiatic mode of production (AMP); its cultural dominant is religion.<sup>71</sup> The word "dominant" is used deliberately since other modes of production and cultural forms exist as subordinate to the dominant one.

For some years now Norman Gottwald has argued that the primary socio-economic context for monarchic and post-exilic Israel and Judah was the AMP or, as he terms it, the "tributary" mode of production (1979:391-394; 1983; 1985b; 1992a:84-86). For Gottwald the major subversive and subdominant force in biblical literature stems from the tribal or "communitarian" mode of production (also known as primitive communism). The great historical moment of the tribal mode of production was the famous revolution of the underclasses against the Canaanite city-states and the establishment of a new society: although this attempt succumbed to external factors and fell back into an AMP system, strong tribal or communitarian traditions remained throughout Israelite history and survived in numerous pockets, becoming the force which enabled the survival of Judean identity even in exile. With relative confidence Gottwald feels that he is able to trace those traditions which owe their origin to the tribal or communitarian mode of production and those which are the products of the superimposed AMP. Even though I am not taken with the importance of the tribal mode of production in Israelite history -- yet one would expect some traces according to Jameson's approach -- nothing compares with the extent of Gottwald's work on mode of production in ancient Israel, and therefore I will have recourse to his work at certain points. In some senses

<sup>71</sup> Key texts on the Asiatic mode of production include the volume edited by Bailey and Llobera which presents a history of the concept and contemporary issues, Wittfogel's controversial study, Anderson (1974b), Hindess and Hirst, Krader (1975), and various essays in the volume edited by J. E. King. For a study on the classical world see Lekas.

I agree more closely with David Jobling, who finds the AMP essential for his work on Psalm 72 and 1 Kings 3-10 (1992a, 1992b) and who has argued for the importance of mode of production in biblical studies (1991). Jobling does however hint that there is something in Gottwald's notion of communitarian traces, suggesting that, for example, the Deuteronomistic history is an essentially egalitarian document which has been watered down over time, yet he feels the notion of revolutionary origins is significantly flawed (1987). This -- Gottwald and Jobling -- is the context within which any discussion of mode of production in ancient Israel must locate itself. The more detailed questions and problems will be dealt with as need be in the following discussion.

## 5.2. Superstructure: Types of Figuration

For the superstructure at this level the focus is upon the various traces or marks, often conflictual, of the modes of production left on the text, a feature variously called the ideology of form or, more preferably, figuration. In giving figuration a run with this material I am interested in both formal (first horizon) and ideological (second horizon) dimensions of figuration; that is, my interest is in the way these elements from earlier discussion may now, in proper dialectical fashion, be taken up and included in the wider field of the third horizon. The following discussion of figuration is organized in terms of the two major formal features identified in the first horizon: regnal formulae and the organization and control of the narrative exercised by the prophets.

### 5.2.1. Figuration from the Regnal Formulae

I begin with the regnal formulae, which have both formal and ideological dimensions useful for figuration: thus there is the activity of writing referred to by these formulae and the associated literary consciousness; secondly, there is a royal ideology reflected in the focus on the king; and thirdly is the more strictly formal question of their nature as formulae.

On the question of writing, I have at two earlier points suggested that there is a literary consciousness in these chapters and that an appropriate class context -- a scribal class -- may feasibly be postulated. The next step is to argue that a scribal class assumes a larger network both to teach skills to more people -- the question of reproduction -- and to avail others of their skills. A bureaucracy of some sort creeps into view, which is one feature

of the AMP. The AMP operates by extracting a minimal surplus from the many self-sufficient village units which function as the primary production units of the AMP. As the surplus is minimal the AMP normally requires a significant number of village production units in order to generate sufficient funds and resources to function; the system of ensuring that the surplus is extracted from the villages must therefore be large and this implies a relatively huge bureaucracy (see Jobling 1992b:16; Krader 1975:287 / 1981:326; Melotti:54-58). A scribal class would find itself essential in the task of keeping track of the many different facets of such a vast and complex system. The self-conscious references to the **סֵפֶר**, the associated literary consciousness and its class dimensions therefore provide the first figuration of the AMP in Israel and Judah.

The second angle of the figuration of the formulaic material is their exclusive focus on the king, which has been elaborated upon earlier in terms of a subordinate and embattled royal ideology. At the centre of such an ideology is the king. This also is a feature of the AMP: a highly centralized state which dominates society, politics and economics (Gottwald 1985b:13). It was noted above that the AMP requires a large bureaucracy in order to function. According to Gottwald, the state constitutes the ruling or exploiting class, sometimes exclusively but at other times including class fractions such as landlords, merchants, artisans and so on (see Melotti:69-72). In the ancient Near East at the head and centre of the state structure is the king or despot -- the AMP is also termed "oriental despotism" -- in the image of whose body is the dispersed collective unity consolidated (see PU:295; Frow:36).<sup>72</sup> In the king or despot may be found the ideological centre as well, which is expressed in religious terms:

The whole ideology of the system owes its shape to the prominent role played in Asiatic society by the person at the summit of the political pyramid .... He tends to present himself, whether as high priest, son of heaven or son of God, as the intermediary between men and the divinity, or even as God himself.... Asiatic tradition brings together the divinity or 'heaven' and the despot who rules the state; the exercise of power ... is at one with the orderly functioning of the cosmos (Melotti:70-1, quoted in part by Jobling 1992b:17; see also Wittfogel:87-100; Younger).

<sup>72</sup>Jobling (1992b:17) notes, following Krader, that the AMP need not have a monarchy; it is just that no alternatives seem to have been pursued.

There is therefore a fusion of the political and religious dimensions of the despot as "sole proprietor" under the AMP (see Marx 1973:472-473<sup>73</sup>). Although many feel that the Israelite monarchy did not go as far in its royal ideology in comparison to Egypt and Mesopotamia the king remains crucial to the system.<sup>74</sup>

The third angle on the figuration of the formulae lies in their essential nature as formulae which are to be repeated. As the limited analysis of the formulae in the first horizon indicated, the regularity, rhythm and pattern of the formulae can be seen only at a certain distance, in a wide angle view in which the individual figures and items concerned fade away, becoming mere slots to be filled. There is a great flattening effect, a squeezing out of the tensions in the regularity and permanence of the formulae. This reading distance acts as a figure for a temporal and historical distance, that is, the abstraction of a wider and more total approach to history, which I suggest is the wider historical reality within which Israel and Judah found themselves; namely the greater empires of Egypt (see also 1Kgs 14:25-28) and Mesopotamia which continually intruded upon local political and social life. This formulaic figuration connects with another element of the literary self-consciousness of the formulae. In the latter case, the other "book" contains all the remaining material; what we have in this written document is a mere sample of the totality held elsewhere. This suggestion of a vaster literary reality may be seen as the inscription of a larger and total social, political and economic reality beyond the realm of Israelite and Judean kingship, which I suggest is the same as that indicated by the regularity and repetition of the formulae. Indeed, it might be argued that parochial political life was in many ways determined by the outside reality. This figura-

<sup>73</sup> "A part of their surplus labour belongs to the higher community, which exists ultimately as a *person*, and this surplus labour takes the form of tribute etc., as well as of common labour for the exaltation of the unity, partly of the real despot, partly of the imagined clan-being, the god" (Marx 1973:473).

<sup>74</sup> Jobling goes on to argue that the Israelite form of the AMP may be described as a "dry" agricultural system (without the extensive use of irrigation) for which a chieftainship, or paramount chieftainship (between chieftain and king), is more characteristic (Jobling 1992a:18-19; see also Jamieson-Drake who concludes that economic resources as shown through archaeological remains before the 8th century would support only a chieftainship). This argument for a "dry" system goes against Wittfogel's emphasis on irrigation -- they are termed "hydraulic" societies -- as the key to the AMP. Wittfogel deals with ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, but does not include ancient Israel. Daniel Smith's reliance on Wittfogel (116-118) for a model of Babylon indicates the lack of depth in Smith's book on this wider economic or materialist level. For debate over the AMP as such see also the critical assessments of Anderson 1974b: 462-549; Hindess and Hirst 1975:178-220.

tion from the regnal formulae of the larger imperial context is reinforced by the suggestions in the discussion of the national allegory of 1 Kings 13 that in that chapter Nature serves as a figure for the same larger context.

To sum up this first part of the "ideology of form," as Jameson describes it, I have suggested that two elements -- literary self-consciousness and the centripetal force of the king -- provide figurations of Palestine as "one of the weaker variants of the AMP" (the phrase is Gottwald's 1985b:17; approved by Jobling 1992b:16, 19). A third points to the wider context within which Israel existed. Given the more directly causal relationship between base and superstructure assumed by the notion of figuration, and given the viability of the Marxist model of reality upon which it relies, it would seem plausible that these elements do indeed refer to different aspects of the AMP.

### 5.2.2. Figuration from the Prophetic Organization

However, I argued earlier that the organization of the narrative in terms of regnal formulae has been seriously disrupted at both a formal and ideological level by what I described as the prophetic organization of the material, which is the second major area in this discussion of figuration. The search for figurative traces in this dominant type of narrative control is divided between the more strictly formal feature of sentence production and the ideological feature of the function of Yahweh.

As noted in the first chapter an important part of Jameson's analytic work concentrates on a writer's production of sentences, where the traditional categories of grammar and syntax play a background role to the more important intuitive grasp of the nature of the writer's process of producing sentences. To my knowledge Jameson is unique in this regard, particularly within the Marxist tradition, so that any use of sentence production as a type of figuration must be very cautious. With this in mind I will nevertheless make some proposals regarding sentence production in these chapters.

The question of sentence production focuses on the structure of sentences which introduce and present words of Yahweh: the interest is in the syntactical distance of the actual word of Yahweh from the main clause of the sentence. One would expect the least distance in cases where Yahweh addresses an individual directly, as is the case with Solomon in 1Kgs 11:11-13. There is no syntactical mediation in the phrase **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְשֹׁלֹמֹה**, an absence of mediation which is characteristic also of the other two communications between Yahweh and Solomon (1Kgs 3:5, 11; 9:3).

Solomon also speaks directly to Yahweh (3:6; 8:23). There is however a suggestion that the communication takes place in a dream: this is mentioned explicitly in 3:5, implied in 9:2, and suggested vaguely in 11:9-10.<sup>75</sup> The vague possibility of mediation in Yahweh's message in 11:11-13 serves to highlight the closeness of Solomon and Yahweh. This reinforces the general impression that of all the kings of Israel in the narrative construct of Samuel-Kings Solomon came closest to the embodiment of "divine kingship." The other conventional traits of such kingship found in the account of Solomon's reign include great wisdom, fabulous wealth, large harem, role as high priest, extensive political power and a large building program. It is no coincidence that the depiction of the reign of Solomon comes closest to the role of the despot in the model of a fully functional AMP. With little mediation between Yahweh and Solomon, the human and the divine merge closely in the figure of the despot.

The unmediated communication between Solomon and Yahweh contrasts sharply with the mode of communication between the Yahweh and subsequent kings, the first of which takes place later in the same chapter (11:31-39), where Ahijah addresses Jeroboam with a word from Yahweh. Verse 31 has three syntactical levels.

1) The main clause with an indirect object and reported speech as direct object (which runs through vv. 31-39): ...וַיֹּאמֶר לְיִרְבְּעָם קֹחֲלֶךָ.

2) Reported speech addressed to Jeroboam, with a main clause -- verb, indirect object and object: קֹחֲלֶךָ עֲשֶׂרָה קָרְעִים -- and a subordinate clause whose object is the reported speech of Yahweh -- כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה -- אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנְנִי...

3) The reported speech of Yahweh, which now continues through to v. 39, thus serving to extend the reported speech addressed by Ahijah to Jeroboam for the same extent. In v. 31 Yahweh's word contains two main clauses.

There are therefore three syntactical levels through which the word of Yahweh is mediated, and perhaps a fourth if the subordinate clause on the second level is regarded as another level. Yahweh's word is thus reported speech within reported speech which is the object of the main clause. It would seem that it has become much more arduous to attain the word of Yahweh itself.

<sup>75</sup> The connection in all three occasions is the niphal of רָאָה, although in 11:9 it is used to refer back to the previous two appearances; it is not used for the third communication itself. It is uncertain therefore whether this contact in 11:11-13 is meant to form the third in a series of dream appearances or whether Yahweh addresses Solomon directly.

The next message is that supplied by Shemaiah to Rehoboam (12:22-24). Once again there are a number of levels.

1) The main clause with main verb, compound subject, compound indirect object and direct object which is the reported speech of vv 23-24:  
וַיְהִי דְבַר הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־שִׁמְעִיָּה אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר...

2) The first layer of reported speech which is addressed to Shemaiah, containing a main verb (imperative) with an extended indirect object and the direct object which is once again reported speech directed at all those in the indirect object: אָמַר אֶל־רְחָבָעַם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְאֶל־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־מִן וְיֵתֶר הָעָם לֵאמֹר...

3) The second layer of reported speech in the early part of v. 24 which introduces the actual message to be delivered. Its structure is the simple verb-subject-object, with reported speech as the object: כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא...

4) The final layer of reported speech which is the message itself; the syntax here comprises three main clauses with a final subordinate clause introduced by כי: לֹא־תַעֲלֹו וְלֹא־תִלָּחֲמוּן עִם־אֲחֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוּבוּ אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ: כִּי כִי מֵאֲתִי נְהִיָּה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה

A fifth level is precluded by a narrative foreshortening in this account: the people obey the message without any mention of its having been delivered.<sup>76</sup> Despite this, there are three levels before the actual word of Yahweh is provided on the fourth; that is to say, the divine oracle may be described as reported speech within reported speech within reported speech which is the object of the main clause. The result therefore is the same as for the message given by Ahijah to Jeroboam: access to Yahweh is heavily mediated.

The situation is similar in chapter 13, in which there is a high frequency of the word of Yahweh (13:2, 3, 8-9, 16-17, 18, 21-22, 31-32). In each case there is a minimum of three syntactical levels before the message itself is attained. I will not develop these here; rather I will consider the message given by Ahijah to Jeroboam's wife in 14:6-16. The analysis follows the same pattern as above.

1) The first level is the main clause, which is closely tied up with a circumstantial clause providing the setting for the main clause to follow (on circumstantial material see below). The object of the main clause is the

<sup>76</sup> Despite the abruptness of the temporal gap or jump from the word being given to Shemaiah and the action of the army, the narrative slide from the one to the other is quite smooth. The pronouncement is calmly incorporated into the action in what may possibly be regarded as a device for knitting divine words in with human action.



reported speech (v. 6): וַיְהִי כַשְׁמֵעַ אֶחָיוֹ אֶת־קוֹל רִגְלֵיהָ בָּאָה בַּפֶּתַח וַיֹּאמֶר: בָּאִי...  
בָּאִי.

2) The second level is the reported speech addressed to Jeroboam's wife (which runs through to v. 16), comprising at this point four clauses, the last of which has the message for Jeroboam as its object (vv. 6b-7a): בָּאִי אִשְׁתׁ יִרְבֵּעָם לָמָּה זֶה אַתְּ מִתְנַבֵּרָה וְאַנְכִי שְׁלוֹחַ אֵלֶיךָ קָשָׁה: לִכִּי אֹמְרִי לִירְבֵּעָם...

3) This is the content of the reported speech to be addressed to Jeroboam, which itself introduces the message of Yahweh. Here there is the simple verb-subject-object, in which the object is yet again reported speech: כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה...  
כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה.

4) The word of Yahweh itself, which runs through vv. 7-11, with a rather complex structure containing a long subordinate construction running to the end of v. 9 before the main clause comes into play.

On the basic criterion of syntax and sentence production, this divine message is once again mediated through four levels, being reported speech within reported speech within reported speech which is the object of the main clause. Some non-syntactical features add to the number of levels: Jeroboam's nameless wife acts as the mediator between prophet and king (yet once again there is a narrative foreshortening in which the message is never delivered to Jeroboam but its consequences follow in part); there is an attempted concealment by Jeroboam's wife as well as a blindness on the part of Ahijah, both of which must be overcome before the message may be passed on; Ahijah bolsters his own presence beyond being a mere delivery person by adding to the divine oracle his own notes (vv. 12-16), which thereby strengthens his position in the mediatory chain and enlarges the distance between Yahweh's word and its intended recipient. Thus, two other levels may be included in the four syntactical levels and one of those syntactical levels is strengthened. If anything, the distance to Yahweh's word is increasing.

It may be objected to this argument that the distance to Yahweh is countered by the direct address of Yahweh to Ahijah in 14:5, and at a first glance this appears to be the case. However, the lack of syntactical mediation -- Yahweh's word is the object of the main clause -- is foiled by the curious closing of the divine speech: כֹּה וְכֹה תִדְבֹּר אֵלַיָּה (14:5; compare τὰ αὐτὰ [=ταῦτα] καὶ ταῦτα in 3 Reigns 12:24r; so Debus:63). This abbreviation would seem to be a narrative device for avoiding the repetition of the divine word in 14:7-11, yet it immediately places the direct or reported speech in an odd situation, being somewhere half-way between

direct and indirect speech. Two further points weaken the unmediated speech of Yahweh: it is a means of overcoming the block created by the disguise of Jeroboam's wife and Ahijah's blindness<sup>77</sup> and thus forms part of the larger mediatory schema; it is a flashback (signified by the inversion of verb and subject at the beginning of the verse) and is thus removed from the immediate narrative action which concerns the travel of Jeroboam's wife to Shiloh.

To sum up, with regard to no more than sentence production, after Solomon the communication of divine speech is mediated through a number of levels between that word itself and its intended recipient. These syntactical levels may be expanded by the addition of other considerations such as the circumstantial sentences and clauses (11:29-30; 12:21; 14:1-6a, but especially 6a) which provide the setting for the delivery of the word of Yahweh, the presence of the narrator and the reader as further levels, and finally the point that the word of Yahweh is at one remove from the divine figure who utters that word.

In order to specify the direction the figuration of sentence production should move, it is necessary to recall Jameson's assumption that formal, structural and linguistic invention constitutes the aesthetic response to an altered socio-economic situation, providing raw material of a social, psychological and physical nature (see 1988h:50). I will therefore suggest that the linguistic change from direct divine address to Solomon to a heavily mediated delivery of the word of Yahweh to subsequent royal figures suggests a struggle between the localized version of the AMP which, according to the story itself, reached its peak in Solomon (see Hauer; Younger) and the properly functional AMP of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires, which literally crashed in to dominate life in Israel after 722 BCE and Judah in 587 BCE. More specifically, this figurative change contrasts a much more accessible divine figure who is tied up with the local monarch with the structure of communication in a large bureaucratic system in which there are many steps or levels between the powerful figure at the top who pronounces the message and its intended recipients, among whom may be counted the kings formerly addressed directly (see Wittfogel:301-368 on the

<sup>77</sup>This would seem to be narrative overkill: why the disguise if he is blind? and vice versa. Perhaps because disguise is condemned elsewhere as a royal action (so Coggin).

complexities of class and especially bureaucracy -- 365-368 -- in the AMP).<sup>78</sup>

Such a proposal relies upon a sentence analysis whose limitations are obvious, particularly the need for a much wider sample in order to investigate the nature of divine speech. I have presented figuration by means of sentence production as a sample of what may be possible in the biblical text. However, if conclusions at this level relied merely upon the argument of sentence production then their basis would be quite thin. It is therefore necessary to reinforce and also complete this conclusion based upon formal or linguistic features by means of a number of steps relating to the conceptual or ideological construct of the prophetic organization of the text. On this ideological ground I feel more comfortable. Firstly, the ideologeme of this dominant form of organization, as well as of the authorial commentary, was identified as historical determinism, or the nature of Yahweh's involvement in and control over human affairs. The whole problem of historical determinism is characterized by a profound questioning and reassessment of the workings of the divine, which appear much more arbitrary and mysterious, producing uncertainty and perplexity, than with the comfortable divine sanction of the monarchy. There is both an incorporation of subversive critique of the perception of the divine and a removal of Yahweh from direct contact with the king: the king now becomes subject to swings in the deity's favour or disfavour.

Secondly, Yahweh remains the focus of the ideologeme of historical determinism, as well as of the narrative control and ideological closure of the texts noted in the first horizon. The connection which needs to be made is that the heavily layered access to Yahweh (linguistic feature) and mystery of Yahweh's workings (ideological feature) suggests the despot around whom a properly functioning AMP centres itself; in this case that is most likely to be the emperor of the Babylonian, and later Persian, empire. In other words, the way in which the divine is now conceptualized is in terms of the inscrutable and arbitrary despot in charge of the empire. It was noted earlier in the discussion of the figuration of the regnal formulae that the despot of "oriental despotism" functions as the centripetal force of the AMP, and that this ruler is often depicted as either a close relative of the deity or as the deity itself. The words of Melotti are even more applicable

<sup>78</sup> Brettler's study of the "God is King" metaphor -- the dominant way in which God is understood in the Hebrew Bible -- is disappointing on two counts: it deals only with the content of statements which express the metaphor and it omits the issue of the king and foreign affairs.

to the Babylonian or Persian emperor: "[t]he whole ideology of the system owes its shape to the prominent role played in Asiatic society by the person at the summit of the political pyramid" (Melott:70). The conceptual raw material for a reassessment of the role of Yahweh is therefore provided by the proper AMP of the Mesopotamian empires. The figure of the deity and the emperor fuse into one as is the case with a fully operational AMP; or, to use a different terminology, the despot becomes the focus of a wholesale libidinal investment, for upon this figure depends fertility and growth, food and prosperity, even life itself. The despot -- emperor and deity -- is thus a collective projection of desire. With such a fusion it becomes clear why religion is the cultural dominant of the AMP.<sup>79</sup>

### 5.3. Contradictions in the Base: Dominant and Subordinate Modes of Production

There was, however, a difference in the sentence production between Yahweh's communication with Solomon and that of subsequent kings; the elevated role of Solomon echoes the royal ideology with which the regnal formulae resonate. There is, in other words, a tension or contradiction in this text between an elevated role for the local despot -- Solomon -- and a lower perception of the king -- successors in north and south -- in relation to the supreme despot Yahweh. This is the place to call upon the notion of cultural revolution, which is constituted in this instance by the conflict between a royal ideology centred on Israel/Judah and that of historical determinism which takes as its focus the Babylonian empire. For Jameson, cultural revolution acts as an indicator of a struggle between modes of production; here the clash would seem to be between the weaker form of the AMP in Israel/Judah and the full AMP of Mesopotamia. This tension or clash is indicated by a number of elements in the preceding discussion: the tension between the focus on kings and kingship in the regnal formulae and the seemingly endless succession of kings which pointed to a wider perspective; the breakdown of national allegory in 1 Kings 13 before the intrusion of nature as a figure for a larger reality; the difference between direct divine address to Solomon and mediated divine address to other royal

<sup>79</sup>These connections between Yahweh and ways of the Mesopotamian empires provide more content to Brueggemann's suggestion (1991) that the conceptualization of Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible depends in part upon the nature of the Babylonian empire; my argument suggests, however, that the Israelite appropriation is not as clearly subversive as Brueggemann would like.

figures; and the subordinate position in the narrative structure of royal ideology and regnal formulae over against the dominant place of prophetic organization and historical determinism.

Indeed, such a contradiction between local and imperial would seem to be endemic to the AMP as such. It is basically a problem of size: the AMP needs to be large to operate effectively, but such size means that there is an inherent tendency for those areas distant from the central administration to break away and form semi-independent political units. This means two things: to remain effective, the AMP must operate a mobile army able to keep wayward groups in place; second, the smaller states tended to replicate the structure of the AMP. They were generally too small and therefore had a tendency to collapse back into the larger structure, unless there were some other sources of revenue, such as trade levies or conquest. The AMP therefore had as its fundamental contradiction a tension between centrifugal and centripetal forces. Such tension may be exhibited in those whose function arose within the AMP, such as tax-farmers, money-lenders and merchants,<sup>80</sup> or with formerly independent states which were incorporated into the system while some form of native government remained intact. In the latter case, the appointed ruler would ensure the collection of tribute, but would always be tempted to make a break for independence, especially if a collection of such units broke together. This tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces is that which is inscribed in our text.

It is now possible to elaborate the point made a little earlier -- in the discussion of the Deuteronomist as ideologue -- that the profoundly religious nature of this text is a sign that its essential nature is ruling class ideology. That is to say, in the light of historical events and in the consideration of deeply subversive questions concerning the older royal ideology, this text is part of a comprehensive reconstruction of a ruling class ideology in which historical determinism and the perception of Yahweh as

<sup>80</sup>On the basis of material by Islamoğlu and Keyder, and Krader, Jobling (1992b:17-18) specifies the centrifugal dangers in terms of money-lenders, merchants, and tax-farmers: all three could operate at a distance from the central administration, the money-lender by lending to peasants in outlying areas and gaining forfeited land, the merchant by trading within and without the reach of the state, thus acquiring assets beyond the state, and the tax-farmer through collecting the taxes from fringe areas. Gottwald (1985:14-16) describes this problem as the limited accumulation of private property, which if it went unchecked, undermined the AMP by placing excessive burdens of the village production units and by diverting funds from state revenue. "Reforms" were therefore occasionally brought in to control such developments. The essential point here is that the activities of the merchant, money-lender and tax-farmer had a tendency, especially when there was the combination of two or more roles in the one figure, to establish semi-independent fiefdoms on the fringes of a particular AMP.

an oriental despot form the basic material of that new ideological construct. The Deuteronomist as ideologue has therefore used the new raw materials of the empire to recast the old materials and thus serve to retrain the Judean ruling class in exile for its new role.

I have argued for the overlap of two forms of the AMP, which is itself a result of a fundamental tension within the AMP. However, given Jameson's insistence on the notion of the non-synchronous development of modes of production, it may be possible to find traces of the sign systems of other modes of production in 1 Kings 11-14. I will suggest briefly that a repressive feature of tribal society (hunting and gathering mode of production) and a utopian feature of hierarchical kinship societies (neolithic agriculture as mode of production) are expressed in this text. Firstly, patriarchy, as a product of the oldest mode of production -- hunting and gathering -- and replicated in subsequent forms, runs strongly through the text: the naming of the king's mother acts to control the female figure in the monarchy (14:21, 31) and thus specify the paternity of the son who succeeds the father; the advisory power in chapter 12 is controlled by male elders and young men; Jeroboam's wife remains nameless and without speech, is given orders by the introspective and retiring Jeroboam, is reprimanded by Ahijah, must be disguised, acts as a beast of burden while travelling alone, and then must hear the prophecy of the doom of her husband's power and the death of a child.

The hierarchical kinship society is suggested by the generational terms in which the contest between Rehoboam and the people is staged in 12:1-20, for the cultural dominant of this mode of production is kinship. It is also from this material that the most utopian note comes: the saying of the people in 12:16 as they break away from Rehoboam gives voice to a utopian vision of Israelite life without the necessity of a king. This vision is expressed in terms of a return to existence as kinship groups in which no group, including that of Jesse, has any reason for dominance over the others, and even a turn to a more mobile existence of dwelling in tents characteristic of the tribal society of hunters and gatherers. Here there would indeed seem to be a trace of Gottwald's "communitarian" mode of production in opposition to the AMP or "tributarian" mode: the people reject the forced labour which is a characteristic form of the appropriation of surplus labour -- i.e. as rent in labour which is the most basic type of rent -- in the AMP (see Bailey and Llobera:32-33, on Marx in Capital vol. III).

Whereas this utopian saying belongs to the exploited people who wish to be rid of the *corvée*, the ruling class ideology which dominates this text also has its utopian dimension. It comes, however, from a curious quarter: the other AMP in the ancient Near East, Egypt. In 1 Kings 11-14 Egypt has a very positive image: it is the place of refuge and help for divinely ordained rebels against Solomon, such as Hadad and Jeroboam (11:18-22, 40; 12:2), a place difficult to leave because life is so good there (11:22; see also 12:2), the source of wives (11:1, 19-20), and its Pharaoh may even act as an agent of divine chastisement (14:25-28). Although it was often in conflict with the Mesopotamian empires, Egypt operated under the same mode of production. The utopian images projected upon Egypt may therefore be regarded as a utopian vision of the AMP and more specifically as displaced utopian hopes for Babylon itself.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

After situating this study in terms of metacommentary I have followed the three levels, phases or horizons of Jameson's approach. In the first phase -- that of the individual text as an imaginary and formal resolution to an ideological antinomy which is itself the result of a contradiction in detailed history -- the two major structural features of prophetic organization and regnal formulaic frames were identified. Two minor features, whose functions were derivative of the other two, were the placement of chapter 13 at the climax of the account and narratorial commentary interspersed throughout the text. The dominant structure to which the two minor features primarily relate is that of prophetic organization, and its specific antinomy hinges on the reliability or trustworthiness of the word of Yahweh. It is impossible to locate the specific historical contradiction which constitutes the situation or base on this first horizon, although it was pointed out that a certain amount of historical criticism operates with such specific historicity in mind.

For the second phase -- that of ideology and class -- it was argued that while there was a strong presence of the minimal ideological unit, or ideologeme, of the monarchy (also termed royal ideology), the dominant ideologeme was that associated with the prophetic organization; namely the role of the deity in human affairs, or, to give it a specific title, historical determinism. It was suggested that both are ruling class ideologies, the ideologeme of monarchy coming from an established ruling class (with specific resonances of a scribal or intellectual class fraction), whereas the

ideologeme of historical determinism is that of the more complex situation of a ruling class that has been de-classed, or removed from power. The other side of the ruling class is that which is exploited and ruled over: although a significant amount of subversive material from such a class group has been included in the text, it has been neutralized and become part of the new ruling class ideology. Most concerns criticism of the monarchy, but some also deals with the causes of the division of the kingship, suggesting that the dispute over the forced labour was as much to blame as anything else. Finally, on this level a national allegory was located in 1 Kings 13.

On the final level -- that of the ideology of form, figuration and modes of production -- I concluded that the literary self-consciousness and focus on the monarch, both characteristics of the regnal formulae, pointed towards certain features of a localized and weaker form of the Asiatic mode of production. However, through their very nature as repetitive formulae they also hinted at something beyond the local scene. This tension between parochial and universal was reinforced by the formal and conceptual elements of the prophetic organization of the narrative. The formal level concerned delivery modes of the word of Yahweh: the contrast between the direct address to Solomon and the syntactical layers between word and recipient for subsequent kings acts as the linguistic figuration of the contest and transition from the weaker form of the Asiatic mode of production in Palestine and the fully operational Asiatic mode of production of the Babylonian and Persian empire. I argued that this was reinforced by the relationship between the oriental despot and the newer perception of Yahweh in the ideological unit of historical determinism. Such a contradiction between centrifugal and centripetal forces was found to be constitutive of the Asiatic mode of production. Echoes of the hunter-gatherer and neolithic agricultural modes of production were also suggested, along with a utopian expression of the people and the ruling class utopian image of the Asiatic mode of production focused on Egypt as the ideal place.

In this chapter then I have sought to identify and then understand various items in the texts in line with Jameson's theory of reading. Although Jameson's theory makes them interesting and significant, the text does yield up these elements for analysis. Some of my suggestions are of course weaker than others, and all of them need to be elaborated further, but overall it would seem possible to read the Bible in the light of Jameson's textual theory.



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Chapter 3  
3 REIGNS 11-14 AND 2 CHRONICLES 10-13:  
DECENTRED AND UTOPIAN POLITICS

1. Introduction

While the discussion of 1 Kings 11-14 was able to function to a certain degree in isolation, the analysis of the remaining two texts -- 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 -- will be comparative. The reasons are quite objective: the Greek text is a translation and the Chronicles text provides sufficient evidence that it knows of 1 Kings 11-14. The basic story -- the division of the kingdom of Israel -- is the same, but there are substantial differences in the way the story is told in all three texts. The main purpose of this chapter, then, is to explore, by means of Jameson's approaches, the reasons for the similarities and differences between the base text of 1 Kings 11-14 and the two interpretations of that text in Reigns and Chronicles.

The following analysis will deal with 3 Reigns 11-14 first and then 2 Chronicles 10-13. The approach will be similar to chapter two: a section on metacommentary will precede an analysis in terms of the three-fold Marxist method proposed by Jameson with some modification for use on the Bible. Both the Reigns and Chronicles texts are included in this chapter for a couple of reasons. Firstly, much of the groundwork has been completed in the study of 1 Kings 11-14: it therefore does not require repeating. Secondly, as will become apparent in the subsequent analysis, these texts have a sufficient number of common features to suggest that they ought to share the same chapter space.

Before moving onto the more detailed discussion of the texts, the nature of the material resources must be specified. Of the two main texts of the Septuagint -- Alexandrinus (A) and Vaticanus (B) -- the choice for this analysis is the latter (designated LXX<sup>B</sup>). There need not necessarily be any explanation given for this choice, but it may be strengthened by the observation that LXX<sup>B</sup> is generally regarded as the best witness to the "Old Greek"<sup>1</sup> translation (of 1Kgs 2:12-21:29 and 2Kgs 1:18a-d), and by the fact

<sup>1</sup> The Old Greek (OG) is generally understood to be the oldest; following this are the proto-Lucian mss which are close to OG and are sometimes regarded as witnesses to OG itself, and the later Lucianic mss which are closer to the MT (the mss for both types of Lucianic texts are the minuscules b, o, c<sub>2</sub>, e<sub>2</sub>). Third in line is the Kaige Recension, which provides the remainder of the text for 3-4 Reigns in LXX<sup>B</sup> and which is closer to the MT. Finally there is the Hexapla material (see Green:168).

that LXX<sup>B</sup> is the base text of the Cambridge edition (Brooke, McLean and Thackeray; Kings has not as yet appeared in the Göttingen edition). A very different reason for the choice of LXX<sup>B</sup> lies in the dialectical interest in that which differs, for LXX<sup>A</sup> hugs the MT quite closely, while LXX<sup>B</sup> often moves away on its own, most notably in the Solomon material immediately preceding and in the stretch of text under analysis here. Whether LXX<sup>B</sup> is a translation of the same Hebrew text (MT) which lies behind LXX<sup>A</sup> or of another textual tradition, either a variant of MT or another tradition entirely, does not directly affect the following discussion. While other textual witnesses will be noted if warranted in the discussion, the focus will remain on LXX<sup>B</sup>. There is no need to elaborate on the MT of Chronicles.

## 2. 3 Reigns 11-14: Metacommentary

In contrast to the wide disciplinary representation in studies of 1 Kings 11-14, a metacommentary of 3 Reigns 11-14 reveals a much more restricted disciplinary range, being limited to textual criticism and some minimal historical critical work. As far as text criticism is concerned, attention is directed towards producing the original Hebrew text of the account, or at least the earliest and best possible version of the text (Trebolle; Gooding 1967 and 1972; Gordon; Klein 1970 and 1973; Montgomery; Seebass 1967), while the more complete works attempt to account for the present state of the text through hypotheses concerning complex textual transmission (McKenzie 1987 and 1991; Willis). Such discussions sometimes use their space debating the relative merits of the MT over against the LXX (see below).

Although the focus of most text-critical work is on the MT -- and on such a basis this metacommentary may easily belong to the previous chapter -- with relatively little attention being given to the value of the LXX in its own right, the reason for locating this discussion here is that when it is exercised properly the activity of textual criticism is comparative, a trait which will be characteristic of the following discussion. Thus, the studies noted for this metacommentary section compare at least the MT and LXX for 1 Kings/3 Reigns 11-14, while many include the equivalent Chronicles section (2 Chronicles 10-13). However, text critical work on these texts has tended to be restricted to two major problems: the first concerning the disruptions in both the MT and LXX of 1Kgs/3 Reigns 11:43-12:3 and the associated 12:12, 20; the second being the nature of the large addition in 3 Reigns 12:24a-z. In the first case efforts are made to reconstruct the textual

development which will account for the current problems, normally with the assistance of 2Chr 9:29-10:3 (Gooding 1967 and 1972; Gray:300-1; Klein 1970 and 1973; McKenzie 1987; 1991:47-51; Montgomery; Nielsen; Willis) and sometimes with the material in 3 Reigns 12:24a-z (Seebass 1967), specifically vv. 24b-dfp (thus Treballe:14-19). This textual problem is often posed in terms of its content: was Jeroboam at Shechem or not? Presented in this way, textual criticism opens up questions of political interest and bias -- if Jeroboam was at Shechem he is more directly responsible for the breakup of the kingdom and vice versa -- which will be of interest in my own discussion.

In the second case, attention has been directed towards the additional version of Jeroboam's rise to power in LXX<sup>B</sup> (3 Reigns 12:24a-z). To my mind this is a crucial concern and will be developed in the following analysis, but the debate has unfortunately introduced an ethical opposition of good and evil, asking whether 3 Reigns 12:24a-z presents a positive (Aberbach and Smolar 1969) or negative (Gooding 1967 and 1972; Montgomery:239 ["perverted story"], 250-4; see further references to earlier opinions in Gordon:368-372; McKenzie 1991:27-29; and Montgomery:252-3) picture of Jeroboam in comparison to the other account in the LXX and that in the MT. Gordon (374) suggests the obvious: there are elements of both opinions to be found; while McKenzie (1991:27-40) avoids value assessments and argues that 12:24a-z is a later story drawing upon motifs from the MT. Gray (311) argues that the ambiguities are due to its northern origin and then subsequent working over in a less sympathetic manner by a southern editor. However, apart from the effort of Debus to uncover "die unheilsgeschichte Israels" no attempt is made to sort out the ideological and political ramifications of such vilifying or complimentary depictions. Also of interest are the insights which opposed interpretations give to the political sympathies of the commentators themselves: these hinge around the perceived legitimacy or otherwise of rebellion against established authority. At times ethical assessment extends to the texts, either attributing the MT with a more ancient, sober and balanced presentation and the LXX in general with waywardness (Gooding 1967 and 1972; Gordon; Green 1983; Nielsen:171-172), or granting the LXX greater veracity and purity over against a corrupted MT (Gray; Montgomery:23; Klein 1970 and 1973). Others see the merits and demerits of each version (Aberbach and Smolar 1969; see also the survey in Debus:68-80).

There is little use in such virtues and vices unless they are intended to move towards historical critical questions, yet most of the studies touch

only lightly on questions of source, form<sup>2</sup> and redaction. A few writers have attempted to sustain a source critical and more extensive historical critical analysis (Debus; McKenzie 1987 and 1991; Seebass 1967), while Treballe (1982) has argued for the combination of textual and historical criticism, or more specifically redaction criticism. The normal final purpose of historical criticism -- historical reconstruction -- is evidenced at points where historical reliability is an issue (Debus:80-90; Gray; Gordon; Green 1983; Seebass 1967). Often historical reliability or the lack thereof becomes an opportunity to extend ethical assessments beyond the areas of the tone of certain passages and the value of different versions to the arena of history (see the references in Gordon:368-372). Jameson's strictures against ethical criticism apply here as well (PU:59-60, 114-117).

To conclude: this metacommentary is quite brief, due to the paucity of studies including the LXX<sup>B</sup> material and to the limited methodological range of those studies. Although some of the areas of interest in these studies will be taken up in the following discussion -- the comparative nature of the discipline of textual criticism, the importance for the narrative of the disrupted texts, and the significance of the intrusion of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z -- the greater development must take place in areas suggested and entirely neglected by the studies noted. Thus, the political importance of Jeroboam's absence or presence in the narrative and of the various assessments of him in the different versions will need to be pursued more insistently. Similarly, the desire of Treballe to cover a wider disciplinary range must be extended to include questions from newer literary and social science approaches. It is here that Jameson's comprehensiveness will be of value.

### 3. 3 Reigns 11-14: First Horizon

It will be recalled that the first horizon is concerned with the text itself, specifically in its capacity as a formal and imaginary resolution of a real historical contradiction, mediated through ideological antinomy and closure. As in the previous chapter, the following analysis distinguishes between questions affecting the superstructure and those concerning the base or infrastructure.

<sup>2</sup> Gooding (1967:189) describes the LXX versions of Rehoboam's rise as "Rabbinic" and "homiletic." Gordon (369), as does Montgomery (260), speaks of a "midrash" in 12:24a-z, following the original designation by Kittel.

### 3.1. Superstructure: Formal Disruption

I begin with the superstructural question of the formal and structural features of the text. In the study of 1 Kings 11-14 it was argued that a struggle over the structural control of those chapters was being fought between the regnal formulae and prophetic organization, with the latter exercising a reasonably clear dominance. Two other lesser structures were identified -- commentary and the insertion of chapter 13 -- but their subsidiary status was indicated by their subsumption under the structural and ideological sway of the prophetic organization (although both features pushed at the boundaries of that form of narrative organization). The first task here, then, is to investigate the fortunes in 3 Reigns 11-14 of these structural features of 1 Kings 11-14.

#### 3.1.1. Textual Forms from 1 Kings 11-14

As far as the prophetic organization is concerned, its comfortable dominance has been considerably eroded. Most noticeably, Ahijah's interventions no longer enclose a narrative unit which in 1 Kings 11-14 exercised a strong gravitational force upon narrative elements, displacing them from their more expected location (expectations built upon the remainder of 1-2 Kings). In LXX<sup>B</sup> Ahijah's first encounter with, and delivery of sign and word of Yahweh to, Jeroboam is in the same location as in the MT<sup>3</sup>, but the second Ahijah episode, in which the nameless wife of Jeroboam receives the prophet's message, has been excised. There are, however, some signs of its passing, although these serve only to enhance the disruption already introduced. In the additional section of the LXX<sup>B</sup> text -- 3 Reigns 12:24a-z -- an account which echoes the disappeared 14:1-20 is located (12:24g-n): here Jeroboam's wife, now with the name of Anō ('Ανώ) and an origin in the court of Pharaoh in Egypt, is sent off to inquire

<sup>3</sup> There are some signs of alteration even here: 11:39 as a concluding note reiterating the mitigated punishment of David is omitted, perhaps as a sign of other omissions to follow. Other changes to 11:29-39 concern the correction of the addition problem in the MT: vv. 32 and 36 in LXX<sup>B</sup> get the tribe (and coat piece) numbers correct: ten to Jeroboam and two left for the house of David, as opposed to one in the MT out of twelve to be apportioned (yet there is a conflict between the *σκήπτρον ἐν* in Yahweh's speech in v. 13 and the *δύο σκήπτρα* of v. 32). Further, v. 33 in LXX<sup>B</sup> changes the verbs ostensibly referring to Solomon -- *עָשָׂה, וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, וַיִּלְכֹּד* -- from plural to singular -- *κατέλιπεν, ἐποίησεν, and ἐπορεύθη*.

of Ahijah concerning the fate of their son (born in Egypt). As much narrative space is given over to the gifts Ano is to bring to Ahijah (12:24h-i, 1α) as to the message itself, which is severely curtailed (12:24lβ-m). The interest in this episode is in its structural function: it appears not to close the unit on Jeroboam, whether that unit is understood to be 12:24a-z, where it comes as the middle episode out of seven, after the return from Egypt and before the encounter with Jeroboam at Shechem<sup>4</sup>, or whether the unit is regarded as 3 Reigns 11-14 as a whole, where the episode between Ahijah and Jeroboam's wife comes a long way from the end. In this larger stretch of LXX<sup>B</sup> text the last activities of Jeroboam are his building and cultic projects (12:25-33) and the condemnation by the man of God in 13:1-10.

3 Reigns 11-14 does not therefore possess the strong narrative organizational feature of Ahijah's opening and closing addresses which encase the material concerning Jeroboam in the MT.<sup>5</sup> These chapters of LXX<sup>B</sup> do, however, press the condemnation of Jeroboam in 13:1-10 into service as a refunctioned closure to the reign of Jeroboam; yet there is none of the tight balance of the MT account. In effect, the LXX<sup>B</sup> version has opened up and disrupted what was formerly a structurally self-contained unit.

Further structural breakdown takes place with the role of Shemaiah (Σαμαΐας), the second prophetic figure to appear in 1 Kings 11-14. Shemaiah makes three appearances: in 3 Reigns 12:21-24, which is a direct translation of 1Kgs 12:21-24,<sup>6</sup> he ensures that the narrative adheres to the directives given by Ahijah a little earlier. In other words, his intervention achieves the same result as in the Kings passage. However, there are some significant modifications with his second appearance, whose occurrence in the additional material of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z is worth noting. In 12:24a

<sup>4</sup> Thus, as noted by McKenzie (1991:29), the child becomes ill upon returning from Egypt, rather than as an outcome of Jeroboam's increasing apostasy as is indicated by the MT's placement of the episode in 14:1-20 after the condemnation in 13:1-10, and especially after the commentary in 13:34 which indicates the approaching end of the house of Jeroboam.

<sup>5</sup> It might be possible to argue that the appearance, albeit in altered form, of the second Ahijah episode in 12:24a-z allows its departure from what was 14:1-20. Conversely, McKenzie (1991:39) argues that 12:24a-z was added in LXX<sup>B</sup> to provide the story of the sick child. The problem with both arguments is that they do not account for the presence of other episodes in 12:24a-z.

<sup>6</sup> There is a slight difference in the translation of 12:21: LXX<sup>B</sup> has 120,000 (ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι χιλιάδες) troops mustering for war with Israel, while MT (and LXX<sup>A</sup>) has 180,000 (מֵאָה וְשָׁמֹנֶיִם אֲלָף).

Shemaiah is inserted within developments at Shechem concerning the succession to the throne (in 12:21-24 his activity is restricted to Jerusalem): a word of the Lord (λόγος Κυρίου) comes directing him to take a new, unwashed cloak, tear it into twelve pieces and give them to Jeroboam, to whom a word must be said concerning the ten tribes of Israel. According to 12:24o then Shemaiah has usurped the role of Ahijah in 3 Reigns 11:30-31.<sup>7</sup> There would seem, therefore, to be some fluidity in the attachment of names to prophetic figures in the inserted LXX<sup>B</sup> account: the generic prophet is able to take on a number of guises, for one prophet is like any other (the significance of this will be developed later).

Shemaiah's third appearance closes the material in 12:24a-z: here (12:24x-z) he functions, in words virtually identical to 11:23-25, to prevent Rehoboam from going to war against Jeroboam. Shemaiah therefore appears twice in exactly the same capacity (12:21-24 and 12:24x-z) and once carrying out the task of Ahijah (12:24o). This is almost the narrative equivalent of an identity crisis: repetition of the same task and then a case of mistaken identity. The stereo task -- of opposing Rehoboam -- does fulfill a more specific narrative function, however: the virtually identical wording of the repeated material and the location of the two units before and at the close of 12:24a-z suggests a case of *Wiederaufnahme* or repetitive resumption.<sup>8</sup> This device has normally been located as a feature in the

<sup>7</sup> It is also important to note the differences between 12:24o and 11:30-31: in the former the cloak is to be unwashed and new, twelve pieces are given to Jeroboam, and the whole affair apparently (through narrative placement) takes place before Rehoboam and the people; in the latter, the sign is a very private exchange between Ahijah and Jeroboam in the country outside Jerusalem, the cloak is described merely as new, and ten pieces are given to Jeroboam (the number problem is reflected in 12:24o by the difference between ten and twelve in speech and action).

<sup>8</sup> The texts are as follows (differences highlighted):

12:22-24:

καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος Κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαίαν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων Εἰπὼν τῷ 'Ροβοὰμ υἱῷ Σαλωμών βασιλεῖ 'Ιούδα καὶ πρὸς πάντα οἶκον 'Ιούδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ τῷ καταλοιπῷ τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων Τάδε λέγει Κύριος Οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν υἱῶν 'Ισραὴλ· ἀποστρέφετω ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο. καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου Κυρίου, καὶ κατέπαυσαν τοῦ πορευθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου.

12:24y-z:

καὶ ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαίαν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Εἰπὼν τῷ 'Ροβοὰμ βασιλεῖ 'Ιούδα καὶ πρὸς πάντα οἶκον 'Ιούδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατάλειμμα τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων Τάδε λέγει Κύριος Οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν υἱοὺς 'Ισραὴλ· ἀναστρέφετε ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο. καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου Κυρίου, καὶ ἀνέσχον τοῦ πορευθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου.

The other material in 12:24a-z avoids such direct repetition of the surrounding material, moving more in the realms of echo and allusion and thus maintaining some distance.

MT; here it appears as a device used by the LXX independent of the MT. More importantly, *Wiederaufnahme* is a narrative mechanism signalling an insertion into the text; which would suggest, therefore, that 12:24a-z is a conscious insertion into an already existing narrative space. This is very important for the subsequent argument regarding 3 Reigns 11-14.

Although its significance also lies later in the discussion, one further feature of the prophetic organization to be noted here is the diminution of direct prophetic oracle in 12:24a-z. In the case of Ahijah in 12:24y-z and Shemaiah/Ahijah in 12:24o, the speech is reduced considerably from the comparable sections in 1Kgs 14:6-16 and 1Kgs 11:31-39 / 3 Reigns 11:31-38. Only the *Wiederaufnahme* in 12:24y-z is the same length as 1 Kings/3 Reigns 12:22-24, but this pronouncement was short to begin with.

In sum, the prophetic organization of the LXX<sup>B</sup> translation of 1 Kings 11-14 has been significantly disrupted by the omission of 14:1-20 -- breaking open the tight closure of the Jeroboam material -- and by the insertion of 12:24a-z -- contributing to the formal disclosure and providing slippage in prophetic identity and reduced verbal activity by the prophets. Given the disruption of the prophetic organization, it will be of interest to see what happens to the regnal formulae.

While the regnal formulae in 1 Kings 11-14 suffered some structural distension due to the dominant prophetic organization, in 3 Reigns 11-14 there is much greater disturbance of the formulae. Apart from minor changes and corrections only the final formulae concerning Rehoboam (14:21-24, 29-31) come through largely intact, yet even the first of these -- the introductory formulae for Rehoboam -- is affected by changes elsewhere. As for the other formulae, the close of Solomon's reign in 11:41-43 has an addition in v. 43; 12:24a is an addition to the formulaic stock; and 14:19-20, dealing with the close of Jeroboam's reign, is omitted along with 14:1-18.

I begin with the first group of regnal formulae in these chapters (11:41-43): here vv. 41-42 follow the MT quite closely<sup>9</sup> until a substantial addition appears in v. 43, marked by a second example of *Wiederaufnahme* peculiar to LXX<sup>B</sup> (καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Σαλωμών μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ... καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ). In the midst of

<sup>9</sup> Except for the addition of *πάσαν* before *τὴν φρόνησιν* in v. 41, and the omission of an equivalent for *לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל* in v. 42 (LXX<sup>A</sup> has *ἐπὶ πάντα ἰσλ*).



Solomon's death notice, Jeroboam's move from Egypt to his home town of Sareira in Ephraim is noted: *καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἱεροβοὰμ υἱὸς Ναβάτ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὡς ἔφυγεν ἐκ προσώπου Σαλωμών καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, κατευθύνειν καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν Σαρειρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραίμ.* The impact of this addition is enhanced by the nature of the surrounding material as formulae, for the addition itself is not formulaic by the criteria established in the MT of Kings. Under normal circumstances alterations in the regnal formulae -- addition, omission and replacement -- are kept within certain bounds. Such controlled variation takes the form of slots which are filled, mostly with names and places, and of the selection of various stock formulae which comprise the fine situational tuning of a formulaic base. The addition in 3 Reigns 11:43 neither fills a vacant slot nor does it appear to be drawn from a storehouse of formulae. It therefore constitutes an interruption, crashing into the domain of the regnal formulae themselves. This would suggest that the formulae have lost something of their original function, becoming brittle and susceptible to interference.<sup>10</sup>

While 3 Reigns 14:21-24 and 29-31 (both concerning Rehoboam) remain relatively free from interference, the formulae in 14:19-20 (on Jeroboam) have suffered the ultimate interference by being removed from the narrative. This removal does, however, enable a new pattern to emerge, based upon 12:24a. At a first impression this verse presents a conventional collection of regnal formulae, intimating the death of Solomon and accession of Rehoboam. Three observations need to be made for my argument. Firstly, the number of formulae used is smaller than normal. Secondly, despite all its formulaic correctness, 12:24a is itself unique among regnal formulae, since it conflates both closing (Solomon) and opening (Rehoboam) formulae. It begins with a basic closure for Solomon: *Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών κοιμᾶται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ῥοβοὰμ υἱὸς*

<sup>10</sup> 3 Reigns 11:43 is also of great interest for textual criticism, for the interruption deals with the same issue as 1Kgs 12:2-3a (which is omitted from LXX<sup>B</sup>), namely, the movements of Jeroboam during the crucial negotiations concerning the future of the kingdom. My argument concerning the formal friction produced by the text of LXX<sup>B</sup> would suggest that this is a later insertion in 11:43, as is agreed by most critics (Gooding 1967 and 1972; Klein 1970:217 and 1973:583; McKenzie 1987; 1991:49; Willis). The contentious question is whether LXX<sup>B</sup>'s omission in 12:2-3a is more authentic or not.

αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ...<sup>11</sup>, and then continues mid-sentence into the conventional features for opening formulae, complete with theological assessment: ... ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, υἱὸς ὢν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν· καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ναανάν, θυγάτηρ Ἀνα υἱοῦ Ναὰς βασιλέως Ἀμμών· καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.<sup>12</sup> It is as though this text has over-compensated for the large gap between the note concerning Solomon in 11:41-43 and that concerning Rehoboam in 14:21-24, going beyond a mere sequential relationship by forming a single syntactical unit. Indeed, the syntactical smoothness of the transition gives no evidence of the normal break between closing and opening formulae, a break signalled by either a space between them -- when there is a struggle over the throne -- or the intervention of a synchronism (after Jeroboam and Rehoboam). Given the similarities between the last formula of a standard close and the formula of succession (after the synchronism) in a standard introduction, and the smoothness with which close and introduction become one seamless unit in 12:24a, it may be possible that originally there was one cluster of regnal formulae dealing with the succession from one monarch to the other as represented in 12:24a. My description would then be back-to-front and should read: an initial formulaic unit has subsequently been separated either by a synchronism or by a concerted struggle for succession. It is, of course, impossible to decide whether 12:24a represents an earlier form (so Trebolle:23) or a later development (so McKenzie 1991:38-39), and the solitary example of this type of formulaic arrangement does not assist in deciding.

<sup>11</sup> Two of the basic formulae of a closing cluster are found here: formal notice of the king's death and place of burial; name and relationship of successor. A third standard formula -- a referral notice to putative sources for further information concerning the king's activities -- is omitted.

<sup>12</sup> The following features from the opening formulae for Judean kings identified in the previous chapter appear:

- b) notification of the accession;
- c) age at accession;
- d) length and location of the reign;
- e) name of the king's mother.

Only the first item -- dating by means of synchronism or cross-reference to the king of Israel -- is missing, but Rehoboam would have no-one to whom such a synchronism might apply (see 14:21).

The two parts of theological assessment indicate that it is a bi type of formulaic group, according to the pattern established in ch. 2. The MT formulae runs as follows: וַיֵּשֶׁב .. הַיְשָׁר/הָרַע בְּצִיָּי יְהוָה [בְּ] ... [דָּוִד אָבִיו]

The third point concerning 12:24a is that it looks back to the previous formulae concerning Solomon (11:43) and foreshadows the subsequent formulae concerning Rehoboam in 14:21-22 (now that 14:19-20 on Jeroboam has been excised). Such an echo provides a new arrangement for the regnal formulae as a narrative organizing device in this stretch of Kings\Reigns:

11:41-43: closing formulae for Solomon  
 12:24a: *echo of Solomon's close, introduction for Rehoboam*  
 14:21-24: introductory formulae for Rehoboam  
 14:29-31: closing formulae for Rehoboam.

As if this interference were not sufficient, the reflection of the other formulae in 12:24a casts doubt over those formulae themselves. While the echo of the Solomon formulae in 11:43 comes close to repetition,<sup>13</sup> and while the formulae for Rehoboam are comparable to those of 14:21-22,<sup>14</sup> the differences lie in the areas of chronology and names. 3 Reigns 14:21-22 follows the MT very closely, except for the name of Rehoboam's mother: Μααχάμ for MT מִיִּזְבִּי. In this case 12:24a with Ναανάν is much closer. The question of LXX names and transliteration is notorious, but of greater interest is the difference in Rehoboam's age of accession -- 16 years according to 12:24a and 41 according to 14:21 (agreeing with MT) -- and length of reign -- 12 years according to 12:24a but 17 years according to 14:21 (as with MT). The LXX has a different chronology for the Kings of Israel and Judah, but in this case it is the addition which short changes Rehoboam while the translation of the MT makes no changes. This tension between insertion and surrounding text adds to the total unsettled picture.

<sup>13</sup> The relevant material in 11:43 is:

καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Σαλωμών μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν πόλει Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ... καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ῥοβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

Compare 12:24a:

Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών κοιμᾶται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυεὶδ· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ῥοβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ...

<sup>14</sup> The relevant section of 14:21-22 reads:

καὶ Ῥοβοὰμ υἱὸς Σαλωμών ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰουδᾶ· υἱὸς τεσσαρᾶκοντα καὶ ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτῶν Ῥοβοὰμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεῦειν αὐτόν· καὶ δέκα ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τῇ πόλει ἣν ἐξελέξατο Κύριος θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μααχάμ Ἀμμανεΐτις. καὶ ἐποίησεν Ῥοβοὰμ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου.

The comparable section of 12:24a reads:

καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ῥοβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, υἱὸς ὦν ἑκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλεῦειν αὐτόν· καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ναανάν, θυγάτηρ Ἀνα υἱοῦ Ναὰς βασιλῆως Ἀμμών· καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Δαυεὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

It would seem therefore that the regnal formulae have undergone disruptions comparable to what was noted above for the prophetic organization of the narrative. Of the remaining two structural devices in 1 Kings 11-14 -- the insertion of chapter 13 and authorial commentary -- it is necessary only to note in regard to the former that it remains relatively untouched; any changes are then due to the upheaval in the surrounding material. The most significant feature of this encompassing upheaval is the insertion of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z which challenges the position of 1 Kings 13 immediately after the climax of the narrative. Indeed, 12:24a-z preempts chapter 13 by following on the heels of the divine sanction of events through the mouth of Shemaiah in 12:21-24, rather than waiting for Jeroboam to consolidate his realm and make some religious mistakes. Not only has chapter 13 been displaced, but to add a further twist, the version of the story in 12:24a-z makes not even the slightest allusion to chapter 13: given the different narrative structure of 12:24a-z, chapter 13 has become redundant.

In regard to authorial commentary the only points which need to be made are, firstly, that the terminology no longer applies in a strict sense -- that is, that the sections identified as commentary in the MT are no longer in LXX<sup>B</sup> commentary by the "author" of the MT -- and, secondly, that 12:24a-z has no commentary of its own. This structural feature has therefore disappeared in any active sense from 3 Reigns 11-14.

To sum up, the structural features identified in 1 Kings 11-14 have undergone some significant modifications in 3 Reigns 11-14. Apart from the insertion of non-formulaic material in 11:43, the major and disruptive features are the addition of 12:24a-z and the omission of 14:1-20. These two combine to break the strong prophetic control of the narrative, upset the pattern of regnal formulae, and issue chapter 13 and authorial commentary their redundancy notices.

### 3.1.2. Textual Forms of 3 Reigns 11-14

Thus far, the question of form has been dealt with from the perspective of the MT; a turn to allowing LXX<sup>B</sup> itself to set the agenda brings us closer to the question of allegory, that is, the modes by which 3 Reigns 11-14 interprets 1 Kings 11-14. The consideration of the fate of the various formal features from 1 Kings 11-14 in 3 Reigns 11-14 has provided examples of each of the four ways in which the latter text deals with material from the former. The four ways are direct translation, rearrangement, addition, and omission.

The particular allegorical concern in this first interpretive horizon is that of formal and structural modification. Thus, while direct translation replicates the formal features of the earlier text, the other ways of dealing with 1 Kings 11-14 constitute the forces of change: rearrangement appears in 11:3-8 (of 1Kgs 11:3-8), 11:14 (of 1Kgs 11:14, 23-25) and the text in 11:43-12:3 (equivalent in 1 Kings); omission is seen in the absence of 1Kgs 11:39, 12:17 and 14:1-20 (the removal of material from 11:23-25 and from 12:2-3a for rearrangement is not included in this category); and addition in 12:24a-z. Indeed, these extensive differences with the MT are characteristic of the first sixteen chapters of 3 Reigns. In this case, 1 Kings/3 Reigns 11-14 form part of a unique and contained stretch of text running through from 3 Reigns 2 to 16.<sup>15</sup> Within these chapters a consistent pattern of disruption emerges, prompting a search for the ideological and political implications of such a disturbance.

Partly due to the positive function of an addition -- it is "there" -- and partly due to its importance as a second version of the Jeroboam account, the following discussion will focus on the relationship between 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative. Apart from the other formal tensions noted above this relationship may be characterized as the fundamental formal contradiction of this passage: it attempts both to resolve a historical and social contradiction and yet shows all too clearly the nature of the con-

<sup>15</sup> Very briefly, the differences may be designated as follows (3 Reigns references given):

2:35a-u, addition: generally on Solomon's wisdom, cultic and building activities.

2:46a-l, addition: more general material on Solomon's reign.

4:17-7:50, rearrangement (including material from outside these chapters in 1Kgs 3:1; 9:16-17) and some omissions: concerning construction of temple.

8:53a: addition of a (generically different) verse: invocation of the sun at close of consecrating prayer for temple.

10:23-33, rearrangement (material from 1 Kings 5, 9, 10): concerned with Solomon's reign - comparable to 2 additions in ch. 2.

11:3-8, rearrangement.

11:14, rearrangement.

11:39, omission.

11:43-12:3a, rearrangement.

12:24a-z, addition.

14:1-20, omission

16: 28a-h, addition: on Josaphat son of Asa, king of Judah (formulaic).

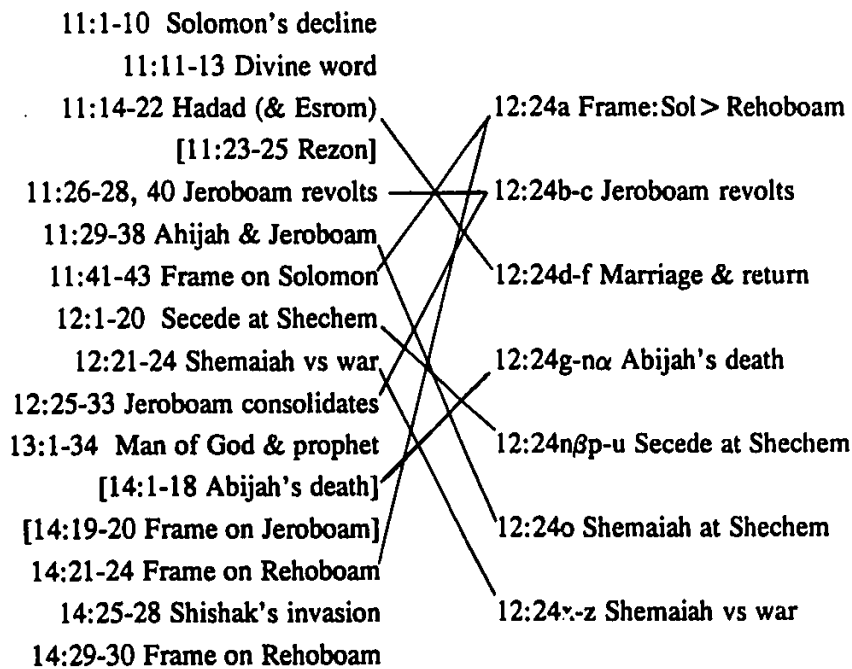
A final rearrangement is found with the inversion of chs 20 and 21. The remainder may be classified as reasonably direct translation. See the detailed table of comparison in DeVries 1985:lx-lxiv. It is significant, however, that apart from 1:18a-d such extensive differences between MT & LXXB are not found in 2 Kings/4 Reigns. The same applies to the texts of Samuel (1-2 Samuel / 1-2 Reigns), except for the omissions of 1Sam 17:12-31 and 17:55-18:5.

tradition itself.<sup>16</sup> Some of the effects of this section on the structures stemming from 1 Kings 11-14 have been covered. A closer look at this addition may operate at two levels: firstly, by an analysis and comparison of the episodes themselves and their organization within 12:24a-z; secondly, by considering the internal micro-structures of each episode (I will be selective in the latter case, due to considerations of space).

On the macro-level of episodal sequence and structure, the addition of 12:24a-z has the effect of destabilizing and restructuring the whole story of chapters 11-14, for nearly every episode from the original account (insofar as it is available to us) appears or is touched on in 12:24a-z yet never (except for 12:21-24 and 12:24x-z) in the same way. An initial impression of the disruption produced by the insertion may be given with a comparison of the various episodes or different units distinguished in terms of content.

### 3 Reigns 11-14

### 3 Reigns 12:24a-z



[ ] indicates absence from LXX<sup>B</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Montgomery is all too aware of the contradictory force of the Greek addition: "[i]n a word the historical tragedy presented in M, the auspicious oracle to Jeroboam and his miserable failure, is utterly contradicted" (266). His response is to belittle the value of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z.

The very presence of what may be described as an alternative side by side with the initial account relativizes that account and foregrounds the question of interpretation and allegory: is there a correct course of events? Is the interpretation more important? What is the political import of such differing interpretations?

While still concerned with the macro-level, the wholesale disarray of the narrative or episodic sequence snaps the carefully made connections of the Deuteronomistic narrative (so also McKenzie 1991:36). Thus, for instance, the narrative pattern of the MT whereby the formal notice of succession only takes place after the description of the struggle for power is not found here; instead, the formal notice of Rehoboam's accession (12:24a) comes before any other action, including the struggle for power. Jeroboam then revolts without the prophetic or divine directives provided in 12:29-38/39. The flight to Egypt follows on the revolt, but on returning home (to Sareira in the hill country of Ephraim), the son born in Egypt, Abijah, dies (12:24g-n). This episode ceases to have the direct narrative link of 1 Kings 14:1-20 where it functions, following chapter 13, as a direct punishment for Jeroboam's sins. Further, it is only after these four episodes that the struggle for the kingdom takes place (12:24n, p-u), and then finally Shemaiah appears in the later stages of the story to speak to Jeroboam (12:24o) and Rehoboam (12:24x-z), thus providing divine sanction for events already complete. 3 Reigns 12:24a-z is thus a unit which focuses on Jeroboam, but it does so without the strong religious closure of 1 Kings 11-14. The difference may be characterized as a shift from essentially religious concerns -- it was, after all, Jeroboam's apostasy which led to his collapse in 1 Kings 11-14 -- to those of a political nature. Thus, a series of political events are narrated which are then supplemented by prophetic involvement. The predominant religious focus of 1 Kings 11-14 has been shunted to the side in a dramatic fashion, even to the extent of leaving Jeroboam's "fall" outside the narrative (it appears in a vague and brief future reference in Ahijah's prophecy of 12:24l-m). I have been straying into the area of ideological closure, but before elaborating on this it is necessary to consider the nature of the episodes themselves.

The differences between 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative also reach into the micro-level of episode structure. The nature of the regnal formulae in 12:24a has already been discussed: the discussion here will restrict itself to Jeroboam's revolt and flight to Egypt (12:24b-f) as an example of internal structure. Once again, a table of comparison is useful to set the scene.

**1 Kings/3 Reigns 11:26-40**

26: Introduction of Jeroboam as third rebel (details of family, occupation and rebellion)

27a: Details of rebellion

27b: Building in the city of David

28a: Jeroboam's industriousness leads to promotion

28b: Position over the forced labour of the tribe of Joseph

29: Meeting with Ahijah

30: Sign of Ahijah's torn garment

31-39: Message from Yahweh delivered by Ahijah

40a: Solomon seeks to kill Jeroboam

40b: flight to קִשְׁטִי in Egypt (see also דָּרָךְ/דָּרָךְ/'Aðəp in 11:17-18

40c: the wait for Solomon's death

**END OF ACCOUNT**

[Compare 1 Kings 12:2 and 3 Reigns 11:43]

[Compare דָּרָךְ/דָּרָךְ/'Aðəp in 11:21]

[Compare דָּרָךְ/דָּרָךְ/'Aðəp in 11:18b and 22a]

[Compare דָּרָךְ/דָּרָךְ/'Aðəp in 11:19]

**3 Reigns 12:24b-f**

24bα: Introduction to Jeroboam -- no set of three rebels (details of family and occupation)

24bβ: Position over the forced labour of the tribe of Joseph

24bγ: Building of fortress of Sareira

24bδ: Building in the city of David

24bε: Note concerning rebellion

[Compare 24o: Shemaiah's torn garment]

[Compare 24o: mention of message from Yahweh by Shemaiah]

24cα: Solomon seeks to kill Jeroboam

24cβ: flight to Σουσακεῖμ in Egypt

24cγ: the wait for Solomon's death

24dα: Jeroboam hears of Solomon's death

24dβ: Request to return

24dγ: Σουσακεῖμ stalls and offers gift

24eα: gift in marriage of Ἀνὼ, relative of senior member of harem.



[Compare 𐤀𐤓𐤕/𐤀𐤓𐤕/ʾAḏēp in 11:20]

24eβ: birth of son Abijah

[Compare 𐤀𐤓𐤕/𐤀𐤓𐤕/ʾAḏēp in 11:22b]

24fα: Second request to return

[Compare 1 Kings 12:2 and 3 Reigns 11:43]

24fβ: Return home to Sareira

24fγ: Jeroboam and family settle down

END OF ACCOUNT

This sample shows differences sprinkled with a few similarities. Sometimes the sequence is the same in the two accounts (introduction and 11:40 and 12:24c concerning the flight to Egypt), and at others it is rearranged (the note about the rebellion in 11:27a and 12:24bα, Jeroboam's professional status in 11:28b and 12:24bβ, and building activity in the city of David in 11:27b and 12:24bδ). Material is also added (building of the fortress at Sareira in 12:24bγ) and omitted (the meeting with and communication from Ahijah in 11:29-39). Perhaps the most interesting are the episodal allusions: thus, Jeroboam's activities in Egypt echo those of Hadad (12:24dβ-24fα and 11:19-22) while the mention of Jeroboam's return (12:24dα and 24fβ) provides an alternative to 1Kgs 12:2-3 and 3 Reigns 11:43. The example of 12:24b-f shows the complexity of the relationship between the material in 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative. In comparison to the surrounding narrative the chosen example follows the same sequence, rearranges it, adds and omits pieces and then draws upon other episodes in the construction of the one under consideration.

In sum, on both macro- and micro-levels 3 Reigns 12:24a-z generate a host of problems in relationship to the remainder of chapters 11-14. There is an oscillating balance of similarity and difference between 12:24a-z and its textual context. This is the fundamental formal contradiction of 3 Reigns 11-14.

### 3.2. Ideological Closure and Antinomy

The discussion of the superstructural dimension of the first horizon is now complete and it would seem that the second outing into the first horizon of Jameson's approach has thus far been quite fruitful. However, as in the analysis of 1 Kings 11-14, the intricacies of form in the text give

way to the realm of ideological closure and antinomy. In that text, the two major forms of ideological closure were supplied by the royal ideology of the regnal formulae and the theological closure of the prophetic organization. The basic antinomy was identified as the problem of the un/reliability of the word of Yahweh. In this text, the questions concerning strategies of containment, ideological closure and antinomy turn around the problems of translation, interpretation and allegory. There are two dimensions to these problems: firstly, the relationship between a Greek translation and the Hebrew text translated; secondly, between that translation and the alternative interpretation (translation?) of events -- 12:24a-z -- embedded within it. Thus, in the following argument I will make use of three of Jameson's categories: strategies of containment, conceptual antinomy, and ideological closure.

In the first case, it is possible to locate a strategy of containment in the translation process itself: the degree to which the translation follows the contours and syntax of the original, the stronger the strategy is maintained of aligning the translation with the original text and its particular problematics. In other words, the strategy of containment in operation seeks to foreclose the possibility of issues other than those found in the original text from entering into the narrative space. In 3 Reigns 11-14 such a strategy takes place most clearly in chapter 13. The paradox is of course that the very "literalness" of the translation betrays its status as a translation, indicating by the foreign syntax and expression that the translation relies upon another text for its existence. The strategy of containment characterized by literal translation thus shows its limits all too clearly. In the face of such a failure, the chapters from 3 Reigns under consideration break out of literal translation, making use of a wider interpretive license. Yet this is much more than a "loose" translation or a paraphrase, for as we have seen above LXX<sup>B</sup> reworks the raw materials provided by 1 Kings 11-14 to create a new text which at times diverges sharply from its source.<sup>17</sup>

In order to understand what is happening here it is useful to follow the hints provided by the patterns of formal closure, specifically in the way in which 3 Reigns 11-14 in LXX<sup>B</sup> breaks down the formal closure achieved

<sup>17</sup> It is of course possible that LXX<sup>B</sup> follows a variant Hebrew text very closely. Apart from having recourse to the position that I am working with the texts that we have, the possibility of a close translation of an alternate Hebrew text then raises questions over why such an alternative was chosen as the basis for translation instead of the Masoretic tradition, especially when another major translation -- LXX<sup>A</sup> -- offers a literal translation of the MT.

in 1 Kings 11-14 in the MT. Such formal disturbance indicates similar problems with ideological containment: it is for some reason impossible to provide ideological closure in the same terms as those of 1 Kings 11-14, that is, in terms of prophetic or religious control. More specifically the word of Yahweh ceases to hold its narrative sway. This uncertainty or aporia may be described as ideological *disclosure* or a strategy of "decontainment." Translation, it would seem, is fated "to demonstrate the *impossibility* of translation," (adapted from Jameson 1980b:322) whether it is literal or free.

However, the text does not spin out of control in the search for closure, for such formal and therefore ideological closure has been displaced onto 12:24a-z. It is here that the question of antinomy looms large. I will trace the antinomy on two levels: the assessment of or attitude towards David, and the assessment of Jeroboam.<sup>18</sup> In the latter case, I will make some use of the debate of this issue noted above in the section on metacommentary.

Concerning David, in 1 Kings 11-14 there are twenty six references to David (if we include *דָּוִד יִשְׂרָאֵל* in 12:16), sixteen of them in chapter 11.<sup>19</sup> In this list I have included both references to David himself and to a collective entity -- "house" or city -- also designated as "David." The former are, apart from 14:8, restricted to chapter 11<sup>20</sup>, while the latter are gathered in the remaining chapters.<sup>21</sup> Apart from the neutral references in which a king is buried in the city of David (Solomon in 11:43 and Rehoboam in 14:31), the dominant use of David's name is a positive one: he appears as either a paradigm or model of obedience to Yahweh (11:4, 6, 33, 34, 38; 14:8); a subject of divine favours (11:38); and as a reason for the mitigation of punishment meted out to his descendants (11:12, 13, 32, 34, 36, 39). The house of David is therefore one that is worthy of faithfulness (12:19, 20, 26) and the source of future great figures (13:2). Indeed in later material *דָּוִד* becomes part of the formulaic assessment of sub-

<sup>18</sup> This contrast is of greater interest in the light of a basic common pattern suggested by van Seters (311) in the careers of David and Jeroboam in Samuel-Kings.

<sup>19</sup> 11:4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 21, 24, 27, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38 (twice), 39, 43; 12:16 (thrice), 19, 20, 26; 13:2; 14:8 (twice), 31.

<sup>20</sup> 11:4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 21, 24, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38 (first appearance); 14:8 (second appearance).

<sup>21</sup> 11:27, 38 (second appearance), 43, 12:16 (thrice), 19, 20, 26; 13:2; 14:8 (first appearance), 31.

sequent kings of Judah (von Rad 1953:86-88 emphasizes the importance of David for 1-2 Kings).

There is, however, a smaller group of references which suggest but do not explicitly articulate a negative side to David: thus, in 11:15 the syntax is ambiguous as to whether David or Joab is responsible for killing every male in Edom (v. 16 attempts to shift the blame over to Joab); in 11:21 the death of David is a reason for the return of Hadad from Egypt and his subsequent subversive activities; in 11:24 there is a floating note in the account of Rezon concerning a slaughter by David (בְּהִרְגָּוּ דָּוִד אֹתָם) which echoes that associated with Hadad. In the case of both Hadad and Rezon their later rebellion against Solomon is generated by something done to them by David, but the connection is never clarified and may possibly be seen as necessary military activity. The vaguest of possible negative connotations is found in 11:27, in which Solomon's building activity in the city of David was the initial opportunity for the rise of Jeroboam.<sup>22</sup> A further negative reference is found in the context of political activity against David: the three references in 12:16 express a rejection of the royal legitimacy of the Davidic house. That this is to be understood as a reflection more on the people than on David is made clear by the commentary in 12:19, where the action is described as rebellion against the בְּיַת־דָּוִד. All the hints of negative assessment are therefore restricted to material which deals with rebellion from the house of David. The negative potential of these references lies in the question as to whether David may be attributed in some way with causing the problems encountered by his descendants. The MT treads carefully, noting the negative potential but emphasizing the positive.

The interpretation of these passages in 3 Reigns 11-14 makes for some interesting reading. With various rearrangements, omissions and additions, David is referred to on twenty six occasions.<sup>23</sup> In comparison to the MT, the drift of LXX<sup>B</sup> is to increase the percentage of negative material

<sup>22</sup> This is more likely to be a case of narrative irony: just as Solomon closed up (פָּרַק) the breach or rupture (פְּרִירָה) in the city of David, so the person who was to "rupture" the ten tribes away from the house of David was beginning his activity and may indeed have been involved with the building process itself, although is not stated explicitly. Any sense of narrative play has been lost in LXX<sup>B</sup>: the Greek for 11:27 reads: συνέκλεισαν τὸν φραγμὸν τῆς πόλεως Δαυίδ (he closed up the enclosure of the city of David).

<sup>23</sup> 11:3, 6, 12, 13, 15, 21, 27, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38 (twice), 43; 12:16 (thrice), 19, 20, 24a, 24t (twice), 26; 13:2; 14:26, 31

concerning David and decrease the positive or ambiguous.<sup>24</sup> This becomes especially marked if the distinction between the person of David -- featured in chapter 11 -- and the house/city of David is emphasized. In chapter 11 two verses indicate that a shift in the understanding of the figure of David is under way: the first (11:15) moving from an ambiguous reference to a negative one; the second (11:34) converting positive to negative.<sup>25</sup> In 11:15, where some ambiguity was noted in the MT, LXX<sup>B</sup> gives David the blame for the massacre in Edom along with Joab. Thus, LXX<sup>B</sup> reads "when David utterly destroyed Edom" (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι Δαυεὶδ τὸν Ἐδὼμ) for MT "when David was in Edom" (וַיְהִי כִּי הָיָה דָּוִד בְּעֵדֹם, but compare the floating phrase in 11:24, וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי הָיָה דָּוִד בְּעֵדֹם).<sup>26</sup> Further, the verb ἔκοψαν, a plural aorist, (including both David and Joab as the subjects) is used over against the Hebrew singular הָיָה where the subject may be either David or Joab. What may have been implicit in the MT is made explicit in LXX<sup>B</sup>: David was directly involved in actions that provoked rebellion.<sup>27</sup> The attempt to attribute blame to Joab in 1Kgs 11:16 is watered down in LXX<sup>B</sup> by the balance of the two verses: the plural subject of ἔκοψαν is flanked on either side by attributing the verb ἐξολοθρεῦειν to each subject individually.<sup>28</sup>

The second significant alteration comes in 11:34: here in place of MT וַיִּתְּן אֵלֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים ("ruler I will make him") LXX<sup>B</sup> has ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτῷ ("I will indeed set myself against him"). God refers here to Solomon, and the standard phrase presenting David as the reason

<sup>24</sup> Thus in the patterns of omission and addition, two negative references (11:24 and 14:8) drop out, as do two positive (11:39 and 14:8), while two neutral (12:24a; 14:26) and two negative references (12:24t twice) are introduced.

<sup>25</sup> David still appears as in the MT: the model of virtue (11:3, 8 [=1 Kings 11:4, 6] 11:33, 38 for Jeroboam) and the reason for mitigation (11:12, 13, 32, 36). The stock has, however, diminished, in comparison to the MT.

<sup>26</sup> The reference to the slaughter by David in 11:24 has been excised from the rearrangement in 3 Reigns 11:14 of vv. 23-25. Textual disruption is in evidence here, for David's slaughtering in MT 11:24 has moved to the Hadad account in 3 Reigns 11:15-16.

<sup>27</sup> A curious aspect of the reference to the massacre at Edom in 1Kgs/3 Reigns 11:15-16 is that where one might expect a fuller account in the David narratives none may be found. Tentative links to 2Sam 8:13-14 (e.g. DeVries 1985:150), where the text is uncertain as the identity of David's victims, only obscure the matter further.

<sup>28</sup> 15 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι Δαυεὶδ τὸν Ἐδὼμ ἐν τῷ πορευθῆναι Ἰωάβ ἄρχοντα τῆς στρατείας θάπτειν τοὺς τραυματίας, ἔκοψαν πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ. 16 ὅτι ἔξ μηνας ἐνεκάθητο ἐκεῖ Ἰωάβ καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ, ἕως ὅτου ἐξωλέθρευσεν πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐν τῇ Ἰδουμαίᾳ.

for the action takes on a new meaning: διὰ Δαυεὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου. David is now not the reason for the mitigation, as in the MT, but rather for Solomon's troubles with God. The standard phrase which follows -- ὃν ἐξελεξάμην αὐτόν ("whom I have chosen") -- takes on an ironic twist, enhanced by the omission of the Hebrew יְהוָה יִצְחָק מֶשֶׁךְ רָשָׁע, which presents David as the paradigm of virtue.<sup>29</sup>

These two examples -- 3 Reigns 11:15 and 34 -- suggest a slippage to a more negative assessment of David than in the MT. It is interesting to note that apart from the burial notice of 12:24a, the only two appearances of David in 12:24a-z are in the rejection of David and his house by the people 12:24t. However, no decisive weight should be attached to these references on their own, but they do indicate that something is happening in regard to the ethical and political assessment of key figures in the narrative. The hints concerning David point towards the central antinomy focused on Jeroboam.

The dominant narrative control in the MT, identified in the analysis of 1 Kings 11-14, deals with Jeroboam in terms of a royal covenant: as the agent of divine punishment for the breach of a similar covenant by Solomon, Jeroboam is granted divine sanction to become king over Israel (1Kgs 11:31, 35, 37, reinforced by the commentary in 12:15 and by Shemaiah in 12:22-24), yet this comes with the condition of obedience to Yahweh (11:38). The breach of these conditions which soon follows (12:26-33) leads to a sustained barrage of condemnation, first by the man of God from Judah (13:1-10; see also 13:33-34) and then by the same prophet who earlier predicted a much brighter future, Ahijah (14:1-16). The final punishment of Jeroboam's line comes in 1Kgs 15:27-30. Despite the brief period of divine favour, Jeroboam's sins become the negative pole of comparison for Israelite kings over against the positive model of virtue provided by David for Judean kings (so Cross:278-285).

As far as LXX<sup>B</sup> is concerned, some critics have separated 3 Reigns 12:24a-z from the surrounding 3 Reigns 11-14 as an independent unit. Such a division is useful for my analysis at this stage, although it must be remembered that the LXX<sup>B</sup> text comes to us as a composite unity. As a whole, LXX<sup>B</sup> plays with the assessment of Jeroboam in the MT, signalling some change by removing the harshest anti-Jeroboam section in 14:1-20

<sup>29</sup>McKenzie's (1991:43-44) textual arguments, based on Treballe, for the development of 11:34 are of interest but do not change the impression created by the text in its present form.

and including 12:24a-z which has the barest minimum of criticism of Jeroboam. There are a few cruxes in the assessment of Jeroboam: the amount of prophetic vilification; Jeroboam's cultic activity; the place of a royal covenant; and the location of Jeroboam during the events at Shechem. I will deal with these by comparing the three accounts of 1 Kings 11-14, 3 Reigns 11-14 and 3 Reigns 12:24a-z.

First, prophetic condemnation: while LXX<sup>B</sup> removes 14:1-20, the other critical material remains in place, particularly 13:1-10, 33-34. 3 Reigns 12:24a-z has the obverse: there is no mention of the material in chapter 13, but there is a version of the account removed from 14:1-20. However, as noted earlier it is a much watered down version, containing a prediction of the child's death (12:24l and 24m<sup>β</sup>; compare 1Kgs 14:12-13) and the general prediction of the end of Jeroboam's line (12:24m; compare 1Kgs 14:11). The impact of this section is reduced in a number of ways: it is significantly shorter than the MT version; any connection between either the death of the child or the destruction of the family and any apostasy on Jeroboam's part as in 1Kgs 14:7-9 is broken; the prophecy of the destruction of Jeroboam's line has a vague future reference outside the narrative unit itself.

Second, Jeroboam's cultic activity: while 3 Reigns maintains the depiction of apostasy and strong religious polemic in 12:25-33 with its negative assessment of Jeroboam's activity in 12:30 (so also 13:33-34), it is notable that any mention of such activity is absent from 12:24a-z. There is some allusion to building (compare 12:24b and 12:25) from this section, but the cultic dimension would seem to have no place here. Indeed, the absence of any reference in 12:24a-z to the cultic material of 12:25-33 forms a pair with the absence in 12:24a-z of the cultic condemnation in 13:1-10. Thus, the reason for Jeroboam's "fall" in the MT -- apostasy -- which is also the central item of religious polemic in the MT has been removed from 12:24a-z, which leads on to the next crux.

Third, the royal covenant: in MT the linchpin of the prophetic narrative organization was the covenant made with Jeroboam. This covenant remains in the regular translation of chapters 11-14 (11:38), but there is no reference to any covenant in 12:24a-z. Indeed, the episode in which it might be expected -- Shemaiah's usurpation of Ahijah's role in 12:24o -- merely signals the clean transfer of power by means of the sign of the torn cloak. With no conditions to break, the basis of the condemnation of Jeroboam in the MT has been removed (thus 12:24l-m can make no mention of it as the reason for the prophecy of destruction, the cultic events of

12:25-33 have no meaning, and the condemnation of 13:1-10 loses its sense).

Finally, the place of Jeroboam during the events at Shechem. This is a much more ambiguous crux, even though the assumption has been that if Jeroboam was present then a good deal of blame may be placed upon him for inciting the people to reject Rehoboam; if he was absent, then he is less to blame and the people's moves gain legitimacy. The MT finally has Jeroboam at Shechem, but not without some difficulties. In 12:2 he seems reluctant to return (בָּשָׁב), preferring to keep living (בָּשָׁב) in Egypt; yet he returns in 12:3 at the behest of the people, thus creating problems for the time-scale, for everyone is already at Shechem before Jeroboam hears of it (12:2) and they must then wait while he is summoned and makes the journey from Egypt (12:3). Further problems ensue in 12:20, where it seems that the people have forgotten that he is back; hearing of this news they summon him and make him king.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to the MT's uncertainty, the account in 3 Reigns 12:1-20 leaves no room for doubt: Jeroboam returns to his home town of Sareira in 11:43, to which verse the reference to his activity in MT 12:2-3a has been removed. Absent also from 12:12, he appears in the action for the first time in an amended 12:20, when the people call him and make him king.<sup>31</sup> A look forward to 2Chr 10:1-19 and 13:5-7 indicates the importance of Jeroboam's presence at Shechem, for in Chronicles there is none of the textual prevarication: Jeroboam is present from the first (2Chr 10:2-3, 12), is not crowned king by the people (the equivalent of 12:20 is not there), and is attributed with inciting rebellion against the chosen king of David's line (13:5-7). However, this neat pattern of uncertainty in Kings, absence in Reigns and presence in Chronicles is upset by 12:24a-z. 3 Reigns 12:24m has Jeroboam travel to Shechem from Sareira before Rehoboam arrives and the tribes of Israel gather there to him (in the other accounts the sequence was people, Rehoboam and perhaps Jeroboam), yet he does not appear as the subject of any of the verbs which follow. Thus, of the three other pos-

<sup>30</sup> Gooding's (1967) argument that the problems here may be solved by distinguishing between בָּשָׁב who are ignorant in 12:20 and the delegation at Shechem (12:3, 12) who summoned Jeroboam to Shechem is hard to hold.

<sup>31</sup> 12:20 is amended because LXX<sup>B</sup> reads 'ροβοάμ as the object of the people's summoning and crowning. All the other relevant textual witnesses read 'Ιεροβοάμ (see Brooke, McLean and Thackeray:254). The 'ροβοάμ reading can make a forced sense if the return refers to his return to Jerusalem, and πᾶς 'Ισραὴλ relates to Judah and Benjamin at end of verse.



sibilities -- probably present and active, absent and therefore inactive, present and active -- 3 Reigns 12:24a-z gives us present but inactive. This makes it much more difficult to use Jeroboam's presence or absence as a mode of assessment in 3 Reigns, as Chronicles and a number of commentators attempt to do.

In conclusion, the problem is the assessment of Jeroboam, and the antinomy of 3 Reigns 11-14 is that between a positive and a negative attitude towards Jeroboam. In comparison to 1 Kings 11-14, the more regular translation in 3 Reigns 11-14 provides no wholesale redressing of the picture of Jeroboam, but rather some effort, as with the attitude towards David, to deal with a difficult problem and perhaps shift the balance slightly in Jeroboam's favour. It is 12:24a-z which goes furthest in presenting a much more positive and rounded picture of Jeroboam: the whole basis of the assessment in 1 Kings 11-14 (the breach of divine conditions through apostasy) has been removed; the section ends with Jeroboam firmly in place; and a much fuller view of family life comes to the fore. Some negative elements remain -- his mother is a *πόρνη*, his child dies and the prophecy of final destruction is still there (12:24l-m) -- but the weight is firmly on the positive side.

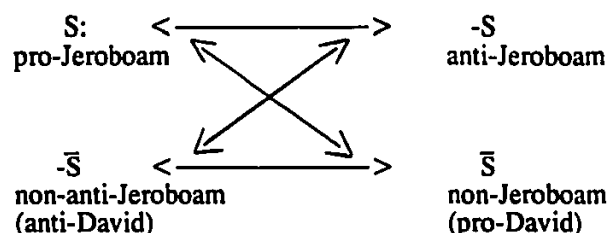
The basic antinomy of 3 Reigns 11-14 therefore consists of the question as to how Jeroboam should be assessed: while both MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> struggle with the issue the latter favours Jeroboam and the former tends to go against him. The paler shadow of this question is that of the assessment of David. While the MT also deals with the same problems, it does so in religious terms, thus foregrounding a religious question as the primary antinomy -- the reliability or otherwise of the word of Yahweh. The difference with LXX<sup>B</sup>, and especially the contribution of 12:24a-z, is to remove the religious dimension and foreground the political: instead of playing with the problem, as both MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> do, 3 Reigns 12:24a-z weighs heavily in favour of Jeroboam and thereby emphasizes the importance of such assessments in the narrative (Chronicles completes the picture with a completely negative assessment of Jeroboam). In this light the assessment of Jeroboam (and David) becomes the primary antinomy of a political problematic. The situation may be presented as follows:

**LXX<sup>B</sup> 3 Reigns 11-14 / MT 1 Kings 11-14**

**Positive assessment:**  
3 Reigns 12:24a-z

**Negative assessment:**  
2 Chronicles 10-13

It is useful at this point to experiment a little further and have recourse to Greimas's square, especially since it is at this level of analysis that Jameson sees its primary function, namely to indicate the lines of ideological closure in a text. Thus, the diagram above, but more specifically the possibilities within 3 Reigns 11-14, may be arranged as follows:



LXX<sup>B</sup> inherits the initial antinomy from the MT, working away at the problem of the assessment of Jeroboam. However, 3 Reigns 12:24a-z moves the problem into the foreground by excluding the religious dimensions of the opposition in favour of the political and providing on this basis the most favourable assessment of Jeroboam of all. The interest of course lies with the other pair: the simple negative, or non-Jeroboam, pole is none other than the attitude expressed in favour of David, while the contrary of this, non-anti-Jeroboam, will be the hostility to David. When each of these four possibilities has been covered, closure has occurred. Thus, while the MT is able to achieve ideological closure on this count (it is not the dominant ideological problem) alongside its strong formal closure, LXX<sup>B</sup> faces a different problem: 12:24a-z has strong formal closure but lacks ideological closure since it contains only anti-David, anti-Jeroboam and a large dose of pro-Jeroboam; it therefore requires the surrounding narrative's pro-David material, particularly in chapter 11, to achieve closure. Yet this surrounding narrative is bereft of any strong formal closure. The two require one another, transferring the sense of ideological and formal closure to one another.

To conclude, the formal analysis of 3 Reigns 11-14 identified the significance of the relationship and contradictions between 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative. The arguments concerning the antinomy of the text and the efforts at formal and ideological closure reinforced this conclusion. In this discussion there was an opportunity to test out Greimas's square in the way it is used by Jameson: it would seem to be productive when used cautiously. But it is at this point within the first horizon that I must close,

since the specific historical events -- the base of the first level -- which surround the production of such a text are beyond us: the possibilities which may be suggested -- a tradition of greater sympathy with northern Israel in the Diaspora, a political conflict which manifests itself in textual politics -- are too vague to pursue and thus lead on into the next horizon.

#### **4. 3 Reigns 11-14: Second Horizon**

I turn to consider questions of ideology and class, as the second horizon widens the terms of reference beyond the narrow confines of the first. Both ideology and class are understood in a contradictory and conflictual sense -- ideology may also be described as class discourse -- and the text now becomes part of larger ideological and class struggles. The key to the discussion at this second horizon lies in the two closely related elements of the existence of the translation itself and the insertion of 12:24a-z into the narrative. These two elements provide the pivots for questions of class and ideology.

##### **4.1. Superstructure: Ideology and Ideologemes**

However, the context for these questions is comprised of the ideological and class battles of that which is translated, namely 1 Kings 11-14. In that text I argued that the dominant ideologeme is historical determinism, the difficult problems of which suggested the activity of an ideologue for a ruling class removed from power. The ideologeme of kingship reflected in the regnal formulae was discredited by the dominant prophetic organization and by the whole problematic of historical determinism. Within the largely bankrupt ideological construct of kingship a literary consciousness was also detected indicating a scribal class fraction. It is of interest that this ideological item or ideologeme of literary consciousness comes to the fore in the discussion of 3 Reigns. Finally, a large amount of oppositional discourse was noted, particularly in its opposition to the ruling class structures, but I argued that all of this, as is to be expected, was coopted in a new and more complex ruling class ideological construct characterized by the ideologeme of historical determinism and by the centrality of religious questions and the figure of Yahweh.

To a large extent these ideological issues are still present in the translation of 3 Reigns 11-14, but their contours are not the same and some new factors have entered into the equation. More specifically, historical

determinism and the dominance of religious concerns becomes a contested ideological domain, replacing the battle over kingship which has by this time become a decorative residue in the text. It would seem that the minor player in 1 Kings 11-14, literary consciousness has come to the fore in 3 Reigns 11-14 as a major concern. As stated above, these changes, along with the new ideological items which enter the agenda and the place of oppositional voices, are determined by the act of translation and the insertion of 12:24a-z. To use Jameson's terminology, the ideological and class material from 1 Kings 11-14 has become a collection of raw materials or sediments which have been reworked into the new structure.

#### 4.1.1. Ideological Displacement: Politics for Religion

Of the two determining factors in this text, I begin with 12:24a-z which has already claimed preeminence in the analysis of the first horizon. Thus, with the assistance of the omission of 14:1-20, 12:24a-z disrupts the formal and ideological closure of the prophetic organization of 1 Kings 11-14, creates tension with the addition to the regnal formulae of conflicting data in 12:24a, skews the centrality of chapter 13 by coming slightly earlier and stealing its thunder, and has a complete absence of authorial commentary. Indeed, I argued that the relationship between 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative is the fundamental formal contradiction of this stretch of text, an argument that was made by means of comparison between the two sides at both macro- and micro-levels. As far as the ideological antinomy was concerned, 12:24a-z polarized the difficult problem of the assessment of Jeroboam, and secondarily David, by moving decisively in favour of Jeroboam, with no good word to say of David.

An element of this process of reassessment is of vital concern in this discussion; namely, the sidelining in 12:24a-z of the dominant religious terms in which the Jeroboam story is told in 1 Kings 11-14 and still to a great extent in the more conventional translation of 3 Reigns 11-14. In the search for antinomy in the first horizon the specific and local dimensions of this struggle over a religious or theological presentation were traced in 12:24a-z: these dimensions were the virtual removal of prophetic condemnation; and the absence of reference to both Jeroboam's cultic activity or apostasy and the royal covenant which turned that activity into the reason for the prophetic (and authorial; see 13:33-34) condemnation (to be added to these points is the decline in particularity of prophetic figures in favour of the generic prophet). These items depend upon one another, their

presence forming part of the more total religious problematic of the older text: how does someone gain and lose religious favour so rapidly? In other words, how does one account for the large-scale desertion of allegiance to the Davidic line while at the same time discounting the legitimacy of that declaration of independence? To restate the problem in these terms is to signal the shift that is taking place in the narrative.

Thus, in place of the account in MT which characterizes Jeroboam's activity in terms of a religious rise and fall, the account in 12:24a-z presents a political career. After the formulae of 12:24a Jeroboam appears (24b) in a significant political appointment in Solomon's reign: he is commander over the tribe of Joseph, is in control of three hundred chariots, and has his home town of Sareira fortified (*οὗτος ὑποδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν* [24b]). The act of rebellion noted at the end of v. 24b takes place in this context rather than under divine instigation mediated through the prophets. Indeed, Jeroboam's strength enables him to close up or besiege (*συνέκλεισαν*<sup>32</sup>) Jerusalem. The effort is apparently unsuccessful and Jeroboam goes into exile in Egypt for obvious political reasons (24c), returning with a family upon the death of Solomon (24d-f). Jeroboam takes no risks, returning to the fastness of Sareira in the mountains of Ephraim and reinforcing the fortifications with a palisade (*χάρακα* [24f]). Thus, in these two episodes -- revolt and exile -- 12:24a-z has presented material roughly equivalent to 1 Kings 11:26-28, 40 but without the dominant section of prophetic intervention in 11:29-39 which gives the religious dimensions of the transfer of power and the terms of the covenant to Jeroboam. The political has been chosen to the exclusion of the religious.

When the religious does appear it is truncated, largely misdirected, and without its narrative necessity as in 1 Kings 11-14. Thus, as was noted earlier, the replacement for the crucial intervention of Ahijah in 1Kgs 11:29-39 is Shemaiah's ineffectual act in 12:24o. The narrative effect of this rewrite is to marginalize the whole incident: the prophetic figures are switched; nothing of consequence is said to Jeroboam, since Shemaiah is cut off after a few words (*καὶ εἶπεν Σαμαίας Τάδε λέγει Κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*), which in themselves are different from what Shemaiah is instructed to say by God (*Τάδε λέγει Κύριος Λάβε σβαυτῶ*

<sup>32</sup> This sense is suggested by Gooding 1967: 187. *συνκλείω* is used in the sense of besiege in Jer 21:4, 9. The suggestion is rejected by McKenzie (1991:33).

δώδεκα ῥήγματα τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι σε); there is a play with numbers, Shemaiah being instructed to tear the cloak up into twelve pieces and give them to Jeroboam but then he mentions only ten tribes in actual discussion with Jeroboam (it is hard to avoid the impression of a parody of the number problems in MT); Jeroboam is to be told to wear (τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι σε) the twelve pieces, which borders on satire.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, although not to the same extent, the episode dealing with the death of Ahijah recounted in 12:24g-n becomes a side issue rather than the first signs of Jeroboam's punishment; without any apostasy as a breach of a covenant the prediction of demise loses sense and force. Thus the two major sections of prophetic material in 1 Kings 11-14 have been sequentially inverted and entirely displaced. The third prophetic intervention in these proceedings is the repetition in 12:24y-z of Shemaiah's words to Rehoboam and the tribes of Judah and Benjamin in 12:22-24. This would seem to be more genuine than the other two, but a very minor unit in the original of 1 Kings 11-14 has now been given the task of closure; its function, however, is to provide a benediction to the central events which have unfolded.

With a displaced religious content, the first major narrative sequence becomes the revolt and exile of 12:24b-f; the second is therefore the account of the struggle over the succession in 12:24n, p-u. It comes as no surprise that the description follows the essentially political and class-based version found in 1Kgs / 3 Reigns 12:1-18, but without the narrative comment of 1Kgs 12:15 indicating the divine control of events. The final twist to the account is the absence of any fulfillment of Shemaiah's sign in 12:24o: the people do not summon Jeroboam and make him king as in 1Kgs 12:20, for in fact he has been in command since his return from Egypt, when the people gathered to him (καὶ συνάγεται ἐκεῖ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Ἐφραίμ [24f; see also 24p where the people follow him to Shechem]), if not from the time of the initial revolt.

This rewriting of the older text in 12:24a-z indicates that the wider ideological field in which this text is a player is that of the conflict between the religious and political dimensions. This is the conflict also of the whole of 3 Reigns 11-14, since 12:24a-z is part of this wider composite text: the tension is sharper here given the strong religious sediment of the translation of the MT passage. In the discussion of both 1 Kings 11-14 in chapter two

<sup>33</sup> Gooding (1967:188) sees the sarcasm here, but regards it as part of the polemic against Jeroboam. This is to misunderstand the import of the rewrite of the episode.

and of Jameson's threefold schema in chapter one it was suggested that religion takes over the primary role of ideology in the precapitalist world. This will now have to be modified to take account of the struggle in 3 Reigns 11-14 as a whole between religious and political concerns: it would seem that religion is not the only form of ideology taken in this text. The ramifications of this struggle will be developed in the third interpretive phase.

On the basis of this discussion, I conclude that the major ideological feature of 3 Reigns 11-14 may be characterized as that of decentring: not only does this section of text decentre both the structural or formal features of 1 Kings 11-14, it also decentres the dominant (religious) ideologeme of that text -- historical determinism -- in favour of more political concerns. However, the ideologeme which replaces historical determinism is itself very much tied up with the process of decentring: content and process come together in the ideologeme of exile, or dispersion. It is therefore possible to speak of decentring without a necessary recentring, although that will often be the outcome.<sup>34</sup> The class dynamics of ideological decentring and the associated ideologeme of exile will be explored below, save to note here that it is a hegemonic class discourse.

#### 4.1.2. Translation and the Literary Consciousness

The second major determination of the ideological nature of this text is the process of translation. There would seem to be a reciprocal relationship between this process and the insertion of 12:24a-z: while translation acts to decentre (but also recentre) the original language, the location of an alternative version of events alongside the one that is more well known urges the reader to consider the problem of interpretation which is integral to translation. However, apart from its contribution to the decentring process, the fundamental nature of this text as a translation brings to the fore the literary consciousness which was very much a minor voice in 1

<sup>34</sup> Exile, of course, implies some notion of the "home" from which one is exiled: in 12:24a-z Jeroboam is in exile in Egypt and then returns home, which is Σαρειρά in the hills of Ephraim. This begins to open up to Freudian interpretive theory, particularly libidinal investment, when it is noted that Jeroboam mother's name is Σαρειρά, the πόρνη (12:24b). The interchange between Greek ρ and ζ is well known, although normally when these consonants are doubled. 11:26 has the phrase ἐκ τῆς Σαρειρά υἱὸς γυναικὸς χήρας, "from Sareira, the son of a widow woman." This is a loose translation of MT 11:26: כִּי־הָיָה לְיָסָא אִמּוֹ צָרִיצָה (leper?). Such a discussion would begin with the home/womb connection, suggested by the similarity of names. See also the discussion of spatial figuration below.

Kings 11-14. This then is the second ideologeme of 3 Reigns 11-14 (and perhaps the fundamental ideologeme of the Septuagint as a whole). The quiet references to other books or sources found in 1Kgs 11:41; 14:19, 29 have expanded to become a general awareness that this text as a whole exists by virtue of its relationship to another text which it attempts to render intelligible.

Quite specifically, this is a Greek text, a Greek translation of an older Hebrew text. In order to understand this relationship in a more conflictual and contradictory sense -- there is of course the deeper unity which enables such a conflict to take place in the first place (see level three) -- I will have recourse to Voloshinov's/Bakhtin's discussion of the institutional and historical origins of what he terms the "objectivist" view of language in which language is understood as impersonal system (the other side which sees language as individual and creative utterance arose with the bourgeoisie and its ideology of the individual). For Voloshinov this line of contemporary linguistic theory, embodied most clearly in the structuralist perception of language as system, begins with the ways in which alien languages deal with older cultures:

This grandiose organizing role of the alien word [examples might be *Greek in the period of the Roman Empire*; Latin in the Middle Ages; Arabic in the non-Arabic countries of Islam, < English in the colonies of the British Empire, and thus for other imperial languages such as French and Spanish > etc.,<sup>35</sup> ], which always either entered upon the scene with alien force of arms and organization, or was found on the scene by the young conqueror-nation of an old and once mighty culture and captivated, from its grave, so to speak, the ideological consciousness of the newcomer-nation -- this role of the alien word led to its coalescence in the depths of the historical consciousness of nations with the idea of authority, the idea of power, the idea of holiness, the idea of truth, and dictated that notions about the word be preeminently oriented towards the alien word (Voloshinov:75, quoted in Jameson 1974e: 538, italics mine).

Apart from the questions concerning oppression such a characterization presents to the study of "dead" languages such as Hebrew or Greek, it provides a way to understand the forces that led to the production of the LXX itself. Many of the relevant points pertain to the third horizon, but it is sufficient to note here that the drive to translate a text like this involves

<sup>35</sup> Jameson's insertion into Voloshinov's text is signalled by [ ]; my own is made with angled brackets < >.



profound struggles of power and authority. In this sense, the translation by 3 Reigns 11-14 of 1 Kings 11-14 is very much a conflict over the power of the sacred text.

Before turning to consider the class ramifications of such a struggle, one further feature highlighted by the translation is the question of literacy. It will never be possible to ascertain in any firm fashion what percentage of the population in either ancient Israel or the Greek world was literate, yet, despite such uncertainty the point remains that literacy was, and still is in a great part of the third world, an ability and privilege the elite are reluctant to share with others. Further, the transition from a dominant oral culture to a dominant literate one (cultural production itself being largely restricted to the elites) involves both extensive social and cultural losses and significant empowerment on the political scene. In the third world, debates over literacy programs reflect these problems: literacy of the populace is often resisted by the elites for it inevitably means a much more powerful populace in the political process. In order to make the connection with Voloshinov, I would add that very often literacy in the colonial world is literacy in the language of the oppressor, and thus those who wish to make an impact on their own people must learn to use that language. The paradox here is that the language of the oppressor opens up possibilities of political expression and action which were not possible in the older language (see JanMohamed:282-283).

These points are pertinent for our text as well: literacy is mostly restricted to the elites; it is a fundamentally political phenomenon; and literacy in the Greek language, the adopted language of the oppressor, in the Hellenistic world meant both a loss of the sense of the original text and a significant jump in prestige of the ancient text in this new context. Indeed, the political importance of literacy is reflected in the selection by 12:24a-z of the conflict at Shechem as the form in which the breakup of the kingdom should be told: as I argued in chapter two, in this section (1Kgs 11:1-18; 3 Reigns 11:1-18; 12:24p-u) the political contest becomes a literary conflict between Rehoboam and the people, the young advisers and the older one.

I have argued that decentring/exile and literary consciousness are the two ideological units or ideologemes associated with the role of 12:24a-z in the narrative and with the nature of the text in 3 Reigns 11-14 as translation. It would seem that once again the notion of an ideologeme is a useful tool for textual analysis. The class ramifications of these conclusions are of

course speculative, but they provide a plausible context in which these features operate.

#### 4.2. Base: Class

A possible class context for the formal and ideological process of decentring -- indeed the class conflict of which the ideologeme of exile is an attempted resolution -- is that of a Diaspora ruling class and its various political, literary and religious fractions in contest with a ruling class based in Judea and Jerusalem. The fundamental disruption to the form of the Hebrew text, the polarization of its antinomy in favour of Jeroboam in 12:24a-z, and the ideological marginalization of the religious or theological presentation of the Jeroboam narrative may all be understood as part of the attempt to wrest religious authority from its former ideological centre. As one who successfully challenged such a focus in the narrative itself, Jeroboam becomes an alternative model, particularly in 12:24a-z. In this section he becomes a more powerful figure (12:24b), around whom the people gather (12:24f, 24n) as a viable counterpoise to those who gather (the verb *συναθροίζειν* in the aorist, *συνήθροισεν*, is used in both 12:24n and 24x) around Rehoboam at Jerusalem (12:24u-x). Jeroboam's own class credentials are enhanced by marriage into the highest ranks of the royal family of Egypt (12:24e).

The Egyptian location would seem to have a greater function than mere narrative decoration: its utopian function in the MT has been increased by the additional positive material in 3 Reigns 11-14. Not only do Solomon (1Kgs 3:1; 11:1) and Hadad (1Kgs 11:19-20) marry into the Egyptian royal family, but Jeroboam (3 Reigns 12:24e) now marries and establishes a family in Egypt which seems to delay his return, making it more difficult to leave. Even the son dies as soon as the soil of Egypt is left behind. It might be argued that Egypt is a focus of libidinal investment, since wives come from Egypt for Solomon, Hadad and Jeroboam, producing children for the latter two. Egypt functions therefore as a source of sexual, procreational and familial fulfillment, and thus in a wider perspective as the utopian dimension of the ideologeme of exile or decentring.

While decentring may be symptomatic of inter-ruling class struggle, the literary consciousness associated with the translation into Greek opens up the conflict of ruling and ruling classes and may be regarded as an effort to deal with that conflict. As indicated already in the discussion, literacy is very much an elite, or ruling class, preserve, and thus serves as a signal of

class solidarity and utopian wishes. The structural link between writing and the class system was suggested by Lévi-Strauss (see Jameson 1974e:538). More particularly, a translation such as LXX is the product of the literate or scribal class fraction of the ruling class for the simple reason that no one else would have the expertise or time to do it. A more imaginative reconstruction would see a literary community active in the university city of the Hellenistic world; namely, Alexandria.

Voloshinov's perception of the relationship between an older language such as Hebrew and the alien word of Greek (which itself was an older language adopted by the Romans) introduces a variable factor into the suggested opposition between two ruling classes: the use by Diaspora Judaism of the dominant Greek language may tip the balance towards oppression of an older ruling class by the new. More significantly, the class discourse of a literate class through its patterns of restriction and exclusion indicate the class groups who are thus excluded.

Of these exploited groups the strongest, although coopted, voice in 1 Kings 11-14 was the sustained critique of the monarchy. This consistent barrage remains as sediment in the more regular translation of 3 Reigns 11-14 but virtually slips out of the picture in 12:24a-z: apart from the notice of succession in 12:24a there is no mention of kingship in the rest of the section. Neither Jeroboam nor Rehoboam is crowned king.

Other signals of exploited groups are present, however. The expected response of the people to Jeroboam's presence is to gather around him (12:24f, 24n), assuming they wish to do so. The favoured depiction of the rejection of Rehoboam in 12:24p-u is in terms of the class struggle present in 1Kgs/3 Reigns 12:1-18. The saying of the people undergoes a variation in 12:24t, as compared with 1Kgs/3 Reigns 12:16, a variation which makes little sense unless it is understood as a faint signal of the continual variation more characteristic of oral rather than literary transmission.

Women formed a class fraction of the exploited classes in 1 Kings 11-14, whether holding the blame for Solomon's decline, being available for his libido, or being a nameless wife of Jeroboam who must bear the brunt of his commands and the negative prophecy about her son and her husband. 12:24a-z provides a greater role for Jeroboam's wife: some is positive -- she is granted a name -- but most is negative. There is a strong presentation of her domestic activity: she bears a child (12:24e) and as a gift for Acheia/Ahijah she is told to bring wheat-bread loaves (*ἄρτους*), course bread rolls (*κολλύρια*), grapes (*σταφυλήν*), and a jar of honey (*στάμνον μελιτος*). The list is repeated in 12:24i (from 24h) and also in

241, where the gifts are dismissed by Ahijah. The signals indicate domestic production; in other words not only has Ano had to carry these items from Sareira to Shiloh, but her domain includes the production of the items in the first place (see further Delphy). The prophetic dismissal of the gifts is thus a dismissal of her labour. However, Ano's activity -- food production, messenger and general beast of burden -- resembles that of a slave more than anything else. Indeed, the *corvée* disappears from the narrative (*φόρος*, tribute or tax for *ἡ* [12:18] and no mention of this in 12:24p-u) as suddenly as slaves make an appearance: in 12:24k the communication between Ahijah and Ano is mediated by means of a *παιδάριον*, in the same way that Ahijah predicts Ano's "girls" (*κοράσια*) will meet her and tell her that her child is dead (12:24l). Social relations between people are now cushioned and mediated by means of such people.

#### 4.3. Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion to the second horizon of analysis, I have argued that the two fundamental ideological features or ideologemes of 3 Reigns 11-14 are decentring -- particularly in the relationship between 12:24a-z and the surrounding narrative -- and literary consciousness -- as reflected in the translation itself. The possible class situations to which these respond were presented as -- for decentring -- an inter-ruling class conflict between an increasingly dominant Diaspora ruling class and an older one based in Judah and -- for literary consciousness -- between a literary class fraction and the excluded and exploited class groups implied by the nature of literacy itself. These suggestions regarding class of course remain hypothetical but the possibility of making the connections between ideology and class and of identifying class signals in the text is generated from the Marxist interpretive scheme being used.

### 5. 3 Reigns 11-14: Third Horizon

The historical or third phase of interpretation is dominated by the complex and overlapping modes of production, whose relationship with one another marks the text in conceptual and formal ways which may be understood as the sign systems appropriate to different modes of production. The following discussion will seek out such figurations in order to determine the particular cultural revolution at work. I will argue that four types of figuration may be traced in 3 Reigns 11-14: spatial, social, con-

ceptual and linguistic. They may be divided into two smaller groups, one group -- spatial and social -- indicating the nature of the dominant mode of production, and the other -- conceptual and linguistic -- providing symptoms of the cultural revolution under way. The discussion of cultural revolution will close by considering some items which become redundant in the changes in mode of production and culture and others which reproduce in the new environment.

### 5.1. Figuration of the Mode of Production

To begin with the spatial: of particular interest is the depiction of Jeroboam's home town in 3 Reigns 11-14. As noted above, according to 12:24b it was built by Solomon and then fortified,<sup>36</sup> and it was the place to which Jeroboam and family returned after their exile in Egypt, fortifying it further with a palisade (12:24f). It is explicitly noted as the town from which Ano sets out to seek the advice of Acheia/Ahijah regarding their son (12:24k) and is again specifically mentioned both when Acheia/Ahijah describes the scene Ano will meet upon her return (12:24l) and when she does return (12:24n).<sup>37</sup> The place is mentioned once more, but this time outside of 12:24a-z: the inserted note in 3 Reigns 11:43 reads in part: *καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν Σαρειρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραίμ*. Similarly, those manuscripts designated misc -- Ndefhmpqrstvwyz -- read in 12:3 (omitted by LXX<sup>B</sup>): *καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν Σαριρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραίμ*. If we include 12:24f, something of a pattern emerges: *καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν Σαρειρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραίμ*.

Apart from the text critical import of this material (see McKenzie 1987 and Willis), the significance for my analysis is that in these three references Sareira is described as *ἡ γῆ Σαρ(ε)ιρά* in the hills of Ephraim. It would seem that Jeroboam's *πόλις* is understood to be within the land of Sareira which is in the hills of Ephraim, in a pattern of placing the preced-

<sup>36</sup> It was fortified by either Jeroboam or Solomon: it is not entirely clear whether the *οὗτος* refers to Solomon, the last named subject of a verb (*ὑποδόμησεν*) before the reference to fortifications, or to Jeroboam. The relevant text reads: *καὶ ὑποδόμησεν Σαλωμών τὴν Σαρειρὰ τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφραίμ, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἄρματα τριακόσια ἑπτά· οὗτος ὑποδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν ἐν ταῖς ἄρσεσιν οἴκου Ἐφραίμ*. McKenzie (1991:25, 32) leaves both his translation and explanation ambiguous. The other possibility is a type of parallelism, in which the building of the *ἄκρα* is meant to specify the building of Sareira; that is, that Sareira was already built and Solomon fortified it. These difficulties do not however detract from the point being made.

<sup>37</sup> See the earlier note on the libidinal investment of Sareira.

ing item within successively larger contexts. At the same time 12:24f omits the reference to πόλις while including the other two items, an alternative which highlights a degree of uncertainty about the separation of πόλις and γῆ (McKenzie 1991:50 is puzzled by these confusions). That their boundaries are uncertain and that they may be interchangeable is reinforced by the building of Sareira by Solomon in 12:24b, and the construction of a palisade there (ἐκεῖ) by Jeroboam in 12:24f. One does not build a γῆ or erect a palisade around one in the more conventional understanding of the term, nor does one normally -- although it is not impossible -- enter the gate (πύλην) of a γῆ (12:24l), nor does travel normally take place from a γῆ to a πόλις in the same hills, in this case of Ephraim, as Jeroboam does when he travels from Sareira to Shechem (12:24n), or as Ano does when she travels to Shiloh and back to inquire about her son (12:24k). Indeed, Shechem is described in a fashion comparable to Sareira: it is Σίκιμα τὴν ἐν ὄρει Ἐφράιμ to which everyone gathers for the struggle over the succession (12:24n), from which the people disperse (12:24u), in which Jeroboam is ensconced for a time, being the location of a potential attack from Rehoboam (12:24x) and the place where Jeroboam does some more building (12:25). Further, the interchange between region and city is enhanced by the expansion in the first part of 11:18 in LXX<sup>B</sup> which reads καὶ ἀνίστανται ἄνδρες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Μαδιάμ for MT מִן־מִדְיָן: Midian the territory has become Midian the πόλις.

It is of course possible to do all the things described in the narrative of 12:24a-z if the γῆ and the πόλις are largely the same thing; namely, a city-state. The only distinction may be that γῆ covers the relatively small territory of a city-state, while πόλις is restricted to the city, but this is by no means a hard and fast distinction as the name itself -- city-state/πόλις-γῆ -- implies. It would seem that the model for the understanding of Sareira, indeed of any town or city, is that of the city-state known to us primarily from Greece but also of the Hellenistic world. The implication of course is that Jerusalem begins to be understood in the same fashion, as Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ πόλις (11:13, 32, 36; 14:21) or as ἡ πόλις Δαυείδ (11:27; 12:24b; 14:31). The age of the polis is of course the classical or ancient mode of production in which the polis is the dominant form of political and social life.

The second type of figuration in 3 Reigns 11-14 -- the social -- is a little more tenuous: it relies upon a comparison between the social interaction of Ahijah and Jeroboam's nameless wife in 1Kgs 14:4-18 and their interaction in 3 Reigns 12:24g-n. As far as the MT is concerned, Ahijah is

virtually blind (14:4) but Yahweh provides the necessary information about the coming visit so that he is not deceived (14:5), all of which makes the disguise of Jeroboam's wife (14:2, 5b) rather unnecessary. As a double insurance against deception, the MT implies that her footfall gave her away (14:6). The significant point here is that Acheia/Ahijah speaks directly to the wife of Jeroboam as she comes in the door (1 Kings 14:6):

וַיְהִי כִשְׁמַע אַחִיָּהוּ אֶת־קוֹל רַגְלֶיהָ בָּאָה בַּפֶּתַח וַיֹּאמֶר בְּאִי אִשָּׁת  
יִרְבֹּעַם לָמָּה זֶה אַתְּ מַתְנַכְרָה וְאֲנִי שְׁלֹחַ אֵלֶיךָ קִשְׁפָּה  
(But when Ahijah heard the sound of her feet as she came in  
the door he said, "Come in, wife of Jeroboam; why do  
pretend to be another? I am sent to you with heavy tidings").

By contrast in LXX<sup>B</sup> (3 Reigns 12:24g-l) there is no indication of deception on Ano's part nor of blindness on Acheia's part: instead as she enters Shiloh, part of 12:24k reads:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐλθούσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀχειὰ τὸν  
Σηλωνεῖτην, καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχειὰ τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐξελθε δὴ  
εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἀνὼ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἰεροβοὰμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῇ  
Ἐἰσελθε καὶ μὴ στήῃς, ὅτι τάδε λέγει Κύριος Σκληρὰ ἐγὼ  
ἐπαποστέλλω ἐπὶ σέ.  
(When she came into the city of Acheia the Shilonite, Acheia  
said to his παιδάριον: "Now, go out to meet Ano the wife of  
Jeroboam and tell her, 'Come in and don't stand around, for  
thus says the Lord: I have a heavy delivery for you'").

It is only after the παιδάριον has given this message to Ano that she goes in to hear from Acheia/Ahijah. The pattern of social interaction is significant: in the MT Jeroboam's wife is addressed by Ahijah as she enters the door; in LXX<sup>B</sup> she has stopped at the door and must be addressed by Acheia's παιδάριον with words which echo those used by Ahijah himself in the MT (see the bold text above).

I have chosen not to translate παιδάριον, for the word has a dual meaning. It is a diminutive of παῖς, which is normally listed with three meanings, determined by different criteria: a) a child (by relation); b) a child (by age); c) a slave (by social condition or situation).<sup>38</sup> Παιδάριον itself may mean little child, youth, and young slave. It is the latter meaning which is particularly interesting, especially since the παιδάριον carries

<sup>38</sup> Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich and Danker list these three under the heading of "relation betw. one human being and another," with the addition of a second large group under the heading of "relation to God" (604), where the meaning of "servant" is strong.

out the function of a slave; that is, he or she mediates the social interaction between Acheia/Ahijah and Ano. The limitations to this understanding are that Acheia is noted as having children -- τέκνα -- in 12:24h (it may have been one of these), παιδάριον is used to refer to the child of Jeroboam and Ano (12:24g, 24l, 24m), and the young advisers of Rehoboam (12:24s). It is significant, however, that these occurrences are located in the addition of 12:24a-z; only in 11:17 is it used to describe the child born to Hadad in Egypt (but not in the comparable passage concerning the advisers of Rehoboam).

The other situation where there is a comparison between MT and LXX<sup>B</sup> on the question of social interaction is in the return of Jeroboam's wife. In the MT Ahijah foretells that the child will die when Jeroboam's wife enters the city (1Kgs 14:12); it happens when she crosses the threshold of her house (14:17). In LXX<sup>B</sup> (12:24l) Ahijah tells her that when she enters the gate of Sareira her κοράσια, or young girls (diminutive of κορή), will come out to meet her and tell her that the child has died (καὶ τὰ κοράσια σου ἐξελεύσονται σοι εἰς συνάντησιν καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι Τὸ παιδάριον τέθνηκεν). When she does return it is the cry (κραυγή) which meets her. Once again LXX<sup>B</sup> has introduced a mediation into the account. The force of the example is enhanced by its status as the obverse of the first example. While κοράσιον does not have any sense apart from "young girl," the importance of both examples lies in their depiction of patterns of social interaction which are now mediated by a third party whose actions are those of slaves. Slavery was the dominant social formation of the ancient mode of production. Thus, the figuration of slavery takes its place alongside the figuration of the πόλις, both of which may be understood as elements of the ancient mode of production.<sup>39</sup>

## 5.2. Figuration of Cultural Revolution

The remaining two types of figuration are concerned with transitional stages, and thus a brief consideration of the classical or ancient mode of production is in order. Norman Gottwald (1992a) has argued that monarchic Israel may be understood in terms of a continual tension between "communitarian" (tribal society) and "tributary" (Asiatic) modes of production. After the exile, the latter category is broken up into native tributary

<sup>39</sup> On the ancient mode of production see Anderson 1974a:18-103; Hindess and Hirst 1975:78-177; Lekas.



and foreign tributary, and he presents the history of Judea after the exile as the playing out of the tensions between the three modes. For Gottwald the introduction of the classical, or what he terms the "slave-based" mode of production was very gradual: the dominant form under Ptolemaic-Seleucid rule remained the tributary, as was characteristic of most other Hellenistic states, although slavery was slowly making its move to dominance. Even the Hasmonean kings stuck to a native tributary mode. By the time of the Roman Empire the slave mode of production generated the wealth which enabled Rome to attain its position of dominance, yet within the empire a range of modes of production were in operation. Palestine was one of those in which the classical or slave-based mode of production arrived late: not until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE was it fully in place, crushing the tributarian mode of production and closing the communitarian mode into small rabbinic communities. Criticisms may be made of the broad strokes with which this picture is presented, and with some of the details, but the value of it lies in the complex and overlapping nature of the modes of production. It is such slow transitions and sharp struggles that I seek to trace in 3 Reigns 11-14.

The third type of figuration is conceptual. I have traced in some detail above the way in which 3 Reigns 12:24a-z systematically marginalizes and even critiques the religious presentation and categories of the account of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11-14. I argued that the passage was attempting to make a shift from the religious to the political. Indeed, it would seem that the fundamental ideological struggle or contradiction, not only between 1 Kings 11-14 and 3 Reigns 12:24a-z but also in 3 Reigns 11-14 itself, is that between the religious and the political, for the account in 12:24a-z comes in the midst of the more direct translation of the Hebrew found in 3 Reigns 11-14. Such a translation will necessarily bear the ideological marks of the text being translated (even though there is a breakdown of the prophetic and thus religious organization of the text through the omission of 14:1-20).

It will be recalled from the discussion of modes of production in chapter one that -- according to the Marxist tradition -- whereas the cultural dominant of the Asiatic mode of production -- or "Oriental Despotism" -- is religion or the sacred, particularly as that is focused upon and determined by the figure of the despot, the cultural dominant of the classical or slave-based mode of production is "politics" according to the narrower category of citizenship in the ancient city state" (PU:89-90). The word "politics" owes its origin of course to the *πόλις*: the task of living, working and

governing in the πόλις is therefore the realm of the noun ἡ πολιτεία -- the condition of citizenship and the business of government -- and the adjective πολιτικός -- that which concerns citizenship and the state -- from which come the substantives ἡ πολιτική (meaning in Plato the "science of politics") and τὰ πολιτικά, state affairs. It is this conceptual world which was slowly becoming the dominant form of ideological coding. This is where the superstructure was going, and thus the value of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z is that it acts as a conceptual figuration for this process of cultural and ideological transformation -- cultural revolution -- from religion to politics, that is, from the Asiatic mode of production to the ancient or classical mode of production. That it is a difficult transformation is indicated by the ideological struggle in the text.

Fourth, in regard to figuration, is the linguistic: this is none other than the translation from Hebrew into Greek. Once again the major points concerning the ideological dimensions of translation have been made above, but it is Voloshinov's characterization of the intrusion of the alien word into an older culture and the claims made by the alien word concerning truth, authority and holiness which introduces the essentially conflictual and violent nature of the translation process and the social dimensions which are invariably tied up with it. I would like to extend Voloshinov's argument into the area of modes of production with the simple point that the Greek translation of the MT acts as a figure for the intrusion of the Greek world (which includes the Romans in their adoption of Greek as the language of literature and communication) and its new mode of production into the older Hebrew and Aramaic world with its Asiatic mode of production. To be sure the transition is not so clear cut: the translation itself apparently covered a reasonable stretch of time, nor was it the only effort made to render the Hebrew text into Greek.

### 5.3. Cultural Redundancy and Reproduction

In the cultural revolution signified by the translation there is evidence of both cultural redundancy and of cultural reproduction, which are features of any transition between modes of production. This is another way of speaking about the non-synchronous development of modes of production: some elements carry on in a subordinate status from one mode of production to the other, while others give up the fight in the transition.

Regarding redundancy, in reading the Greek text one is jolted continually to the awareness that the LXX is, after all, different and alien to the

MT, that it is comprised of a distinct ideological and semiotic system. Ideological examples include the difficulties with the gods worshipped by Solomon<sup>40</sup> and the translation of עֲמָלָה, forced labour or *corvée*, with τοῦ φόρου, tribute (12:18).

A linguistic example involves confusion between 1Kgs 11:23, LXX<sup>B</sup> 3 Reigns 11:14 and LXX<sup>A</sup> 3 Reigns 11:23. It forms part of the wider problems which the LXX has with the geographical grid of the MT. In 3 Reigns 11:14 (LXX<sup>B</sup>), which seems to compound 1Kgs 11:23-25, is found the following clause (important material highlighted):

καὶ ἤγειρεν Κύριος σατάν τῷ Σαλωμών τὸν Ἀδὲρ τὸν Ἰδουμαῖον καὶ τὸν Ἑσρώμ υἱὸν Ἑλιαδάε τὸν ἐν Ῥαεμμααερ Ἀδράξαρ βασιλέα Σουβὰ κύριον αὐτοῦ.

The part after Ἑλιαδάε barely makes sense; it would seem to be a translation / compilation of 1Kgs 11:14 and 23:

וַיָּקָם יְהוָה שָׁטָן לְשָׁלֹמֹה אֶת הָרֵד הָאֲדָמִי...  
וַיָּקָם אֱלֹהִים לוֹ שָׁטָן אֶת־רֹדֹן בֶּן־אֲלִיָּדָה אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח מֵאֵת הָרֵדָעִיר  
מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל

It is clear what is happening here, but a reference to LXX<sup>A</sup> 3 Reigns 11:23 will clarify the situation:

καὶ ἤγειρεν Κύριος σατάν τῷ Σαλωμών τὸν ραζών υἱὸν Ἑλιαδάε τὸν βαραμεέθ Ἀδαδέξερ βασιλέα Σουβὰ κύριον αὐτοῦ

The interest here is in the way both Greek texts read אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח מֵאֵת (who had fled from). LXX<sup>B</sup> seems to understand it as a place name with the preposition אֶת: τὸν ἐν Ῥαεμμααερ, who was in Raemmaaer (Ramah?). LXX<sup>A</sup> reads similarly, but more as the place of origin of Ἑλιαδάε, who is the Barameethite, τὸν βαραμεέθ.

This is then one of the better examples of linguistic confusion, which reverberates through the later versions, as the notes in the Cambridge edi-

<sup>40</sup> For 1Kgs 11:5, 7: וַיִּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה אַחֲרֵי צִוְּתוֹת אֱלֹהֵי דָרָגִים וְאַחֲרֵי מַלְכִּים פָּרָשׁ צִמְנִים 5 וְיָבִיגָה שְׁלֹמֹה בְּהָא לְכַמּוֹת שָׁטָן מִזֶּה אֲשֶׁר צִוְּתָה יְיָ לְכַמּוֹת שָׁטָן בְּנֵי צִמְנִין 7, the Greek of 3 Reigns 11:5-6 reads: <sup>5</sup> τότε ὑποδόμησεν Σαλωμών ὑψηλὸν τῷ Χαμῶς εἰδῶλῳ Μωάβ, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν εἰδῶλῳ υἱὸν Ἀμμών, <sup>6</sup> καὶ τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ βδελύγματι Σιδωνίων. The Greek has compressed the Hebrew and then read מֶלֶךְ/מַלְכִּים as βασιλεῖ. Similarly in 11:33. This confusion at the most basic level indicates some ignorance over what was happening in the MT concerning these gods, an ignorance that is suggestive of the development of different ways of thinking about the world.

tion testify. At the same time there are signs of cultural reproduction, namely, those items which make the transfer from Hebrew to Greek text successfully. One example is the ethnic diversity of Solomon's wives, a diversity as well understood within the Babylonian or Persian empires as in the Hellenistic and Roman empires. Thus, almost as if to indicate the wider domain of the latter empires, to the **מִלְּבָבָאֲרָבִיּוֹת עַמֵּי־אֲדָמִית צָרְנִית חֲתִית** of 1Kgs 11:1, LXX<sup>B</sup> adds two more: *Μωαβεΐτιδας, Ἀμμωνίτιδας, Σύρας (=תִּימְנִיָּה) καὶ Ἰδουμαίας, Χετταίας καὶ Ἀμορραίας (=תִּימְנִיָּה)*.

Of greater interest perhaps are the reproductions of the echoes of the other modes of production found in the MT. Thus, patriarchy and sexism, products of the earliest mode of production -- hunting and gathering -- with its division of labour in which women do the majority of the work, are if anything intensified in 3 Reigns 11-14, especially in the insertion of 12:24a-z. All the items from 1 Kings 11-14 are present: containment of the king mother, male control of consultation and government, and the belittlement of whatever female involvement there may be. While the negative material concerning Jeroboam's wife in 14:1-18 is absent from LXX<sup>B</sup>, the rewriting of the story in 12:24g-n adds to the burden of her food preparation and haulage (she must now carry grapes, *σταφυλήν*, with her as well) only to have her efforts dismissed by the prophet. The gain of a name, *Ἀνώ*, and Egypt as a place of origin provide little assistance. The hierarchical kinship society also remains well represented, with the depiction of the struggle between Rehoboam and the people in the generational terms of young and old recounted on two occasions (3 Reigns 12:1-19, 24p-u). The utopian echoes drawn from both of these modes of production -- hunter-gatherer and kinship or neolithic societies -- also remain in the saying of the people, its oral form reinforced by the variation from 12:16 to 12:24t.

#### 5.4. Summary and Conclusions

In this reading of 3 Reigns 11-14 I have had the opportunity to apply Jameson's approach to a second text. A summary of conclusions begins with the paucity of material for the metacommentary, the significance of that material lying more in its gaps and potential. Three areas of interest were covered in the first horizon: the transformations of the narrative structures of 1 Kings 11-14; the ways in which those transformations were achieved (direct translation, rearrangement, omission and addition); and a focus upon the most important part of that achievement, the insertion of 12:24a-z. The tension between this insertion and the surrounding text of 3

Reigns 11-14 is the primary formal contradiction of this text. On the basis of the insertion and of the act of translation itself, the second horizon identified the two ideological constructs or ideologemes of decentring/exile and literary consciousness: while the latter had risen from a marginal position in 1 Kings 11-14 to a dominant one, it was argued that the ideological conflict in the former is that between religion and politics. It was suggested that the class dimension of decentring is an inter-ruling class conflict between Diaspora and homeland Jews. It is literary consciousness, with its class restrictions to those who were literate and had the leisure to exercise literary skills, that opened up to the other side of the divide through its exclusion of the ruled and exploited: non-literate, oral, people, women and slaves. Finally, the third horizon argued for a fourfold figuration around spatial, social, conceptual and linguistic dimensions. While echoes carried through from 1 Kings 11-14 of hunter-gatherer and kinship societies, the major contradiction, or moment of cultural revolution, is that between the Asiatic mode of production and the increasingly but not completely dominant ancient or slave-based mode of production.

#### 6. 2 Chronicles 10-13: Metacommentary

In contrast both to the methodological range of the metacommentary on 1 Kings 11-14 and to the paucity of studies other than textual on 3 Reigns 11-14, Chronicles it seems must suffer the fate of one who lives in the shadow of a more famous sibling. Studies of 2 Chronicles 10-13, apart from the commentaries (e.g. Curtis and Madsen, DeVries 1989, Dillard, Herbert, Rudolph, Talmon; Williamson 1982; see also Myers), are defined by four major characteristics: comparison between these chapters, and the Chronicler as such, with Kings and thus with the Deuteronomist; a tendency to deal with the whole of Chronicles rather than with the more restricted purview of the chapters under consideration; a focus on questions of purpose, theme and theology; and a concern with the possible archaeological use of these chapters. These characteristics show up quite readily in a methodological organization which follows that of Kings and Reigns.

In the case of textual criticism, its essentially comparative nature has been noted in the discussion of 3 Reigns 11-14, where a textual crux such as 1Kgs/3 Reigns 11:43-12:3/2Chr 9:31-10:3 involves a complex discussion of all three texts, including at times comparable material in 3 Reigns 12:24f (see McKenzie 1987 and Willis). The Chronicles material is,

however, normally used as evidence in the discussion of the text in Kings; there are no major difficulties in the Chronicles text as such. For reasons outlined some time ago, the LXX text of 2 Chronicles 10-13 is outside the scope of this study; thus, Allen's (1974) valuable study of the relationship between the MT and LXX of 1-2 Chronicles is of little use.

In the broad demarcation between historical critical, social critical and literary critical, the vast majority of studies fall into the first group, a small number into the second while the third remains forlorn and empty, although a few passing observations may be categorized as such. Text criticism has of course its stalwarts (Curtis and Madsen). Historical reliability remains one of the taxing issues in studies of Chronicles: the question of history is of course unavoidable for Jameson but not at the level of the detail of specific events which is so often the temptation and direction of historical critical efforts. Tying the text so securely to the particular events which are immediately accessible to the biological individual but which are so easily lost to those coming after has a futility both noted in earlier discussions and to be reinforced here. Amongst recent works Deboys (1990) has been particularly guilty of this, arguing for the presentation of an alternative theological position in the portrayal of Abijah in 2 Chronicles 13 on the basis of alternative but reliable information and traditions. A comprehensive survey of the more abstract issue of historical reliability is provided by Japhet (1985; see also Deboys 1990:48-49; Graham, Welten). It must be reiterated that invariably such studies and debates seek to ascertain the reliability or otherwise of the *content* of the text; Jameson's concern is with the historical signals of the text's *form*.

Of the three traditional historical critical subdisciplines, redaction criticism fares the best. Source criticism, apart from the study of 2 Chronicles 13 by Klein (1983) and the commentaries by Curtis and Madsen (17-26, 44-48) and Williamson (1982:17-23), forms a backdrop to other concerns, as is the case with the archaeological debate to be covered later (see below). While the assumption of unnamed documents that lie behind the material unique to Chronicles may be neither proven nor disproven, and while the connections with Samuel-Kings and other biblical material is obvious, it is rather credulous to take the Chronicler's references to other sources at face value (e.g. 2Chr 12:15; 13:22; see the timely cautions of Williamson 1982:17-19). Once again, the significance of such references lies in a different domain for my study.

Form criticism is -- given the interest in structure and form and in the social situation of the forms -- much more akin to the approach taken

here, but it is relatively poorly represented in studies of Chronicles let alone the chapters being considered from 2 Chronicles. In its search for pattern and structure, form criticism by nature gives itself over to wider studies, such as those by Allen (1988) on kerygmatic units, DeVries (1986) on the forms of prophetic speech, Throntveit on the forms of royal speech and royal prayer, and Mason on the addresses, with a good dose of homiletic interest. As might be expected, DeVries' commentary in the "Forms of Old Testament Language" series deals with questions of form or genre in great detail (as well as structure, setting and intention), identifying chapters 10-13 as part of an Account which runs through to 2Chr 36:23. This Account is characterized by four major schemas (274-5) -- reward and retribution, revelational appearances, dynastic endangerment and festival (only the last is not found in our passage) -- which in turn are made up of a myriad of molecular genres (for chapters 10-13 see DeVries 1989:280, 284, 286, 289, 293-4). While comparable to a limited extent to what is attempted below, my own analysis will suggest that such features, particularly a schema such as dynastic endangerment, point to deeper structural and ideological features.

The bulk of historical critical attention has been of the redactional variety, especially when under this expansive umbrella the relationship with Samuel-Kings and the theme, purpose and ideas which controlled the redaction process are included (theology does, however, claim a degree of autonomy which will be respected on this occasion). These two features are characteristic of my own study, which is therefore closely related to such redaction studies, especially those which seek in the realm of ideas and theology for the reasons behind the similarities and differences between Kings and Chronicles (and Reigns, which no-one considers outside textual criticism). Thus, although the details and direction will differ in some respects, I too am interested in the differing interpretations of the schism and of the major actors (see Knoppers on Rehoboam and others), and the distinct ways in which Chronicles deals with the material mostly from Samuel-Kings but also from elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (see Klein 1983 and DeBoys 1990:49-50, on Abijah in 2Chr 13; Ackroyd 1991:311-343). Too quickly, however, do the studies of 2 Chronicles 10-13 trickle away to be superseded by more general studies whose significance for my work is less direct. Relevant is the different portrayal of prophets in Kings and

Chronicles (see Begg; DeVries 1986, 1989), but not so the whole question of the relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.<sup>41</sup>

Apart from the relation between Kings and Chronicles, there is a second emphasis of redaction criticism -- what I am tempted to designate as loosely ideological: those studies which resort to questions of intent, thought and theology in accounting for Chronicles' distinct angle on Israelite history. This category in fact breaks out of the redaction mold to take its place as the related but independent area of theology. The most suggestive for my work are those which identify the major ideological or theological factor determining the composition of the "parallel historiography" of Chronicles as the picture of the ideal or utopian Israel under the direct rule of God in its own distinct and carefully delineated land (see especially Williamson 1977, 1982:24-26; Japhet 1979; Eskenazi 1986; and Whitlam 1989). Studies concerned prophecy to an "ideal Israel" (DeVries 1986), eschatology, messianism and theocracy in Chronicles have a bearing on this theological construct (Braun 1979:59-61; although see DeVries 1988:636-8 on the messianic problem in Chronicles). Part of this total picture is the problem of the attitude to the North expressed in Chronicles, with some efforts at reassessing the consensus of an anti-Northern polemic (Braun 1977 [see the references there to Noordtzi, Coggins and Newsome], 1979:56-57; Williamson 1977, 1982; Japhet 1979) challenged once again with an assertion of the older position (Knoppers). Knoppers locates a problem familiar from the study of 1 Kings 11-14 -- that of divine activity or sovereignty and human responsibility -- and it will of course be of interest to see what happens with this in 2 Chronicles 10-13. One factor contributing to the reassessment, particularly the pattern of mitigated punishment, will be that of "immediate divine retribution" (see Wellhausen 1973:203-210; Braun 1979:53-55; DeBoys; Dillard 1987:76-81; Williamson 1977:67-68; 1982:31-33). Various issues from these more theological studies will thus find their way into my own analysis.

Related to the theological is a smaller though continuing approach to Chronicles which has been interested in its homiletic dimensions. Triggered by von Rad's idea of the "levitical sermon" (1966:267-280), both Allen (1988) and Mason have developed this line of interpretation further.

An approach different from the more narrow redactional or theological studies may be designated as social scientific. In a series of articles,

<sup>41</sup> The older tendency to see them the "Chronicler's History" has been challenged over the last couple of decades. See, for instance, Japhet 1968, Talshir, Williamson 1977, and the survey in Mason:9.



Weinberg has undertaken a statistical analysis of word frequency and usage in order to map the various components of *das Weltbild des Chronisten*: nature (1981a), the total human person (1981b), the human body (1982), the human psyche (1983), the designations "we" and "they" (1984), war and peace (1985), social groups (1986), kingship and kingdom (1987), God (1988), and king (1989).<sup>42</sup> The significance of this series is that the concern is with the wider ideological framework of Chronicles, that there is an effort to provide a more total picture of the world in which Chronicles was written. Such a totalizing move is comparable to the approach used in my own study, although the modes by which the two approaches work are rather distinct.

The final group for metacommentary is that covered by the disciplines of archaeology and geography: this comes for the researcher as something of a pleasant surprise, for these studies reinforce the sense of the importance of space and its organization in these chapters of Chronicles. The scholarly efforts thus far have turned around two problems: the identification of the cities in 11:5-10 and the provenance of the list (see Fritz and Rudolph (230), who argue for Josiah's time, and the debate between Na'aman 1986, 1988 and Garfinkel, who date respectively at Hezekiah's and the time to which the list refers; also Kallai:79-83; Noth 1987:58 refuses to date this older source). Second, some effort has also been directed towards the cities mentioned in 13:4, 19, with the debate going back and forth over the historicity or otherwise of the references to the capture of these cities by Abijah (see Aharoni 1959, 1967:281-283; Albright 1924; Klein 1983:212-214; Welten:11-15, 116-129). While the interest is spatial, the specific identification and location of place names is not as important for my study as the whole use of space itself, particularly as a figuration, in the text under consideration.

With the literary ranks empty, this introduction to 2 Chronicles 10-13 by way of metacommentary draws to a close. Apart from the characteristics of the studies of Chronicles noted at the beginning of this section -- a tendency to compare, more general studies than specific, a focus on ideas,

<sup>42</sup> Only 1981a, 1983, 1986, 1988, 1989 are available to me, but I list the others for the sake of completeness: "Der Mensch im Weltbild des Chronisten: die allgemeinen Begriffe." *Klio* 63 (1981b):25-37; "Der Mensch im Weltbild des Chronisten: sein Körper." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13 (1982):71-89; "«Wir» und «sie» im Weltbild des Chronisten." *Klio* 66 (1984):19-34; "Krieg und Frieden im Weltbild des Chronisten." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 16 (1985):111-129; "Das Königtum und das Königreich im Weltbild des Chronisten." *Klio* 69 (1987):28-45. See also "Das Eigengut in den Chronikbüchern." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 10 (1979): 161-181.

and the archaeological interest -- I would add that in the proper spirit of metacommentary points suggestive for my own study were located in many of the studies: the text critical need to compare; the significance of references to other "sources"; the nature of form critical study and its interest in prophetic and royal speech; the redactional focus on the ways by which a picture different from Kings is presented and the theological or ideological factors which affect those alterations; the social science concern with the total perspective; and the archaeological-geological question of the organization of space. Each of these points resonates with certain parts of the study to follow, although the directions taken are often different from those covered in the metacommentary now completed. Indeed, my discussion of the text moves into the methodological area -- untouched thus far for 2 Chronicles 10-13 -- of literary and cultural approaches.

## **7. 2 Chronicles 10-13: First Horizon**

As is becoming somewhat familiar, in this first horizon the focus is on the text and the logical or conceptual opposition or antinomy which it attempts to resolve.

### **7.1. Superstructure: Formal Reorganization**

In line with the discussion of 3 Reigns 11-14, the following analysis will trace the fate of the structural features from 1 Kings 11-14 and then the ways in which 2 Chronicles 10-13 deals with the material from Kings.<sup>43</sup> This will lead into the third step of the argument in which the narrative structure of 2 Chronicles 10-13 is outlined, to be followed by an effort to identify the ideological antinomy and closure of this narrative unit.

#### **7.1.1. Textual Forms from 1 Kings 11-14**

Despite some alterations the strongest survivor from the structures of 1 Kings 11-14 is the collection of narrative formulae. On the basis of the study of the formulae in Kings, similar formulae may be identified in 2 Chronicles (9:29-31; 12:13-13:2; 13:22), but they have undergone some

<sup>43</sup> The issue of which text of Samuel-Kings was used by the Chronicler(s) (see Mason:11) is of tangential interest, since I am interested in the fact that the texts exist in the same volume of the Hebrew Bible in its final form.

alterations in vocabulary, syntax, and structure through omissions and additions. The full range of formulae studied in the Kings text appear in this section of Chronicles, so it will be useful to compare them both to the specific parallels in Kings and to the general formulaic patterns determined in Kings. An internal but limited comparison within Chronicles will also be useful.

First, the specific parallels: although 2Chr 9:29-31 falls outside the designated chapters it does parallel the close to Solomon's reign in 1 Kings 11:41-43. The comparison will therefore begin with the closing formulae.

1 Kings 11:41-43	2 Chronicles 9:29-31
וַיִּתֵּר דָּבָרִי שְׁלֹמֹה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְחִקְמָתוֹ הֲלֹוא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דָּבָרִי שְׁלֹמֹה:	וַשָּׂאֵר דָּבָרִי שְׁלֹמֹה הָרֵאשִׁימִים וְהָאֲחֵרִים הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־דָּבָרִי נָתַן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל־נְבוּאָת אֲחִיהָ הַשִּׁילֹנִי וּבְחֻזּוֹת יַעֲדִי הַחֹזֶה עַל־יָרֵבֶעַם בֶּן־נִבְטָ: וַיִּמְלֹךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בִּירוּשָׁלַם עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה: וַיִּשְׁכֵּב שְׁלֹמֹה עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִד אָבִיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ רְחַבְעָם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו

This comparison, with the differences between the two texts highlighted, indicates both the points of similarity and the changes that have taken place in the Chronicles text over against the Kings text. The basic structure is the same: a) a referral notice to putative sources for further information concerning the king's activities and notable features; b) a statement concerning the length of the king's reign; c) formal notice of the king's death and place of burial; d) name and relationship of successor. Some minor changes have little effect (שָׂאֵר in place of יִתֵּר, a more economical וַיִּמְלֹךְ in place of וְהֵימִים אֲשֶׁר מְלָךְ, and the qal of וַיִּקְבְּרוּ in place of niphāl), but it is the two major changes which are of greater interest: הָרֵאשִׁימִים וְהָאֲחֵרִים replaces the variable qualifying phrase after the standard דָּבָרִי שְׁלֹמֹה (with whichever name depending on the monarch). A look through the remainder of 2 Chronicles reveals that הָרֵאשִׁימִים וְהָאֲחֵרִים is a more standard formula introduced by Chronicles into the collection (see 2Chr 12:15; 16:11; 20:34; 25:26; 26:22; 28:26; 35:27). The most significant, and, as will be seen, most consistent variation, lies in the nature of the putative sources; here the works of Nathan, Ahijah and apparently Iddo. We are even provided with a brief description of the nature of Iddo's work:

it concerns Jeroboam. This is both an extension of the formula in Kings and a transfer from one source to a number of sources. This has significance in the later discussion, both for the perception of prophecy and prophets thus projected and for the nature of the literary consciousness in Chronicles.

Two other closing formulae exist in our text: Rehoboam's turn comes in 2Chr 12:15-16.

## 1 Kings 14:29-31

וַיִּתֵּר דְּבָרֵי רְחִבְעָם  
וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה  
הֲלֹא־הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי  
הַיָּמִים לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה:

וּמִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה בֵּין־רְחִבְעָם  
וּבֵין יִרְבֵּעָם כָּל־הַיָּמִים:  
וַיִּשְׁכַּב רְחִבְעָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּקְבְּרׁוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד  
וַיִּשָּׂם אָמֹן נָעֻמָּה הַעֲמֹנִית  
וַיִּמְלֹךְ אַבְיָה בֶּן־תַּחְתִּי

## 2 Chronicles 12:15-16

וַיִּתֵּר דְּבָרֵי רְחִבְעָם  
הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים  
הֲלֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים בְּדְבָרֵי  
שְׁמַעְיָה הַנָּבִיא וְעִדּוֹ הַחֹזֶה  
לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ

וּמִלְחָמוֹת רְחִבְעָם  
וּיִרְבֵּעָם כָּל־הַיָּמִים:  
וַיִּשְׁכַּב רְחִבְעָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּקְבְּרׁוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִד

וַיִּמְלֹךְ אַבְיָה בֶּן־תַּחְתִּי

The differences and similarities are of the same order as those noted above for the closing formulae for Solomon, with the exception of the deletion of the reference to Rehoboam's mother in Chronicles. Once again the largest variation concerns the sources cited.

The third collection of closing formulae are those dealing with Abijah/m, who fell outside the study of 1 Kings 11-14, but is drawn into the Jeroboam narrative in 2 Chronicles 10-13.

## 1 Kings 15:7-8

וַיִּתֵּר דְּבָרֵי אֲבִיָּה  
וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלֹא־הֵם  
כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים  
לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה

וּמִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה בֵּין אֲבִיָּה  
וּבֵין יִרְבֵּעָם:  
וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֲבִיָּה עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּקְבְּרׁוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד  
וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָסָא בֶּן־תַּחְתִּי

## 2 Chronicles 13:22-23

וַיִּתֵּר דְּבָרֵי אֲבִיָּה  
וְדַרְכָּיו וְדְבָרָיו  
כְּתוּבִים בְּמִדְרַשׁ הַנָּבִיא עִדּוֹ:

וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֲבִיָּה עִם־אֲבֹתָיו  
וַיִּקְבְּרׁוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד  
וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָסָא בֶּן־תַּחְתִּי

On this occasion the major variation is the omission of the sentence referring to warfare between Abijah/m and Jeroboam, but that is of course expanded throughout the thirteenth chapter of 2 Chronicles.

The final comparison is with the general formula for closing a reign in 1-2 Kings:

1-2 Kings	2 Chronicles
וַיָּתֵר דְּבָרֵי א... [וְכָל] אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ... הִלְאִה־מָה/הָנֶם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [וַיִּשְׁכַּב א... עַם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבְּרוּ/וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד וַיִּמְלֹךְ ב... בְּנוֹ תַחֲתָיו]	וַיָּתֵר/וַיִּשְׁאָר דְּבָרֵי א... [הָרָאשִׁימִים וְהָאֲחֵרוֹנִים] [הִלְאִה־הֶם כְּתוּבִים] ... ... וַיִּשְׁכַּב א... עַם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבְּרוּ/וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד וַיִּמְלֹךְ ב... בְּנוֹ תַחֲתָיו]

At this basic level there are two obvious differences: the qualifying phrase in the second line and the citation of the sources. There is one further difference between the two: whereas the closing formulae in Kings are used for kings of both Israel and Judah (the brackets around the death and burial notice indicate the differences for the kings of Israel in Kings), in Chronicles the closing formulae, indeed all the regnal formulae, are restricted to the Kings of Judah. The significance of this would seem to lie in the contraction of formulaic legitimacy to the southern Kingdom of Judah: it contains, as far as the structure of the Chronicles text is concerned, the only monarchy by definition. This status is indicated by the narrative trappings of monarchy -- the regnal formulae. The emphasis on the Judean monarchy will resonate throughout the analysis of 2 Chronicles 10-13.

The strong showing of the regnal formulae is not equalled by the dominant structure of 1 Kings: the prophetic organization. The waning begun in 3 Reigns 11-14 is virtually complete by 2 Chronicles 10-13. In a striking comparison with 3 Reigns 12:24a-z, Shemaiah -- the minor figure in 1 Kings 11-14 -- rather than Ahijah dominates the prophetic involvement in the narrative action: he appears twice, once in 2Chr 11:1-4 in the role -- familiar from 1Kgs 12:21-24, 3 Reigns 12:21-24, 24x-z -- of preventing the attack by Rehoboam against Jeroboam and on the other occasion in a new role in 2Chr 12:5-8, reprimanding the apostasy of Rehoboam which resulted in Shishak's invasion. Of these two appearances the first comes in a block of material parallel to 1Kgs 12:1-24, while the second is part of the embellishment of the account of Shishak's invasion from 1Kgs 14:25-28. The nature of these different ways of dealing with the Kings text will be considered below.

Ahijah, the towering figure in 1 Kings 11-14, does manage to gain one passing reference but has no direct role in the action: in 2Chr 10:15 the

comment regarding the fulfillment of the word of the Lord as spoken by Ahijah is quoted from 1Kgs 12:15. The problem here of course is that the prophecy, presumably that delivered to Jeroboam in 1Kgs/3 Reigns 11:31-39, is not part of the narrative in Chronicles. The reference in 2Chr 10:15 would seem therefore to be a curious remnant from the older text of Kings, indicating at the same time both some assumed knowledge of and Chronicles' divergence from that former account.

The prophetic organization of the narrative, dominant in 1 Kings 11-14 and severely disrupted in 3 Reigns 11-14, has become a relatively minor concern in 2 Chronicles 10-13.<sup>44</sup> There are, however, two fascinating displacements that take place in this text from Chronicles, which are symptomatic of the displacement of prophecy itself in the world in which Chronicles seems to have arisen. First, virtually banished from the main narrative the prophets have invaded and secured for themselves the domain of sources cited by the Chronicles text; they have moved from active participants to observers, commentators and history writers. Thus, in 2Chr 9:29 Ahijah appears with some written **נְבוּאָה** attributed to him (the reference in 10:15 may indeed be to this collection), along with Nathan, **הַנָּבִיא**, as the author of **דְּבָרֵי נָתָן**, and also Iddo (presumably, for the Hebrew has **יְעֲדִי**; but see **יְעֲדִי** in 2Chr 13:22) who as **הַחֹזֶה** has appropriately written some **חֲזוֹת**. In 12:15 it is Shemaiah's turn as author of some **דְּבָרִים** and Iddo's source makes another appearance, as he does in 13:22 where he is attributed with a **מִדְּרָשׁ**. Such references are specific to the vicinity of the stories in which these prophets appear in Kings: Nathan is associated with Solomon, Ahijah with Solomon and Jeroboam, Shemaiah with Rehoboam. The exception is of course Iddo, who appears as **הַחֹזֶה** in only these three places in Chronicles.<sup>45</sup> Apart from the displacement of the prophets to the frame formulae, where they are now writing prophets, the second shift or displacement concerns prophetic speech -- namely, the exercise of narrative control and the mechanism of divine and human relationships -- which has been transposed into a royal proclamation (Mason:39) of the king, in this case Abijah (13:4-12). This investment of the prophetic role in the king is a significant indicator of the nature of the ideological framework of Chronicles, an area to be dealt with later.

<sup>44</sup> Dillard suggests that the omission of most of the prophetic material from Kings is due to the removal of material relating to the north and the different narrative function of the prophets in Chronicles (1987:92-3). I take this issue up in the third horizon.

<sup>45</sup> Otherwise Iddo is listed as the son of Ahinadab in 1Kgs 4:14, in the genealogy of 1Chr 6:21 and as the son of Zechariah in 1Chr 27:21.

The third structural item from 1 Kings 11-14 -- commentary -- survives in a reasonable state, both within material borrowed from 1 Kings (2Chr 10:2, 15, 19 from 1Kgs 12:2, 15, 19) and in material unique to 2 Chronicles (12:2c, 12; 13:18). The significant point here is that whereas the commentary parallel to Kings admits of the variety of subject matter in that text (10:2 refers to Jeroboam in Egypt, v. 15 to the fulfillment of Ahijah's unreported prophecy and v. 19 to the rebellion of Israel עַד הַיּוֹם (הַזֶּה)), the commentary found in Chronicles is restricted to the single category of theological comment or assessment. Narrative developments are accounted for by the level of obedience of the actors. Thus, Shishak's invasion happens כִּי מָצְאוּ בְּיָהוּדָה (v. 1) (the only legitimate Israel is centred on Jerusalem and the monarchy) -- had been unfaithful to the Lord (12:2c), and yet the anger of Yahweh is averted because Rehoboam humbled himself (וַיִּבָּהֶבְנָעוּ, 12:12). In the battle between Ahijah and Jeroboam, Ahijah's troops were victorious כִּי נִשְׁעָנּוּ, because they relied upon the Lord, the God of their ancestors (13:18). Such commentary suggests, firstly, the attempted recovery of a theological perspective on narrative and even history. This effort will be traced closely in subsequent discussion, particularly in regard to ideology. Yet the commentary and theological assessment is restricted to the king and people of Judah, the legitimate Israel, for only on these people does divine favour or disfavour rest. No outsiders, including Jeroboam, are even granted the opportunity to obey or disobey; they merely act at God's direction. Such a restriction weakens the force of the theological recovery and along with the use of regnal formulae for the Davidic kings alone suggests a more general restriction of interest to the fortunes of Jerusalem and the Davidic line.

To sum up the fate of the three structural features which have made it through to 2 Chronicles: prophetic speech has been usurped by royal speech and the prophets have been displaced to the regnal formulae, which remain close to the model of Kings but are restricted to Davidic kings. This restriction was also seen in the commentary that attempts to gain a strong theological control over the narrative. To these narrative types Chronicles adds its own: the report, but this will be dealt with below.

7.1.2. Textual Forms of 2 Chronicles 10-13

So much for the mutations in the structures from 1 Kings 11-14. As with the analysis of 3 Reigns 11-14 we therefore move to approach 2 Chronicles 11-14 from its own perspective rather than from the viewpoint of 1 Kings 11-14, to consider the way the Chronicles text constructs its own narrative. The narrator of Chronicles (for convenience: the Chronicler) organizes the raw material in four ways: quotation or material parallel to 1 Kings; recasting of sections from 1 Kings; material unique to 2 Chronicles; and a narrative type which I will designate as report.

"Quotation" refers to the virtually verbatim copying, with some minor (and occasionally significant) shuffles and modifications, of a reasonable slab -- more than a couple of verses -- of the Deuteronomistic text; here 2Chr 10:1-11:4 reproduces, without direct acknowledgement, the text of 1Kgs 12:1-19, 21-24. This quoted or parallel text produces some interesting results, such as the allusions (10:4) and references (10:2 with its location of Jeroboam in Egypt [see 1Kgs 11:26-40] and 10:15, which mentions Ahijah's unrecorded prophecy of 1Kgs 11:29-39) to material in Kings which is not reproduced in Chronicles, but the most important questions are raised by the differences between the Kings and Chronicles sections. The uncertainty over Jeroboam's presence and active participation at Shechem is resolved: he takes a direct role in the proceedings (2Chr 10:2-3, 12). At the same time 1Kgs 12:20 with its reference to the people making Jeroboam king is removed from the narrative. Thus, not only is Jeroboam denied the divine sanction transmitted in 1 Kings by the speech of Ahijah, but he is never made king as well. Fleeting hints of that former status remain: it is mentioned in 2Chr 10:15 that Ahijah spoke with Jeroboam, and in 11:1-4 Jeroboam is saved from an initial attack by the intervention of Shemaiah. Yet this intervention remains very ambiguous: the stated reason is to prevent conflict between kin, and Jeroboam seems to be spared the attack in order to allow the conflict recorded in chapter 13 to proceed. Finally, apart from the minor grammatical and syntactical adjustments throughout the parallel section (10:7, 13, 14b) the ability of Chronicles to keep close to the Kings text seems to wane towards the end of the quoted section (11:1-4) in preparation for the unique material in the form of a report which follows. The pressure of that condensed type of narrative designated as report is noticeable in the condensation which takes place in 11:1-4. Thus, **בָּל**, **וְאֶת־שָׁבַט**, **בֵּית**, and **בְּנֵי־שִׁלְמֹה** are removed from 1Kgs 12:21 in 2Chr 11:1, **וְהָאֱלֹהִים** replaces **יְהוָה** in v. 2 (1Kgs 12:22), **כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיָהוּדָה** replaces



בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל is removed from v. 3 (1Kgs 12:23), and בְּלִיְיָ הַזֶּה disappears from v. 4 (1Kgs 12:24). At the end of v. 4 מְלָכָה אֶל־יִרְבְּעָם replaces לְלֶכֶת בְּדָבָר יְהוָה in order to make it quite clear against whom the punitive expedition was directed. As a whole, the section of 2 Chronicles (10:1-11:4) parallel to 1Kgs 12:1-24 follows that text quite closely, yet the alterations made serve to marginalize Jeroboam and allow no room for the legitimation of anything outside Jerusalem and the Davidic line.

If we move along the spectrum from material close to Kings to that which is more distant the next mode of dealing with the raw material from Kings may be designated as recasting, whereby the text from Kings is reshaped, rearranged, expanded and condensed. Two instances of recasting may be located within the boundaries of 2 Chronicles 10-13. The first is 12:1-12 which recasts, mostly by expansion, the account of the invasion by Shishak in 1Kgs 14:21-24. A virtually verbatim reproduction of a verse or two is preceded or followed by additional comment or narrative. The comparison may be set out as follows:

2 Chronicles	1 Kings
12:1	-
12:2ab	14:25 <sup>46</sup>
12:2c-8	-
12:9-11	14:25b-28 <sup>47</sup>
12:12	-

The effect of such recasting is to turn the subtle suggestion of punishment in 1 Kings into an explicit example of the consequences of disobedience of God's law and the need to repent in such circumstances. The relatively peripheral note in Kings concerning the removal by Shishak of the shields and their replacement by Rehoboam becomes in the Chronicles account, through the addition of 12:2c-8, the restricted or mitigated punishment of Rehoboam; but for his repentance it may have been much worse, as the closing comment makes clear (12:12). Thus, not only does the incident

<sup>46</sup> 2Chr 12:2 converts the Qere of Kings (קִשְׁשָׁה) into a Ketib (קִשְׁשָׁה).

<sup>47</sup> 2Chr 12:9a repeats 1Kgs 14:25b (already quoted in 12:2b) as the parallel with the Kings passage is resumed for a few verses. The differences are minimal: Chronicles has וְעָלָה (12:9a) for Kings' (14:25b) and Chronicles' earlier (12:2b) עָלָה, but this is a natural change if the sentence is cut short and begins in mid-stream; 2Chr 12:9 reads וְעָלָה in place of וְעָלָה in 1Kgs 14:27; 2Chr 12:9 omits כל before קִנְיֹנִי; 2Chr 12:10 has וְעָלָה for וְעָלָה; 2Chr 12:11 reads בָּא for בָּא; 2Chr 12:11 reads וְעָלָה for 1Kgs 14:28 וְעָלָה.

become a major test-case of Rehoboam's obedience, but it also locks into place in the narrative as the first and external threat after the territory of Judah has been consolidated in chapter 11. I will return to both the question of immediate divine retribution and the narrative structure later.

A type of recasting similar to the Shishak incident is undertaken by Chronicles with the regnal formulae. There is no need to elaborate here what may be ascertained from the earlier discussion of these formulae. However, a comparative table of the formulae for Rehoboam which continue immediately after the Shishak material will indicate how the recasting operates with the formulae:

2 Chronicles		1 Kings
12:13-14a		14:21-22a
12:14b		-
-		14:22b-24
12:15a		14:29a
12:15b	/	14:29b
12:15c		14:29c
12:15d	/	14:29d
12:15e		14:30
12:16a-b		14:31a-b
-		14:31c
12:16c		14:31d

(/ indicates alternative material)

The recasting of the other formulae is comparable to this example: it is immediately obvious that the recasting is more complex and comprehensive with the formulae than with the Shishak incident. Here, there is no simple citation of the Kings text and then an insertion of additional material; rather the Kings text which clearly lies behind this one has been heavily worked over.

To these two differing modes of recasting should be added a third: a very brief summary or a virtual allusion to the parallel Kings passage. The first example is the allusion to Jeroboam's cultic and religious policy in 2Chr 12:14-15. However, the more significant example comes in 2Chr 13:5-9: in a few verses it covers the whole of 1 Kings 12, both the secession itself and Jeroboam's activities as king (significantly with a focus on the cultic innovations), without any quotation whatsoever. This recasting provides virtually free reign to reinterpretive desires, but it is of interest since it also offers a commentary on the quoted material in 2Chr 10:1-12:4 (although that section made no mention of Jeroboam's cultic reforms).

It is here that a striking formal comparison between 3 Reigns and 2 Chronicles comes into view: similar to 3 Reigns 12:24a-z, which provides an alternative version of the whole Jeroboam narrative contained in 3 Reigns 11-14, 2Chr 13:5-9 offers another version of the division of the kingdom. The difference is that 2Chr 13:5-9 limits itself to events at Shechem and Jeroboam's subsequent efforts at consolidation. Despite such differences, a pattern may be discerned: the ultimate referent -- 1 Kings 11-14 -- is translated or quoted in part and then both Reigns and Chronicles offer an alternative version or interpretation of that translation or quotation. The account of the division of the kingdom thus appears on five occasions in the three texts, including both repetitions and alternate versions (1Kgs 12:1-24; 3 Reigns 12:1-24; 3 Reigns 12:24n-z; 2Chr 10:1-11:4; 2Chr 13:5-7). Five appearances in three texts suggest some importance concerning this account. Indeed, such repetition sends out messages which may fruitfully be interpreted, in terms of Jameson's system, through Freudian notions of libidinal investment and repression.

There is therefore a range of operations which come under the umbrella of recasting: those which are closer to quotation by quoting sections and then expanding the account (2Chr 12:1-12); those which produce a complex rereading with more comprehensive alterations but also with snatches taken straight from the Kings text (the regnal formulae in 2Chr 9:29-31; 12:13-13:2; 13:22-23); and those which thoroughly recast the Kings material without any quotation (2Chr 12:14-15; 13:5-9). This range works its way across from the vicinity of quotation to the borders of material unique to Chronicles.<sup>48</sup>

Relatively little comment is required for this unique material. It occurs in 2Chr 11:5-13, 16-23 (the account or report of the consolidation of the kingdom by Rehoboam), and 13:3-4, 10-21 (the battle between Ahijah and Jeroboam). This material provides the most direct and continuous evidence of the ideological content which controls the narrative in Chronicles. It will therefore be of great interest in the ideological discussion to follow. In both sections some heavy recasting is located (11:14-15; 13:5-9), which indicates that at this end of the recasting scale it very easily slides into unique narrative.

<sup>48</sup> It would be possible to describe the different ways in which Chronicles deals with the Kings text in terms of Voloshinov's distinction (5) within reported speech between citation (repetition), paraphrase (transformation), and an interaction of repetition and transformation. Thus, quotation becomes recitation, extreme recasting becomes paraphrase, and the lighter forms of recasting which include sections of the original text become the interaction of recitation and paraphrase.

Such intermeshing and overlay is characteristic of a narrative feature noted above -- report -- which is Chronicles' own contribution to narrative types. It may be set in relief by a contrast between the two sections of unique material: 2Chr 13:3-21 has the nature of a full and even embellished narrative while 11:5-23 is pared down until it resembles more a report or collection of reports than full story. This latter text is a curious half commentary, half narrative which might best be designated as a collection of 'reports': summarizing statements of the features of Rehoboam's reign, somewhat reminiscent of the genealogical lists interspersed with various comments and asides in 1Chr 1-11. Indeed, 11:5-10 contains a list of fortified towns, while 11:18-23 is an expanded genealogical section (see Long:4-8 on list, report, historical story and history). In our chapters, the report would seem to be characteristic of material unique to Chronicles, although it by no means covers the nature of all that material.

Quotation, recasting and unique material therefore constitute the modes by which 2 Chronicles 10-13 deals with the text from Kings and constructs its narrative. It also adds to the regnal formulae, commentary and divine or prophetic speech a fourth type of narrative; namely, the report.

### 7.1.3. Narrative Structure

In the light of both the mutations of the structures from 1 Kings 11-14 and Chronicles' own way of organizing the narrative it is possible to see how the narrative is constructed. The result is a new perspective on the story, which becomes clear in a table:

(9:29-31):	Formulaic close: Solomon to Rehoboam (recast)
10:1-19:	Breakup of the kingdom at Shechem (quoted)
11:1-4:	Shemaiah's intervention (quoted)
11:5-23:	Rehoboam consolidates (unique, recast; report)
12:1-12:	External threat to kingdom by Shishak (recast)
12:13-16:	Formulaic close: Rehoboam to Abijah (recast)
13:1-2:	Formulaic introduction to Abijah (recast)
13:3-21:	Internal threat to kingdom by Jeroboam (unique, recast)
13:22-23:	Formulaic close: Abijah to Asa (recast)

It is a tight narrative structure marked by the following features. First, the narrative is encased and punctuated by the regnal formulae which pertain only to Davidic kings. Second, within the first and last formulae are two major sections concerning Jeroboam: in the first (10:1-11:4) he wins a large part of the kingdom away from Rehoboam; in the last (13:3-

21) Ahijah regains it all. The divinely sanctioned transfer of power to Jeroboam in the Kings and Reigns accounts is represented in Chronicles as an internal threat to the security of the kingdom. As will be seen below the win-loss pattern for Jeroboam assists in achieving narrative and ideological closure. Third -- and related to the preceding point -- is the minimization of formal tension in 2 Chronicles 10-13. The point at which most tension might be expected is between the quoted account of the division in 10:1-11:4 and its reinterpretation in 13:5-9. However, in contrast to the stark clash between 3 Reigns 12:24a-z and the remaining narrative in LXX<sup>B</sup>, Chronicles diffuses any potential tension by placing the reinterpretation in the mouth of Abijah.

Fourth, the marginalization of Jeroboam noted above at various points -- reassignment as an internal threat, exclusion from regnal formulae, no coronation -- takes place at the formal level as well: Jeroboam is not the centre of the account, as in Kings (in which the Rehoboam material is pushed out to the fringes) and Reigns, but he finds himself on the outer limits of the narrative. The excision of Jeroboam from the centre of the account is marked in striking fashion by the diversion of the texts after Shemaiah's intervention. In 1Kgs 12:25 attention focuses on Jeroboam and remains there until 14:20; by comparison, 2Chr 11:5 turns to Rehoboam's affairs until 12:16. Yet this divergence is signalled by quite similar sentence structure in both 1Kgs 12:25 and 2Chr 11:5:

1 Kings 12:25

2 Chronicles 11:5

וַיִּבְנוּ יִרְבְּעָם אֶת־שָׂכֶם בְּהָר אֶפְרַיִם  
וַיָּשֶׁב בָּהָר  
וַיֵּצֵא מִשָּׁם  
וַיִּבְנוּ אֶת־פְּנוּאֵל

וַיָּשֶׁב רְחִבְעָם בִּירוּשָׁלַם  
וַיִּבְנוּ עָרִים לְמִצּוֹר בְּיְהוּדָה

The first pair of clauses are of most interest: the verbs and their respective clauses are reversed, indicating thereby an opposition in structure and content. Thus, while Jeroboam builds Shechem in Ephraim and dwells in it, Rehoboam dwells in Jerusalem and builds fortified cities in Judah. The activities which Jeroboam undertook in 1 Kings are now the prerogative of Rehoboam. Yet the inversion is not a simple one, for the all-important subject appears as the second word in both first clauses: Jeroboam builds; Rehoboam dwells. Here both texts clearly indicate their

divergent foci.<sup>49</sup> The importance of this point in the narrative is enhanced by the insertion in 3 Reigns of 12:24a-z at the same location: immediately after Shemaiah's intervention. The contrast of course is that 3 Reigns enhances the centrality of Jeroboam with the insertion, whereas 2 Chronicles removes him from the narrative. Thus, on a formal level, 2 Chronicles 10-13 sets itself in opposition to the more positive assessment of Jeroboam in 3 Reigns 11-14; the content of 2 Chronicles makes this quite explicit.

The fifth feature of the narrative structure is also the point where the outlines of the major contradiction of the Chronicles passage begin to show themselves. Despite the major effort to control the narrative by means of a schema of divine (dis)approval and human (dis)obedience, this schema is restricted to the external threat from Shishak and partially to the internal threat from Jeroboam, although in the latter case there is little question that Judah is favoured. The contradiction appears with the failure to achieve control by means of the theological schema and thus closure.

#### 7.1.4. Ideological Closure and Antinomy

The conflict over narrative closure ties in closely with the major opposition or antinomy of the text, and it is to the dual problem of closure and antinomy that the discussion now turns. There are in fact two antinomies operating in this text: the more obvious of the two is divine favour and disfavour and its subsidiary obedience and disobedience. Here we draw near to the antinomy of the Kings text -- the reliable and lying word of Yahweh. That (dis)favour is not the major antinomy or opposition is suggested by its unproblematic status: it is not an issue around which the text twists and turns, as is the case with divine (un)reliability in 1 Kings 11-14. Further, as far as the narrative structure is concerned it appears to have been blocked from gaining ideological and formal control over the text. I will therefore sift through the discussion thus far in order to locate indications of another antinomy of which (dis)favour itself is a part.

Of the structural items which carried through from 1 Kings 11-14 it was seen that the regnal formulae apply only to Davidic kings in Jerusalem. Further, the displacement of the prophets to the formulae has the effect of

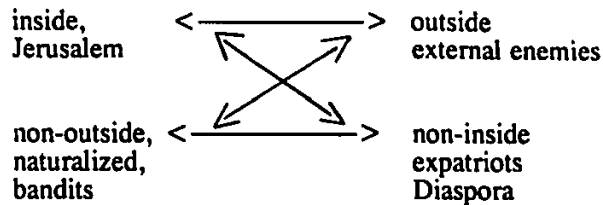
<sup>49</sup> Goldingay argues that the whole of 2Chr 11:5-23 is modelled on 1Kgs 12:25-14:20 in order to provide a studied contrast between the two kings; Dillard notes the slightly forced nature of the argument (1987:93), but it does highlight the contrast in narrative direction.

restricting prophetic activity to the kings of Jerusalem; thus the only prophet who survives in the narrative, Shemaiah, is Judean and speaks to a Davidic king. Other evidence of the contraction of concerns to Jerusalem and the Davidic line is in the marginalization of Jeroboam: he is denied kingship in the quoted material of 10:1-11:4, cast in a negative light in the recast version of the division in 13:5-9, and pushed towards the edges of the narrative structure. As with the theological schema of (dis)favour and (dis)obedience, the question of the assessment of Jeroboam is no longer problematic for 2 Chronicles, as it was for 3 Reigns 11-14. The negative assessment of Jeroboam serves the more important concern with the boundaries of the legitimate Israel in Judah: Jeroboam is clearly outside those boundaries. The theological schema is part of the same process, for as noted earlier it applies only to the Davidic kings. The authorial commentary generated by Chronicles itself -- restricted to theological assessment of king and people in Judah -- and the recast account of the invasion of Shishak -- as a model of the consequences of (dis)obedience -- provide structural evidence on this point. Divine attention therefore, whether negative or positive, goes no further than the kings of Jerusalem and the people of Judah. Finally, the narrative structure outlined earlier indicates that the basic concern is with the "national security" of Judah. I will anticipate the second level a little by noting that with the breakup of the kingdom in the first episode of this section (10:1-11:4) the second episode (11:5-23) moves on to consider Rehoboam's measures for consolidating what is left. The remaining two episodes then focus on external (12:1-12) and internal (13:3-21) threats to the enclave. Indeed, the consolidation is complete with the partial repulsion of Shishak's invasion (the text reads in 12:13: וַיִּתְּחִיזֵק הַמֶּלֶךְ (רָחֲבָעַם בִּירוּשָׁלַם) and so the conflict with Jeroboam serves to recover the losses sustained in chapter 10.

In the light of this material I suggest that the fundamental antinomy of this text, the problem at which the text works so hard, is that of inside and outside, or of the relationship with the alien or the other. The questions which turn on this antinomy concern both identification of and modes of dealing with the other or the outside. How, in other words, may the enclave be subject to disrupting features? How is it to deal with these threats and disturbances? These problems are raised by a narrative in which the kingdom is divided, is then secured and then almost collapses only to recover.

The privileged position on the Greimasian square is therefore taken by inside and outside; the contrary to inside will be non-inside, or

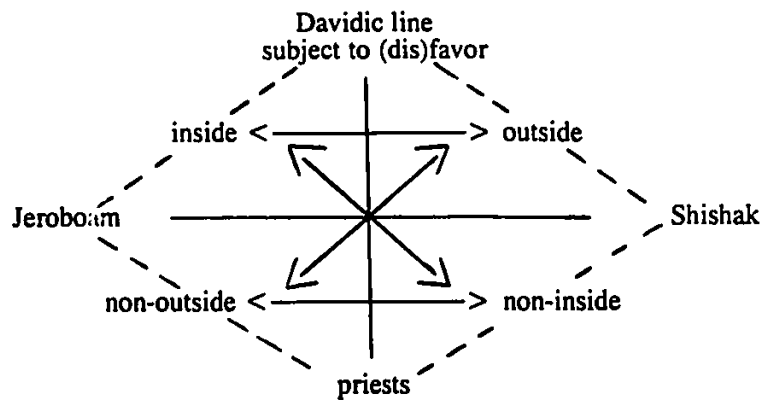
expatriots, the Diaspora, while the contrary to outside will be non-outside, or those who come from outside to be naturalized, as well as bandits who are on the fringes rather than properly outside. The square shapes up as follows:



The purpose of the square, however, is to locate not only the ideological limits within which the text works, but also the nature of ideological and thus narrative closure. The square may be extended by noting that the ability of the inside to resist the hostile outside depends upon divine favour or disfavour, which is related to the obedience or otherwise of the people and especially the king: divine favour holds the borders firm, while disfavour sees the outside break the walls. Further, Shishak comes against Judah not merely a hostile outsider, but brings with him various troops from Egypt and its surrounding territories (Libyans, Sukkim and Cushites or Ethiopians [12:3]). This is precisely the location of the benevolent external presence in 1 Kings 11-14 and even more so in 3 Reigns 11-14; that is to say, the Diaspora. Then, if we move further around the square, it will be noticed that only those who were former insiders may return to the inside: that is, only expatriots may be "naturalized." Into this category fall the priests and Levites who after the division of the kingdom become expatriots; they then return to Judah and become part of the system again. Upon such priests rests the responsibility of obedience to the rules of cultic purity and correct observance which is essential for divine favour (13:10-12). Finally, there are those who are not precisely outside nor part of the internal system; yet they threaten to tear that system down. These are the bandits, the guerrilla band, the אנשים (13:7) who gather around Jeroboam and constitute the internal threat to the kingdom, those who break it up but are then destroyed.

Our square takes further shape:





This diagram now provides the conflicting mechanisms of narrative control and closure. A strong bid is made to bring about closure through the vertical axis which deals with religious and theological questions: the kings who are subject to divine favour and disfavour and the priests who play a major part in the pattern of obedience and disobedience. Closure is however not achieved on this axis but rather when external (Shishak) and internal (Jeroboam) threats are repulsed and overcome. Indeed, closure is achieved when the portion of the kingdom which broke away under Jeroboam in 10:1-11:4 is recovered by means of a resounding defeat of Jeroboam in chapter 13. Such closure along what will be termed the political security axis then enables the rigorous religious schema to provide the impression that it has delivered closure in the narrative.

Reluctant to come to the surface, the contradiction or conflict in this passage has been located at the level of narrative and ideological closure. Part of Jameson's schema wishes to seek the specific historical situation to which such a contradiction and the effort to resolve it points. Another part makes such a move highly problematic and precipitates the dialectical jump into broader social questions. In the analyses of 1 Kings 11-14 and 3 Reigns 11-14 I have taken the latter step; I will do so here as well. Thus, with the treatment of the fate of the structural items from 1 Kings 11-14, with the identification of the new item of report, as well as the modes of dealing with the raw materials (quotation, recasting and the addition of unique material), and with the tracing through of the narrative structure, its central antinomy and the effort to achieve closure, the discussion of this first horizon brings about its own closure. In doing so, I feel that Jameson's appropriation of Greimas's square has proved the most fruitful on this occasion.

## **8. 2 Chronicles 10-13: Second Horizon**

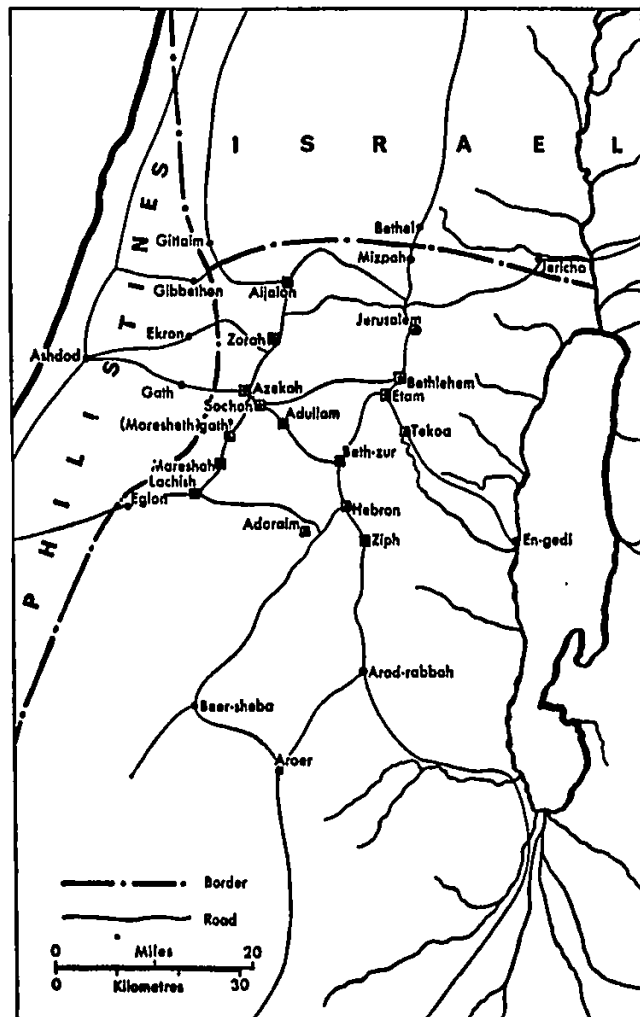
The move to the second horizon on this occasion includes, alongside the essential items of ideology and class, some concerns which fall into the psychological domain, particularly in terms of libidinal investment, which itself is intimately linked with the prominence of the utopian dimension in this text. While I have noted at a few points the comparative force of the first level analysis of 2 Chronicles 10-13, it is on this second level that the comparison with 1 Kings 11-14 and 3 Reigns 11-14 gains significance, for here the analysis moves beyond the first level restriction to the confines of the text to consider the place of that text in the wider ideological context. 2 Chronicles 10-13 must therefore carve out a place for itself in this larger ideological battleground.

It will be recalled that in 1 Kings 11-14 the primary ideological construct or ideologeme was identified as historical determinism, which dominated the royal ideology and the ideologeme of literary consciousness. Although, it was argued, there was an extensive cooptation by an exiled ruling class discourse (historical determinism) of subversive critiques of the older royal ideology, these critiques at the same time pointed in their own way to the discourses of the ruled and exploited classes. In regard to 3 Reigns 11-14 the two ideological constructs or ideologemes of decentring/exile and literary consciousness were identified on the basis of the nature of the text as translation and the insertion of 3 Reigns 12:24a-z. The central ideological conflict, it was argued, was between religion and politics, suggesting the hypothesis of an inter-ruling class conflict between Diaspora and homeland Jews. It is in the context of the ideological patterns in both texts that the following discussion proceeds.

### **8.1. The Ideologeme of Utopian Politics**

2 Chronicles 10-13 yields up its initial ideological construct with relative ease, reinforcing the formal messages of the first horizon with explicit content. In the outline of the narrative structure of 2 Chronicles 10-13, the section of 11:5-23 was identified as dealing with the consolidation of the kingdom after its breakup in the previous part (10:1-11:4). These verses, whose form was suggested to be that of a report, delineate the three major themes of the whole account.

The first of these themes deals with the organization of the state for warfare: 11:5-12 outlines the building, provisioning (food, oil and wine) and arming (large shields and lances) of a string of fortifications which cover a relatively small stretch of countryside. As noted in the metacommentary these verses have generated a good deal of interest for their archaeological and geographical worth. Although the origin of such a list remains debatable, no question is placed against the assumption that the list refers to genuine towns and their fortifications. The historicity or otherwise of the list is not crucial for this study; rather I will invoke those elements of a spatial analysis whose relevance lies within the second phase of interpretation. First, however, a map (from Aharoni:291):



Rehoboam's Fortresses.

There is wide agreement (Aharoni:291; Fritz:46; Kallai:map no. 2; May:69; Miller and Hayes:239; Na'aman 1986:260) as to the location of the towns mentioned in 11:5-12.<sup>50</sup> A number of significant points arise from the map. First, as Aharoni makes clear, is the considerable strength and strategic placement of the fortifications:

Hebron, Beth-zur and Bethlehem are on the main highway down the ridge of the Judean hills. Etam, Tekoa and Ziph protected the approaches from the wilderness of Judah. Adoraim, Adullam and Socoh guarded the various routes to the Shephelah and Philistia. A continuous line of forts was built along the western boundary with Philistia: Lachish, Mareshah and Gath in the south; Azekah, Zorah and Aijalon in the north. (Aharoni:290-291; see also Dillard:96-7)

Second, in terms of the immediate narrative context the effort and resources required are considerable: the Israelite *corvée* was no longer available (2Chr 10:18) and so physical resources are restricted to Judah and Benjamin. From these tribes fifteen towns are fortified and furnished. Third, the area enclosed by the fortifications is more constricted than that covered by the territory of Judah at any time in its history. As Aharoni notes (291) the western defence line against Philistia is pulled east off the plain and into the hills, and the southern line is so far north that it excludes the southern plain (Shephelah), the Negeb and even the southern parts of the hill country.<sup>51</sup> Even the eastern line goes no further east than Jerusalem itself. This relatively small area is thus heavily defended, with no more than five kilometres between any two of the sixteen fortresses (so Donner 1979:388). I would suggest that this constriction or reduction of space is related to the

<sup>50</sup> Aharoni sees problems with the location of Gath, which Fritz, Na'aman and May all identify as the Philistine town considerably further west in the coastal plain than the defence line which is at the beginning of the foothills (May places an indent in the Philistine borders to place Gath in Israelite territory). Aharoni argues that Gath would seem to have remained a Philistine city and that the most likely candidate is Moreseth-gath (the prominent mound of Tell el-Judeideh). Although there is no textual evidence, he suggests that the original list in 11:8 read "Moreseth-gath, Mareshah" and that "Moreseth" fell out due to its proximity to "Mareshah." Kallai (82-83), Williamson (1982:242-3) and Dillard (97) agree.

<sup>51</sup> Aharoni (291) argues that the restrictions were due to Shishak's campaign. Kallai (79-82) agrees with the western and northern restrictions but sees no difficulty with the eastern and southern borders extending well beyond the fortified towns. Donner (1979:388-9) feels that the size reflects the weakness and isolation of Judah. Miller and Hayes (238) argue for a strengthening of the southern hill country to avoid rebellion there without any intention to secure the borders. For Rudolph (229) the cities comprise a second defence line, at least to the south.

inflated numbers of troops found in Chronicles (see Jameson 1987c:48, 54 on spatial reduction in science fiction). Thus in 2Chr 13:3 a total of 1.2 million soldiers line up for battle on both sides; they are then addressed by Abijah on who stands on Mt. Zemaraim (13:4). Unless blessed with extraordinary voice projection, no human being is able to address this amount of people and no normal human crowd of such a size is able to listen in this way and expect to hear. Both cases, then -- small defended territory and large numbers addressed as though much smaller -- illustrate the spatial reduction in operation in these chapters.

Fourth, the fortifications form a rough U-shape or horseshoe, with variations allowable for landform and road systems. In contrast to the heavily fortified western flank the northern stretch remains unfortified and unguarded, although this is remedied to some extent by the capture of Bethel, Jeshanah and Ephron in 13:19.<sup>52</sup> The significance of such a wide hole in an otherwise tight defence system (Aharoni suggests plans of northern expansion) is reinforced by the study of Williamson (1977:107-110; also Eskenazi 1986) on the usage of the term "Israel" in our chapters, as part of the more general usage of the term in Chronicles as a whole. Noting the slight changes in Chronicles (2Chr 10:16, 17, 18, 19; 11:1, 3, 13; 12:1, 6) over against the equivalent Kings passages, he concludes that "Israel" is applied equally to both north and south. If spatial -- unguarded northern border of Judah -- and terminological concerns -- the use of "Israel" -- are combined, then the conclusion suggests itself that the fortifications remain incomplete without the incorporation of the north into the ideological and spatial framework of the text.

This hole leads into the second theme of 2Chr 11:5-23; that of the cultic and religious reinforcement of the enclave, which supports the conclusion of the previous sentence. 11:13-17 recounts the influx from the north of the priests and Levites purportedly not permitted to practice in the north. Religious orthodoxy and orthopraxis are more important than the traditional Levitic pasture grounds and property rights (11:14, מִגְרָשֵׁיהֶם וְאֶחָדָם) which are surrendered by the priests and Levites as they move south. These religious functionaries provide, through correct cultic practice, the religious legitimacy to Rehoboam in Judah. The priests even bring the faithful from Israel with them: for these people the stated criterion is

<sup>52</sup> In order to fill in the gaps, particularly to the north, Kallai (80-81), and Miller and Hayes (238-239) add the Levitical cities (Josh 21 and 1 Chronicles 6) which they assume to have been established during the united monarchy of David and Solomon. Aharoni (291) uses the Levitical cities to extend the southern line.

that they dedicate themselves to seek the Lord (11:16, הִתְחַנְּנִים אֶת־לַבְבָם, (לִבְקֹשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). Thus, cultic correctness and spiritual zeal succumb to the centripetal force of Jerusalem and its now sacred territory -- a striking contrast to the centrifugal nature of 3 Reigns 11-14. Although the subject of the verbs in 11:17 is unspecified, the position in the conclusion to this section of וַיִּהְיוּקִי and וַיִּאֱמָצוּ makes it likely that they designate the strengthening and securing force of all those mentioned in 11:13-16 -- priests, Levites and the people who follow from the tribes of Israel. These people are even attributed (through a plural הִלְכוּ which the LXX makes singular in 11:17) with following in the way of David and Solomon, a role normally preserved for the king. Religious sanction is thus provided to the preparation of the state for warfare. The hint of something amiss comes with the limitation of three years (11:17) on the security and most probably the strength (it would seem that לְשָׁנִים שְׁלוֹשׁ refers back to both verbs and not merely its immediate predecessor) of Judah, but we will return to this later.

It is with the third theme -- procreational prowess -- that libidinal investment makes its initial and quite obvious appearance. In 2Chr 11:18-23 are compressed the sexual and procreational activities of Rehoboam: the first two wives -- מִצְעָכָה and מְחָלָת -- who have acceptable royal pedigrees are mentioned, as are some of the offspring, three from the first wife (11:19) and four from the second (11:20). This restriction and control of the women then enables the identification of the successor, Abijah, who is the first son of Rehoboam's favorite second wife (11:21-22). Careful identification of the successor is important for the purity of the Davidic line, but this takes place in the context of more extensive procreational activity. Although not on the scale of Solomon's libido in 1 Kings 11 (the story does not appear in Chronicles), Rehoboam is credited with eighteen נָשִׁים and sixty פְּלִגְשִׁים, who produce for him twenty eight sons and sixty daughters. This constitutes a considerable level of procreational energy on the part of the women.

The explicit libidinal investment of these verses spills over into the other themes, initially the preparation of the state for war, for in 11:23 the commanders of the fortresses noted in 11:11 turn out to be Rehoboam's sons, or at least some of them, since twenty eight sons must go into fifteen fortresses. Although the syntax of 11:23 is difficult it suggests that Rehoboam in his wisdom (וִיזָן) uses a strategy comparable to a more contemporary entertainment industry, dividing or breaking up (וַיִּסְרֹץ) his sons and providing channels of libidinal expression alternative to political con-

flict, namely much food (הַמֶּזֶן לָרֹב) and much sex in the form of a multitude of women (הַמֶּזֶן נָשִׁים). The linkage here between the two themes of procreation and military organization enables the extension of libidinal investment to the narrative construction of the heavily defended enclave as a whole.

Indeed, in the light of the classic Freudian connections between religion and sex, and with the relationship between procreational prowess and divine favour characteristic of Chronicles as a whole, libidinal investment may also include within its domain the cultic and religious activity of 2Chr 11:13-17. This thematic link is made explicit in the description of the battle between Jeroboam and Abijah in 13:2b-20. The larger numbers (800,000) and the superior strategies -- the encirclement or pincer movement -- of Jeroboam avail for nothing against the cultic correctness of the priests who lead Abijah's forces, ready to sound the battle trumpets and summon Yahweh to their aid (11:11-12). It takes merely the battle shout of Judah during the battle to trigger the divine heavy artillery.<sup>53</sup> Since there is in this story a direct association between war and cult or religion, and since procreation and war have already been related earlier, these verses therefore incorporate the third theme of 11:5-23 -- religion -- within the influence of libidinal investment, which permeates from procreation through war to religion. Thus, in the light of these connections between the three components of the Judean enclave -- war, religion and sex -- it may be concluded that the fundamental relationship between them is that of libidinal investment itself.

This intense loading of the libidinal apparatus bears with it two further features: first, standing over against the sexual, martial and religious centralization in the restricted territory of Judah is an enhanced perception of the psychological and social Other. The dynamics and complexities of such an inside-outside, self-other relationship have already been explored with the Greimasian arrangement of the opposition in the first level of analysis.

The second feature is in fact the ideological construct which incorporates the others dealt with thus far: defence patterns, religious influx

<sup>53</sup> The presentation of the battle is reminiscent of the story of the fall of Jericho in Joshua 2-6, where correct cultic observance, trumpets, shouting and the agency of Yahweh are found. Mason (42) and Welten (120) describe it as a "holy war" theme, frequent in the addresses of Chronicles. These features also make their way into other texts which describe or give instructions for apocalyptic battles, particularly the Qumran War Scroll, in which correct cultic procedure ensures victory by the divine hand.

and procreational prowess, which themselves form a libidinal investment over against a looming Other, are all part of the utopian rereading of Israel's history, a reinterpretation with the incorporated future dimension so characteristic of utopian narrative. Indeed, for Jameson utopian narrative construction itself requires significant libidinal investment, for it is the point at which social and personal liberation take place. On a more particular level the strong demarcation of utopian space and the rejection or exclusion of the outside are elements characteristic of utopian narratives insofar as Jameson has described them: Utopias appear as literal or figural islands, or even planets (as in Le Guin's The Dispossessed<sup>54</sup>), independent and sharply separated from the Other in the form of the mainland, the place or planet of origin. The objection that the utopian space in 2 Chronicles 10-13 is not entirely closed off, with the gap to the north, does not hold for such a feature is part of the ambiguity of utopian narrative: that is to say, the strict demarcation carries with it an undercurrent of maintained or spasmodic connection with the Other that has been and is still rejected. In the same way, Rehoboam's defences remain open to Israel in the north from whence the priests and people flow in.

I would therefore conclude that the major ideological construct or ideologeme of 2 Chronicles 10-13 is that of utopian nationalism, or -- to avoid the associations of the term "nationalism" as that designates ideological dimensions of the growth of the nation state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries -- utopian politics. That a section of Chronicles should be fundamentally utopian is not surprising in the light of the earlier comments in the metacommentary concerning those studies which have focussed on the eschatology, messianism and theocratic construct of Chronicles as a whole (Braun 1979; DeVries 1986; Williamson 1977:135<sup>55</sup>). The alternative designation of "utopian politics" is intended to discard some of the

<sup>54</sup> It would not go amiss to mention here that the initial mental associations for the argument here concerning utopia in 2 Chronicles 10-13 were set in place by Jameson's paper on Ursula Le Guin (1975). In this paper, Jameson located four themes in Le Guin's The Dispossessed and The Left Hand of Darkness: the preparation of the state for war, sex, religion and climate. The first three appear also in 2 Chronicles 10-13 as issues that a utopian narrative needs to consider. As Williamson indicates (1982:240), these themes are regularly used by the Chronicler in describing the results of obedience and disobedience.

<sup>55</sup> Rudolph (1955) misses the point a little when he argues that Chronicles presents a realized theocracy with no future or eschatological expectation (so also a number of others as noted by Williamson 1977:135; Plöger, Baltzer, Kellermann, Steck, Hengel and In der Smitten [Williamson 1977:135]). Rudolph's argument is overcome when it becomes clear that a realized theocracy -- insofar as that is a literary projection with the great unlikelihood of an historical referent -- is as utopian as eschatology proper.



more theological associations of the former terms, to tap into more recent discussions of utopianism, to emphasize the political dimensions of such an ideologeme and to anticipate the location of this ideologeme in its respective mode of production.

The identification of this ideologeme opens up an ideological contrast with the decentred politics of 3 Reigns 11-14: although the choice of terms is my own, utopian politics versus allegorical decentring, or decentred politics, becomes a clash that Jameson's method both uncovers and fruitfully develops further. Thus, not only are the reinterpretations of the role of Jeroboam opposed to one another but in the wider ideological battleground the two ideologemes from 3 Reigns 11-14 -- decentring/exile -- and from 2 Chronicles 10-13 -- utopian politics -- become combatants.

#### 8.1.1. Immediate Divine Retribution

However, contradiction is not restricted to the relationship between texts: 2 Chronicles 10-13 bears its own ideological contradiction which forms part of the legacy from 1 Kings 11-14. The heavily fortified, pious and fecund utopia of 2 Chronicles 11 virtually crumbles in 12:1-4 due to Rehoboam's disobedience. The fortified cities, closed to the south and the path of an invading Egyptian army, all fall as though they were nothing to the countless army (אֵן מִקָּצֶר לָעַם, 12:3) of Shishak due to lack of obedience and discipline on the part of Rehoboam and the people. The time scale itself is subjected to such a force: in a narrative reorganization which may be termed an "ethical periodization" the security lasts for a certain number of years until Rehoboam's disobedience. It returns when he and the officers repent of their disobedience.

This pattern, which stands in stark contrast to the characteristic mitigated punishments of 1 Kings, has, as noted earlier, been dubbed the doctrine of "immediate divine retribution" which was mentioned earlier in the metacommentary. It has been described as "one of the most prominent and characteristic features of the Chronicler's theology" (Williamson 1977:67) which "provides his dominant compositional technique" (Dillard:76), although it was Wellhausen who first identified it in his Prolegomena (203-210; see also Eskenazi 1986). The terms of this feature are previewed in 1Chr 28:8b-9 and then firmly established in 2Chr 7:13-14: here, as in 2Chr 12:1, it unambiguously applies to all the people and not merely the king. Such retribution, as is clear from the presentation of Shishak's invasion dealt with above, is closely tied up with the questions of

repentance and prophetic warning (so Williamson 1982:31-33). Immediate divine retribution -- which now includes the cluster of retribution, warning and repentance -- may be designated as the second major ideologeme of this text (see the extent to which it controls the narrative in Dillard:76-81) but it also creates significant ideological tension.

Before turning to that tension, however, this ideologeme is not so unfamiliar to the Jeroboam narrative. In 1 Kings 11-14 it was the complex problem of historical determinism which dominated the text and attempted to deal with the inexplicable ways of God in the world. In 3 Reigns 11-14 such a theological organization dominated by prophetic presence and control suffered a severe onslaught: in 3 Reigns 12:24a-z it became the target of narrative marginalization and even ridicule in the effort to establish a political control over the text. In its present avatar in 2 Chronicles 10-13 it is neither dominant, although it at first appears to be so, nor under attack; rather the broad question of theological interpretation, the relationship between humans and the divine, has been given a facelift in terms of what has been described as immediate divine retribution. From dominance in Kings to banishment in Reigns, this theme has, as was argued in the first level analysis of narrative structure, made something of a comeback in Chronicles, but it is by no means complete. A hint of such incompleteness comes with what would seem to be crucial for such an ideologeme, the time-scale. In 11:17 the emphasis through repetition is placed upon the three years of security enjoyed by Rehoboam and the people, yet it is only in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (in a recast section from 1 Kings which offers a short quotation before elaborating) that Shishak attacks (12:2). Such a time lapse places considerable strain upon the "immediate" part of the retribution, even if the three-year schema is regarded as a typological device indicating the completion of a short space of time (see Cogan:207-109).

Such a rift suggests that this ideologeme has not been able to retake the ground lost since the Kings text. In fact, it has been able to return only in a firmly subordinate and coopted role. It has legitimacy but only under the direction of the text's controlling utopian politics, for as was suggested by the Greimasian square earlier divine favour becomes yet another factor in the formation of the utopia. In order to be a utopia it must have, apart from and even beyond martial strength, cultic purity and libidinal satisfaction, an obedient population and the favour of Yahweh. The lack thereof indicates merely that the utopia remains yet to be realized. The challenge to the utopian formation presented by immediate divine retribution is there-

fore brought under control. While this situation differs from the desperate struggle in 3 Reigns it also resonates with this other text at a more fundamental level: like 3 Reigns 11-14 the religious gives way to the political. In this sense both later texts contrast with 1 Kings 11-14 where theological concerns dominate the text, but the significance of this must await the third horizon of analysis.

The presence in 2 Chronicles 10-13 of immediate divine retribution as a subordinate ideologeme indicates a new function for an old and reworked theme: it may now be regarded as a subversive discourse within this text, threatening but not being able to topple the utopia at the centre. The old hegemonic discourse has been re-vamped as an oppositional discourse seeking to undermine the ideological formation of the text. This point brings the discussion to the nature of the base, understood here in terms of class, suggested by the conflicting ideologemes of utopian politics and immediate divine retribution.

## 8.2. Base: Class

As in the discussions of the other two texts the question of class must remain both hypothetical and highly suggestive: not unexpectedly in 2 Chronicles 10-13 the dominant class discourse is that of a ruling class. In other words the utopia constructed in these chapters, and presumably in the other chapters of Chronicles, is a ruling class effort. The more obvious indicators of such a class location have been dealt with earlier: the fortifications and preparations for war take place at the direction of the king (and yet they require considerable labour), the class fraction of religious professionals take their place within the enclosed space of Judah, and the royal fraction ensures its hold with an increase in their numbers and the control over the fortresses.

Alongside these blatant expressions of class interest are those which tap into more wide ranging utopian desires. The first of these may be seen at a number of important points in 2 Chronicles 10-13 where the people form part of the collective whole of Judah and Benjamin. For instance, in 11:17 they join the priests in strengthening (וַיְחַזְקוּ) the kingdom and making Rehoboam secure (וַיִּמְצְאוּ). More importantly, as in 2Chr 7:14, it is this same group which follows in the way of David and Solomon (הִלְכוּ בְדַרְךְ דָּוִד וְשְׁלֹמֹה). This is in contrast to 1 Kings which speaks only of the king in such terms and restricts the reference to David. The inclusion of the general populace is found again in 12:1 and 2, in which disobedience

is credited to both king and people: v. 1 spells it out that Rehoboam and the people with him (וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ) abandoned the law of Yahweh (וְאַת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה); in v. 2 the plural subject of the verb works on the same assumption (כִּי מָעַלּוּ בַיהוָה). Although it is the officers and the king (12:6, שָׂרֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַמֶּלֶךְ) who are addressed and repent in 12:5-8, the point remains that it is not the king alone who does so.

These observations are reinforced by the study of Weinberg on social class in Chronicles (1986) in which he concluded that there is a constant emphasis on the solidarity of many social groups with the king (94). Alongside this tendency to include ruling classes and the ruled as a collective, there is a second subtle designation of utopian perspectives on class. In this text and throughout Chronicles, as shown in Weinberg's study (1986:91), there is an effort to eliminate the realities of socio-economic differentiation. For instance, the terminology of poverty and wealth -- except in stereotypical formulae of royal power -- and the reality of property distinctions are systematically excluded from the discourse of Chronicles (89-90). These features -- social solidarity and the absence of class distinctions -- point towards a desire to construct the picture of a classless society which is so essential to many a utopia.

The problem of course is that the excision of class references is so often a ruling class strategy of repressing class differentiation and denying the presence of class conflict. Utopian demands for an end to such inequitable differentiation and the resultant class conflict are met not through any mechanism or process of redistribution but through a discourse which represses the class distinctions while leaving them firmly in place.

These utopian politics also play another role apart from banishing class references: as noted earlier the picture is a highly centralized one with all energy directed towards the small territory of Judah -- a direct contrast to the decentred politics of 3 Reigns 11-14. The ideological opposition between these two texts would also seem to have its class dimensions: as suggested in the discussion of 3 Reigns 11-14 and now reinforced by the ideological analysis of 2 Chronicles 10-13, decentred and utopian politics may well constitute the two poles of an inter-ruling class conflict between the Diaspora ruling class of 3 Reigns and the Jerusalem ruling class of 2 Chronicles. Although such a conclusion remains hypothetical, it is supported by the formal and ideological nature of both texts as that has been analyzed here.

There is, however, another ideological feature of 2 Chronicles 10-13 which complicates matters. The ideologeme of immediate divine retribu-

tion, insofar as it poses a threat to the utopian construct, on a first perusal would appear to indicate the inscription within 2 Chronicles of the ideological opposition with the decentred politics of 3 Reigns. Although unlikely, this suggestion does point to a double shift in the function of the ideologeme of immediate divine retribution in the text. On the first move, the ruling class in Jerusalem is after all subject to an external and much more powerful imperial ruling class: it may be argued therefore, without moving too far into the realm of the third horizon of analysis, that the pattern of immediate divine retribution and the dire threat it poses to the utopian territory of Judah is the text's way of registering the presence and impact of this external imperial ruling class. That such a threat is cast in religious terms will be significant on the next horizon. The absence of such a basic structural feature of the narrative in 3 Reigns, except in that which was inherited from the text being translated, supplies further evidence that 3 Reigns was itself produced in the context of that greater reality which 2 Chronicles so desperately attempts to resist.

The second shift in the role of the punctual deity opens up the question of the ruled and exploited. I suggest that what in an earlier form -- as the problem of historical determinism and the prophetic control of the text -- was central to the ruling class discourse (1 Kings 11-14) and what was subsequently removed forcefully from its place of dominance (3 Reigns 11-14) has now been recovered as a subversive theme. Gone is the complexity and sophistication of the treatment of historical determinism in 1 Kings 11-14 and in its place is a schema which gives all the impressions of being stilted, for which it is often criticized. However, the direct and forceful nature of immediate divine retribution to the extent of straining the narrative organization -- as with Rehoboam's three (or five) years of favour -- is precisely that which suggests a non-ruling class situation for this discourse. It gives voice to the direct challenge and threat posed by the ruled and exploited classes. The other characteristic which reinforces this argument was noted earlier: it is firmly located in a position subordinate to utopian politics, a cooptation characteristic of the strategy of containment used by ruling class discourse. Other indicators of subversive voices are preserved in the quoted material of 2 Chronicles 10:1-11:4. These have been mentioned in the discussions of both previous texts, to which I refer the reader.

### 8.3. Summary

To sum up the second horizon of analysis, I have argued that the two contradictory ideologemes of 2 Chronicles 10-13 are utopian politics and immediate divine retribution, the former discourse giving expression to ruling class aspirations and the latter playing the double role of reference both to the external imperial ruling class and to the subversive yet coopted voices of the exploited classes.

## 9. 2 Chronicles 10-13: Third Horizon

The third interpretive level pulls the discussion into the most comprehensive and abstract (and therefore, if we follow Lukács, most concrete) phase which is that of history and the absent or hidden cause of modes of productions. The search, by means of figuration, is for the dominant and subordinate cultural formations and their respective modes of production and thus for the tensions and clashes between them which Jameson terms cultural revolution. I begin by seeking the dominant cultural form which leaves its trace in 2 Chronicles 10-13.

### 9.1. Superstructure and Figuration

A first candidate may be found in the figurative promise of the ideologeme of immediate divine retribution. In this ideologeme the interest lies in spelling out the workings of the divine in human affairs; indeed, its operation depends upon the assumption that the primary conceptual mode of understanding reality -- in these few chapters reality includes family, cult, state and warfare -- is the religious. There is no need to retrace the arguments in the previous chapters that religion takes over many of the functions of ideology in earlier modes of production. In its bid for narrative control the ideologeme of immediate divine retribution acts as a figure for the cultural dominant of religion, or the sacred. Tied up with this ideologeme and providing comparable figuration is the emphasis on the cult in Chronicles as a whole (so Myers:LXXV; Williamson 1982:28-31) and the specific sections of 2Chr 11:13-17 and 13:8-12. Such a conclusion would then draw 2 Chronicles 10-13 into the same cultural space as 1 Kings 11-14, a conclusion which is reinforced by the conceptualization of the divine in the former text. In the distribution of favour and disfavour Yahweh acts as a despot granting favour to and withholding it from various

subjects and smaller rulers. It is not sufficient, however, to argue that the deity is understood in terms of the oriental despot, with the assumption that these two are distinct identities. Rather, it is often difficult to separate the two at an ideological level: the oriental despot and the deity are interchangeable and at times identical. It will come as no surprise that the mode of production which sponsors such a cultural form is that of the Asiatic mode of production. I will not cover the same ground as in the discussion of chapter two in establishing this connection in the Marxist tradition of thought.

The figurations of the despot, of religion as a cultural form and of the Asiatic mode of production all would seem to be present in this text, but as a candidate for cultural dominance there are some problems. Gone is the ambiguity and arbitrariness of divine action in the 1 Kings text; the distance of the deity and the delays in the pronouncements of the divine will -- most markedly in the mitigations of punishment -- which themselves would seem to be marks of the relative inefficiency of the Asiatic mode of production have been eradicated. By contrast, as though a quality assessment program had been put in place, the activities of the deity in 2 Chronicles 10-13 are both more stilted and efficient (if that is the correct adjective). The bureaucracy would seem to have been bypassed or streamlined as Yahweh deals directly with the situation, bringing Shishak in for punishment (12:2), holding him back in response to repentance (12:5-8), and responding immediately to the shout of the people of Judah in the battle against Jeroboam's forces (13:15). Such efficiency is more directly threatening to whatever human activities are under way, forcing them to be accountable to the deity -- and thus may be regarded as subversive to an older ruling order -- but it is not the same conceptualization as that found in 1 Kings 11-14 under the Asiatic mode of production. This god comes closer to the *deus ex machina* of Greek tragedy who arrives on stage on a platform or glides down on a flying fox to set things aright at the end. Or, to use a different but related comparison from the political realm, the despot of 2 Chronicles acts more like the provincial governor of a different mode of production in which the governor must move swiftly to maintain order as well as his (since they were all male) own position. Thus, despite all the conceptual trappings of the ideological and cultural dominant of the Asiatic mode of production, the semiotic grid in which the despot operates is that of the more efficient ancient or slave mode of production. While the characterization of Yahweh is the major hindrance to the cultural dominance of the religious perspective, the other obstacles which lie in the path include narra-

tive and ideological marginalization. The details of these strategies have been noted above, so there is no need to reiterate them here.

With the search for a cultural dominant unsuccessful thus far I will have recourse to an alternative figuration process, that of space. In an earlier section I argued that the spatial arrangement of the fortresses was an important part of the utopian politics of this text. Here such spatial factors play a different but related role. A notable feature -- noted with surprise by Aharoni (1967:292) -- of the pattern of fortresses in 2Chr 11:5-10 is the restricted territory which is included. Indeed, apart from the maximum distance of five kilometres from fortress to fortress apart from the northern gap, the distances measured directly from corner to corner yield the following results (based on measurements in both the Oxford Atlas and Aharoni): 37 km from Jerusalem to Ziph on the eastern side, 30 km from Ziph to Lachish on the southern side, 40 km from Lachish to Aijalon on the western side, and only 22 km from Aijalon to Jerusalem in the north (although this opening is left slightly ajar). This is by no means an extensive territory: less than any of the descriptions of Judah, whether independent or under imperial rule, it resembles more the territory under the influence of a powerful polis such as Athens, Sparta or Corinth. I would conclude therefore that the spatial figuration of 2 Chronicles 10-13, particularly 11:5-10, is that of the polis.

The opposition developed earlier through the assistance of Greimas -- that between inside and outside -- reinforces at this third interpretive phase the importance of the political, understood in the narrow sense of citizenship of the polis. This figuration connects with the discussion of 3 Reigns 11-14, where it was argued that the characterization of Sareira betrayed many elements of the polis, which provides the essential ideological characteristic -- politics itself -- of the ancient or classical mode of production. The utopian restoration constructed in the narrative of 2 Chronicles 10-13 is thus focused on the polis of Jerusalem and its limited territory of influence. Such a figuration moves in two directions, presenting a further dimension of the contrast with the decentring of Jerusalem in 3 Reigns 11-14, and indicating that the appropriate mode of production is the classical or slave-based.



## 9.2. Cultural Revolution and the Base

Given the narrative and ideological dominance of utopian politics it follows that the cultural dominant of 2 Chronicles 10-13 is that of politics and that the classical mode of production is the appropriate dominant form of the base; all of which relegates the sacred and the Asiatic mode of production to subordinate status. The nature of the cultural revolution inscribed in this text falls into place with relative ease: 2 Chronicles 10-13 marks a less hostile and more comfortable stage in the transition from the Asiatic mode of production to the classical, from the religious or sacred cultural dominant to the political.

One final form of figuration reinforces such a conclusion: the displacement of the prophets. Once again the details of this exodus and relocation have been noted in the comparison between the narrative structures of 2 Chronicles 10-13 and 1 Kings 11-14: of the controlling prophetic presence in 1 Kings 11-14 only Shemaiah remains in the narrative action, bearing specific and limited directives. Prophetic dominance has, however, been removed to the formulaic frames where they have become the authors of various works: Nathan, Ahijah, Iddo and Shemaiah himself have entered the scribal class, as it were. Apart from Iddo, the prophets have been removed from the narrative action in which they once took part to the regnal formulae of Chronicles which frame the comparable accounts now devoid of their presence. They have become mere spectators to events, their written words now providing a retrospective coverage of events rather than a prospective direction to the narrative action itself. In other words, the prophets now look back rather than forward. These are the signs, as Overholt has argued (1988; see also Welch:50), that the prophets have no program with which to play; prophecy has ended and all that remain are the prophetic records which may be interpreted, applied, and forged.

Alongside the transference in narrative function, another sign of temporal distance from the prophets includes the fluidity of identity of the figure delivering a prophetic word in 2 Chronicles as a whole (kings, a priest, a foreign ruler, and mediums<sup>56</sup>). Critics comment on the stereotypi-

<sup>56</sup> The prophetic figures are Shemaiah (2Chr 11:2-4, 12:5, 7-8), Azariah (15:1-7), Hanani the seer (16:7-9), Jehu the son of Hanani the seer (19:1-3), Jahaziel the descendant of a Levite (20:13-19), Eliezer (20:37), Elijah (21:12-15), Zechariah son of the priest Jehoiada (24:20), anonymous prophet (25:25-16), the prophet Oded (28:9-13). Others are the kings Abijah (13:4-12), Asa (14:10), Jehoshaphat (20:5-12), King Neco of Egypt (35:21), the priest Azariah and the 80 priests with him (26:18), and the medium whom Saul consulted for guidance (1Chr 10:13-14). See further Mason:138-141, who distinguishes between and assesses royal, priestly, prophetic and other addresses.

cal or even generic nature of the prophets and their utterances (Myers:LXXVI; Welch:49). In other words, the generic prophet of 3 Reigns makes its appearance in 2 Chronicles. Further indicators include the use of the (post-)exilic form of "Report of a Prophetic Word" in the case of Shemaiah's appearance in 12:5 (DeVries 1989:288), and the switch from "man of God" to designate Shemaiah in 11:2 (following Kings) to "prophet" in 12:5, 15. The passing of the prophets is thus a figuration for the passing from the Asiatic to the Classical mode of production, the role of the prophets declining with the removal of the cultural form of the sacred from dominant to subordinate status.

Traces of other modes of production may be identified: the by now museum status of 2Chr 10:1-11:4 preserves the appeal of tribal society or primitive communism in the words of the people in response to Rehoboam in 10:16. Of greater interest is the figuration of the ideologeme of generational conflict in this same section which indicates the importance of the cultural form of kinship characteristic of neolithic or hierarchical kinship society. This latter insistence on kinship relates to the importance placed in the utopian construct of Chronicles itself to kinship: the description of Rehoboam's procreational activity foregrounds this concern as do the chronological lists found in the first nine chapters of 1 Chronicles. Finally, in comparison to 1 Kings 11-14 and 3 Reigns 11-14 women have simply been banished to the role of child producing machines in 2 Chronicles: this utopia has no room for women apart from such a role.

In conclusion, the third phase analysis produces a complex picture in which the final layer of contradiction may be located. 2 Chronicles attempts a reconstruction of Judah by presenting it in the past as a utopian enclave and then uses that reconstruction as a model for a restored Judah. In doing so the text incorporates desirable elements from earlier modes of production, particularly the kinship structures of hierarchical kinship societies and the cultic emphasis of the Asiatic mode of production; even the subversive force of divine retribution against the ruling class is included. However, such a reconstruction is able to take place only in terms of the ancient mode of production. The signs of this are everywhere: the function of the deity, the nature of Judah as a powerful polis, the subordinate status of the deity and the religious domain as a whole. The double bind of 2 Chronicles 10-13 therefore is that the attempt to keep out the tide of the ancient mode of production by producing a utopian enclave is

carried in the very terms of that newer mode of production: it is therefore achieving the transition in the very effort to resist it.

## 10. Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter I have once again made a rather close application of Jameson's threefold allegorical method. Some stretches will strike the reader as more plausible than others, but that is a wider issue to be dealt with in the general conclusion. The decision to place 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 together has produced a good comparison between the two, with some similarities and some contrasts. This pairing off continues in the following summary.

In the discussion of both texts the first or literal level of interpretation began with an interest in the fate of the major formal features from 1 Kings 11-14: of the four features in that text -- regnal formulae, prophetic organization, commentary and the insertion of chapter 13 -- the major formal element of 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 is the challenge to and displacement of the dominant prophetic organization. Still in the first interpretive level I turned to consider both texts from their own perspectives: 3 Reigns provided direct translation of 1 Kings 11-14, rearrangement, omission and addition, of which 12:24a-z is the most significant; 2 Chronicles similarly is structured in patterns of quotation of 1 Kings 11-14, recasting and material unique to Chronicles. As far as the next part of phase one -- ideological antinomy and closure -- is concerned I suggested that the struggle over the assessment of the paradigmatic figure of Jeroboam and thus also of David formed the antinomy of 3 Reigns 11-14. For 2 Chronicles the opposition of inside and outside became the primary antinomy for which the text was an attempted resolution. In the case of both texts some use was made of Greimas's semiotic square in order to locate the mechanisms of narrative and ideological closure.

In the second horizon of interpretation, which is concerned with ideology and class, I identified the basic ideological units or ideologemes as decentring/exile and literary consciousness in 3 Reigns 11-14 and utopian politics and immediate divine retribution in 2 Chronicles. If the class dimension is added a basic ideological and class conflict between the two texts comes to the surface: utopian politics and decentring -- the primary ideologemes of each text -- suggest a conflict between a home-based and Diaspora ruling classes. The conflict between ruler and ruled shows its

face in that which is excluded by literary consciousness in 3 Reigns and in the subordinate role of immediate divine retribution in 2 Chronicles.

For the third interpretive horizon various avenues of figuration were suggested for both texts. In 3 Reigns space and social interaction were identified as figures for an emerging, if not already dominant, ancient mode of production, while the decline of prophecy and the linguistic act of translation indicated a cultural revolution under way as the cultural sphere underwent the long transition process from the AMP to the ancient mode of production. For 2 Chronicles the notion of immediate divine retribution suggests an AMP, but this is possible only in the context of an ancient mode of production, for which the spatial intrusion of the polis and removal of the prophets from the action into the formulae serve as figures.

Both 2 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 therefore show signs of a waxing ancient mode of production and a waning AMP with leftovers and echoes of other modes of production. In the cultural sphere (superstructure) the shift is registered in terms of the gradual displacement of religion in favor of the "political."<sup>57</sup> To this common situation the texts constitute the opposed responses embodied in the ideological constructs of decentred politics focused on the Diaspora and utopian politics centred on Jerusalem. It of course another step to make concrete historical suggestions about provenance and authorship, but that is not my task here. It has thus proved possible to apply Jameson's method across both texts and achieve some coherent results.

<sup>57</sup>The suggestion of a common intellectual or cultural ground is reinforced by Dion's study concerning the absence of cultic prostitution in 2 Chronicles (the reference from 1Kgs 14:24 is excised from 2Chr 12:14) and the failed attempts to make sense of the term in the LXX (at 3 Reigns 12:14, שָׁרָה is rendered by σύνδεσμος, or "bond"; but see Tov's [1981:105] suggestion of metathesis with interchange here, LXX reading שָׁרָה for שָׁרָה). These texts operate in a thought world that is the same for one another but different from Kings. This may also be related to the restriction on names for God in Chronicles (see Weinberg 1988).

## CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have sought to apply Fredric Jameson's textual theory to some biblical texts. This required both a statement of that theory as I understand it and a subsequent textual analysis in which I applied the theory. As far<sup>as</sup> the statement is concerned, in the first chapter I presented a systematic account of the basic workings of Jameson's theory, arguing that its operations have to do with the relationship between the activity of metacommentary or transcoding and the ordered Marxist method of interpretation. While metacommentary is concerned with the desire to account for the pluralism of methods and interpretations, stressing the need to be able to move from one to the other in the act of interpretation, the Marxist method categorizes the various areas of interest for Marxist interpretation into three ever wider horizons or phases of interpretation: the individual text and its particular historical base, ideology and class, and culture and mode of production. The relationship between metacommentary and the Marxist method is often in tension since it expresses Jameson's wish to be open to many methods but also to argue the priority of Marxism over those methods. In my own appropriation of Jameson's approach I opted to use metacommentary as a base for the main analysis which was a detailed application of the three levels of the Marxist interpretive scheme to the biblical texts.

In regard to that application, in the second and third chapters I applied Jameson's method to the three related texts of 1 Kings 11-14, 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13. The value of these texts is that they are paradigmatic sections for the wider textual contexts in which they are found, for they set the patterns by which the reader is meant to understand in each case the story of the divided monarchy. My conclusions in regard to these texts thus have wider ramifications. In my analysis I have largely been able to work Jameson's method right through with each text, identifying elements appropriate to all levels (the question of plausibility will be dealt with below). By way of summary the analysis might be understood as a three-by-three grid: three texts and three levels of analysis for each, providing nine boxes or squares which were all filled.

Phase	1 Kings 11-14	3 Reigns 11-14	2 Chronicles 10-13
One	<p>Formal features: regnal formulae, prophetic organization, commentary and ch. 13.</p> <p>Antinomy: (un)reliable word of Yahweh; closure: competition between regnal formulae and prophetic organization.</p>	<p>Formal features: rearrangement of 1 Kings features; translation, rearrangement, addition, omission; 12:24a-z important.</p> <p>Antinomy: pro- or anti-Jeroboam (Greimas's square); closure: interplay of ideological and formal options in 11-14 and addition of 12:24a-z.</p>	<p>Formal features: rearrangement of 1 Kings material; quotation, recasting, unique material.</p> <p>Antinomy: inside vs outside (Greimas's square); closure: by political axis of square over against religious.</p>
Two	<p>Ideologemes: royal identity, historical determinism and literary consciousness.</p> <p>Class: "de-classed" ruling class (in exile?); scribal class fraction; echoes of ruled class discourse.</p>	<p>Ideologemes: exile/decentring and literary consciousness (focus on 12:24a-z and translation).</p> <p>Class: Diaspora ruling class and scribal class fraction; ruled class implications in exclusions from scribal class.</p>	<p>Ideologemes: utopian politics (spatial and libidinal dimensions) and immediate divine retribution.</p> <p>Class: post-exilic ruling class; excision of signs of class difference in "utopia"; opposition in notion of Yahweh's retribution.</p>
Three	<p>Figuration: conceptual in terms of religion and the depiction of Yahweh, formal in terms of sentence production. Cultural dominant is religion.</p> <p>Mode of production: local AMP in context of larger AMP of Mesopotamian empire; echoes of other modes.</p>	<p>Figuration: of culture by space (polis) and social interaction (slaves); of cultural revolution by prophetic decline and process of translation into Greek. Rising cultural dominant is politics.</p> <p>Mode of production: increasing presence of ancient mode of production with strong remains of AMP; echoes remain of other modes.</p>	<p>Figuration: divine retribution and cult suggests AMP, but space (polis) and utopian politics indicate politics as cultural dominant.</p> <p>Mode of production: utopian projection of AMP based on Jerusalem but using the conceptual tools enabled by ancient mode; echoes remain of other modes.</p>

In what follows I will consider the two questions of how these results are to be assessed and their possible value. First, assessment: the most important and basic achievement of this dissertation is that by working Jameson's method through in all phases of interpretation I have been able to produce a cumulative case for the initial plausibility of applying Jameson's approach to the biblical text. This is not to say that it is the only plausible reading (see below), but each time that the method is applied successfully its plausibility increases; thus the analysis of three texts serves this purpose more fruitfully than that of one. The achievement of such a cumulative case is all that I need claim for this dissertation; yet there are certain ramifications from such a conclusion which should be addressed.

As indicated in the introduction, I have opted to work with the whole of Jameson's approach, or at least a sizeable part of that approach. As with any methodological choice, this has its advantages and disadvantages. On the negative register, it meant that I was covering significant territory both in the theoretical discussion and in the application. It was thus not possible to focus on any one area -- for instance ideology and religion, or the notion of figuration, or the idea that formal relations are inevitably conflictual -- to the exclusion of others. However, since Jameson's work is not widely known among biblical scholars and because I was concerned to make an initial case for the plausibility of Jameson's approach it seemed to me that a more comprehensive or encyclopedic effort has more going for it on the positive register. On this side, it was possible to show that Jameson's approach is productive not merely in one restricted area or enclave but across the whole landscape of options. A wide angle view, as it were, is provided over the whole territory. Having touched on the various options only briefly I have indicated that these areas may be opened up for further study and exploration, when it will be possible to dig deep into a specific area and consider it from a variety of perspectives.<sup>1</sup> I have made the exploratory survey before the digging begins.

Nevertheless there remain some problems which need to be addressed in such a future exploration. How does one "apply" a method? Within the Marxist tradition, and in some others as well, one does not so much apply a given theory (the idealist option) but work at an interaction between theory and practice which is known as "praxis" (the materialist

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the more obvious items from the analysis itself a fascinating question which requires further attention is the nature of ancient historiography (see McKenzie 1991:150; van Seters 1983).

option). (The term also applies to the relation between political action and theory, for which Jameson has been repeatedly faulted [Li:137]). I might restate the problem as follows, first from the perspective of method and then from that of the text. How does one decide what is important in a text and what is unimportant? I did not, for example, examine the question of genre which forms part of Jameson's strategy on occasions. How does one decide to use certain elements -- psychoanalysis or spatial analysis and so on -- and not others? I made use of space in the third chapter with both 3 Reigns 11-14 and 2 Chronicles 10-13 but not with 1 Kings 11-14, and in regard to the Chronicles text I also invoked libidinal apparatus. Ultimately I suspect these choices are made by the interpreter for a host of intellectual, practical, political, ideological and social reasons.

One might approach such questions from the perspective of texts rather than method. The question then becomes: how do I recognize an element when I meet it? As I suggested at the close of the first chapter it would seem to be a combination of an intuition developed through close association with the methodology but also of a set of objective limits set by the text itself. Not everything, in the final shakedown, is possible with a text, since it sets physical boundaries to what one can do with it. Or, to use a different terminology, the text resists a mechanical application of a theory so that it is not possible to use the same methodological options in every case and even where similar options are used the results are achieved in a different way each time. The most obvious example of this was the inability to make use of the base at the first horizon of reading (although Jameson himself has problems here) and the adjustment of the method to account for this. One of the problems here is how one decides when an approach or option is working or not. This is where the comparative exercise of metacommentary would be useful. In saying these things I have opened up the whole area of textual (in)determinacy: such questions are raised by my study but require much further thought.

Another issue in the area of method concerns the status of the various options or elements of Jameson's approach -- ideologeme, antinomy, closure, figuration, spatial analysis, libidinal apparatus and so on. The validity of these various strategies was not examined in the context of Jameson's own theory nor in relation to others. Rather than asking whether they were internally consistent, coherent or accurate, or how they fared in relation to other methods, I was prepared to use them in my textual analysis on the basis of the success that Jameson seems to have had in his own analyses. Despite this, these options must of course remain hypothetical



until it is possible to examine them more closely both for internal rigour and for practical or interpretive productivity. At this stage my study has indicated some connections between these elements in Jameson's theory and the texts; it has therefore made a start in suggesting that they may indeed be useful strategies, but closer examination of each is required before deciding firmly one way or the other.

A further difficulty remains the role of the critic in the process of interpretation. As argued in the first chapter, despite Jameson's insistence on incorporating the critic into the interpretive process, and even despite the potential of metacommentary in this area, Jameson himself as critic remains largely absent from the scene, a situation which enables the interpreter to don the mantle of omniscience.<sup>2</sup> In my own analysis the relatively rigorous application of Jameson's method provided the opportunity for both concealment and control: not only was I able as critic to efface my presence through the interpretive tools I was using but by means of this self-effacement I was also able to achieve some interpretive omniscience, moving smoothly from method to results. In this way I was merely replicating the concealed omniscient critic of Jameson's system. This would seem to be a problem inherent in that system and any future development would need to address the problem. I would in fact suggest that the threat of the omniscient critic is not restricted to Jameson and that much criticism operates with a similar covert critic who in the final copy conveys little if any of the uncertainty and tentativeness of all interpretation, including my own interpretive effort.

This problem may be restated in terms of another difficulty considered in an earlier chapter: the relation between metacommentary and the Marxist method. I do not need to go over the whole problem again here, but it is metacommentary which would enable something of the uncertainty of criticism to become explicit: in the comparative and testing nature of metacommentary -- in which Marxism also must make its bid for interpretive adequacy -- the covert critic's cover would be blown. As for the metacommentary-Marxist method relationship itself, I suggest that it is itself a generic item. Any criticism which wishes to claim the greater adequacy of one particular interpretation or method over others faces the same tension which I argued earlier exists in Jameson's own approach. These then are

<sup>2</sup> This becomes explicit in his postmodernist studies where Jameson literally writes himself as critic out of the situation by arguing for the collapse of critical distance (1984i:93; 1987i:8; see Li:136)

some of the difficulties inherent in an analysis which applies Jameson's textual theory to the Bible, indeed to any text. The problems become all the more interesting and perhaps urgent given the initial achievement of an interpretation using Jameson's approach.

These, then, are the sorts of issues involved in the assessment of the results tabulated above. I have suggested that the achievement of these results argues for a basic plausibility of Jameson's approach but that there are some problems which come with the method itself.

A second major issue is that of the value of these results. The general value of my study is that, as noted earlier, it has been able to open areas of further work which could not be covered in detail here. The more specific value will turn on the crucial question of frameworks or ideological options. In this light, certain elements will be of interest to those who accept some or all of the insights of a Marxist framework, or "problematic" to invoke a term encountered in the first chapter. Other elements -- most likely less than with the Marxist framework -- should also be of value for those who opt for a non-Marxist framework. In the present situation this second group will more likely be liberal rather than reactionary in politics, religion and social assumptions. People from this group will most likely hold to some form of faith commitment and operate within a religious community in some way or another.

For Marxists the whole analysis should be of value in various ways, since the questions and issues are those which are important to Marxism as a whole; questions ranging from Marxist literary criticism, through items such as the relation of Marxism and psychoanalysis, to modes of production. The interest in Jameson, however, as the increasing volume of secondary literature and listings in citation indexes indicates, is much wider than Marxist circles. I would like to suggest that my own results have a wider import also, particularly for biblical scholars not operating within a Marxist framework; that is, the vast majority. The greater interest here will lie in those points of analysis that do not try to make the connection with society and history as I have done in my analysis. Thus, the various tools used in the first level -- the focus on form as conflictual and on its relationship with antinomy and closure -- will be of interest, as will questions of ideology and religion in the second. Areas which may be less enticing but are equally important would be spatial analysis and some serious consideration of psychoanalysis and national allegory. Even though most scholars will consider the effort to relate the text to class and economics as reductionist, these areas do require attention without making

any necessary connections with the texts. If a single contribution might be identified, then it would be the importance of tension and contradiction in textual form and ideology -- a useful corrective to functionalist presuppositions which assume that texts make a unified sense in their final form or by appeal to specific historical referents.

The best example of the use of a Marxist method without taking the Marxist framework with it is the work of Robert Polzin on the Deuteronomist, which may act as a model for those who wish to drag away less than the full treatment for their own work. Polzin attempts to apply the insights of Voloshinov-Bakhtin to the Deuteronomistic History. His interest is more in the conflictual and contradictory elements of the text and in ideology, but the connections with other Marxist issues such as class and economics are not made. In terms of my analysis the more interesting material for non-Marxist scholars would then be the discussion of each text from the first level -- especially since I exclude the base or history from the first horizon -- until the superstructure of the second which is concerned with ideology. Subsequent questions, beginning with the base of the second horizon and the issue of class conflict and moving through into the third horizon, will be of less interest to the majority of scholars. It may indeed be argued that Jameson's own appropriation of methods follows a similar pattern: he acquires Lévi-Strauss's analysis of the Caduveo Indians without taking other less congenial examples, or Greimas's semiotic square with relatively little else from that analytic system, or Freudian analysis and Frye's insights without their ideological assumptions. In other words, Jameson is continually acquiring methodological items and transforming them in the light of a Marxist framework. In this case Jameson himself provides a possible model of appropriation of his own system by those who do not share his framework. In my own case I do share that framework and thus am interested in the whole range of questions he brings to the text. I am therefore also interested in other contributions of Marxist criticism -- such as Terry Eagleton, Pierre Macherey, Lucien Goldman and so on -- and would hope that future work may uncover elements from the work of these writers and others which will prove fruitful in biblical interpretation. At the same time my appropriation of these works will also be informed by a Christian, or at least religious, framework which intersects but is not identical with a Marxist horizon.

The final issue affecting the value of my study is how this reading relates to other readings of the same texts. The strong form of the question may be posed in terms of whether my reading is one of a number of pos-

sible readings or whether it is the context within which all other readings should be understood (the problem of totalization and pluralism)? While many interpretations may well give the impression that they provide such a totalization, Jameson's notion of strategies of containment will prove useful to show the limitations of such interpretations. Too often Jameson invokes the idea of a strategy of containment for another work while blocking it out of his own: a strategy of containment by which that strategy itself is denied (see Dasenbrock 1981:308-9). The logic of this means that the weaker form of the question is more appropriate: is one reading better or worse than any other (the question of quality)? Posing the question in this way then allows room for the assumption of metacommentary: that more than one plausible reading exists or may one day exist. Indeed, virtually every reading has some point of contact with the text, some claim to plausibility when it is triggered by something in the text. To adjudicate the quality of such readings is perhaps impossible, since the question assumes some form of objective, scientific test of quality. Given this impossibility it seems that metacommentary may perhaps provide the appropriate strategy, moving from its groundwork role in my own interpretation to a role of comparative assessment, but this is another task.

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APPENDIX  
JAMESON'S APPROPRIATION OF GREIMAS

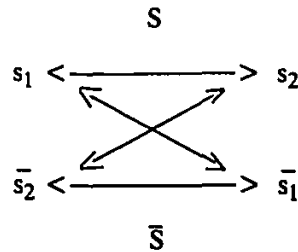
Jameson's appropriation of Greimas's methods, particularly the semiotic rectangle or square out of all the equations, schemata and nonverbal symbols, is one of his more fascinating raids into other methodological territory: it proves fruitful, in conjunction with Jakobsen's notion of axes or coordinates, to track down mechanisms of narrative closure (1975a; 1983a), or to explicate the crucial character systems of a particular story (1975a), or ideological systems in a novel corpus such as that of Conrad (PU:206-280), or a person's entire aesthetic framework, such as Adorno's (LM:151-154).

The first formal treatment of Greimas appears in PHL and from then the square or rectangle makes regular appearances in subsequent analytic works. The most complete statement of how the "interested outsider can navigate this conceptuality [of Greimas' semiotics] and occasionally beach and camp with profit and stimulation within it" (1987o:vi) may be found in Jameson's "Foreword" to the English translation of a number of key essays (1987o).

In this foreword, the preliminary (but important) comments on meaning (the object of semiotics is the production of meaning which is the transformation of an already given meaning), give way to a discussion of the dialectical relation of narrative and cognition which comprise the two incompatible but dialectical forms of ideology, whose relationship the semiotic square then mediates (a narrative will be reduced to cognitive or ideological combinations, while a cognitive text will be rewritten as a narrative struggle between ideas and concepts). The visible and spatial capacity of the square is to present the logical outcome of that crucial initial binary opposition or contradiction: the initial term ( $s_1$  in the canonical notation) and its hostile other ( $s_2$ ) generate the simple negatives  $\bar{s}_2$  and  $\bar{s}_1$ , which are at the same time enlargements of their pair in the upper register, yet like that pair always to be found at one another's throats.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The terminology varies: in 1984o Jameson uses  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$  and their negatives  $\bar{s}_1$ ,  $\bar{s}_2$ , while elsewhere he uses  $S$ ,  $-S$ , and their negatives  $\bar{S}$ ,  $-\bar{S}$ .

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Two further signs (compound terms) appear,  $S$  being the complex term in which the initial opposition is overcome, and  $\bar{S}$  being the location, as neutral term, of negation and privation. Along the sides run the lateral or deictic axes ( $s_1$  and  $\bar{s}_2$ ,  $s_2$  and  $\bar{s}_1$ ) with a different set of relationships in operation, while the whole diagram is shot through with the cross connecting compound and the lateral terms, thus completing ten different possibilities which constitute the sum of possible ideological formations within the enclosure.

Jameson distinguishes both pedagogical and heuristic uses of the square, providing in the latter case a workshop stress test (Hayden White's cognitive *Metahistory*) in which the three crucial decisions involve: the identification of the primary opposition (on this decision rests the variety of ways in which the remainder will fall out); the necessarily polysemous nature of the four terms; and the motor force and/or unexpectedness of the elusive fourth term ( $\bar{s}_2$ ).

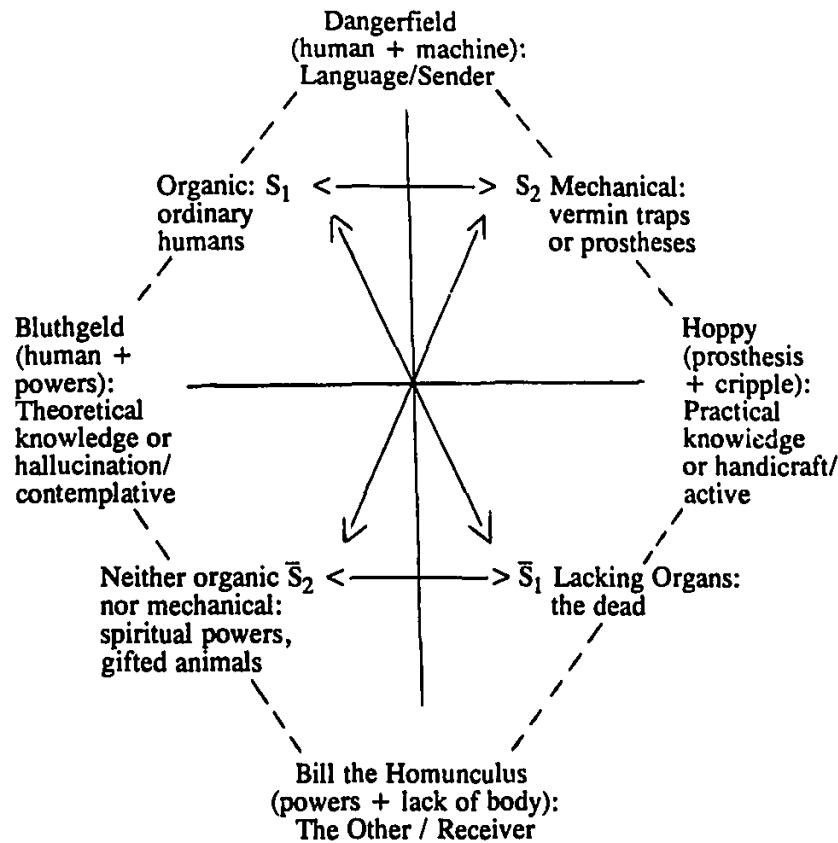
In PU Jameson specifies that the location of the square as a major tool of narrative strategy is in the first horizon of the Marxist scheme of interpretation, where it functions to clarify the operation of binary oppositions or antinomies, to specify the ways in which ideological closure is achieved in narrative, that is, the ideological boundaries beyond which the ideas and concepts within texts are unable to proceed (the next step is then to inquire about the historical circumstances of those limits, but also to rotate the terms themselves to indicate ways out of the closure [1987o:xvii]). Its validity is local and incomplete, a beginning of the exploration rather than a conclusion which requires the shift to the social and historical dimension, a move which is intended to jolt the schema out of its static and ontological homologues into a more fluid and versatile tool (a potential located within the narrative of the discipline's development [1987o:vii-viii]).

The regular appearances of the square within analyses -- after the initial detention in PHL (162-168) and subsequent release -- normally function in a capacity determined by the local text (where such analysis is demanded

by the text); that is, the full range of possibilities is not always exploited. As the square is understood to mediate between narrative and concept, I will organize Jameson's uses of the square in terms of those which work from narrative to concept and then those which work the other way.

Thus, there are those which work from the side of narrative in producing conceptual arrangements: Greimas' own arrangements of Bernanos' novels (PHL:165); the reading of Dickens' Hard Times (PHL:167-168). Further, there is a more basic use of the diagram, cutting out at the complex and neutral terms, in order to explain the generation of Utopian narrative by means of the neutral term (1977d / IT:75-102). Jameson also analyses: the narrative system, which is in this case a libidinal apparatus, of Wyndham Lewis' Tarr (FAWL:99), where the characters appear as primary terms; the personality system of Wyndham Lewis as that appears in The Human Age (FAWL:120); the semiotic system of the body or sensorium in Rimbaud's poetry (1984l:80); and the complex ideological and narrative closure in Conrad's Nostromo (PU:276-277), which also opens up psychoanalytic possibilities regarding Conrad. Most recently, Jameson has made detailed use of the square in articulating the spatial systems in Hitchcock's North by Northwest (1992b).

A major use of the square involves the analysis of character systems, whereby the arrangement of the characters of a work serves to indicate ideological options. Thus, one of the earlier and most extensive analyses of character systems appears in the study of P. K. Dick's Dr. Bloodmoney (1975a). Here the square is pushed to its extreme, unearthing the fundamental axiological paradox in the novel (and in Dick's corpus) between language/communication and existence/knowledge (either practical or contemplative) which also provides an explanation of how Dick achieves closure: by the exchange of closure from the language axis to the existence axis (see the diagram on the next page). Character analysis may also be found in the study of Balzac's La Vieille Fille, leading to a discussion of the meaning of "character" (1976j:44; the rewrite for PU:167 omits the important second diagram); as part of the ideological closure with Conrad's Lord Jim (PU:254-257); and once again in the film Something Wild (1989a:533 / PCLLC:293).



The second category of Jameson's application of the square are those studies which move from concept to narrative, transforming conceptual, often social, arrangements into potential or embryonic narratives: Greimas' own example of tribal marriage patterns (PHL:163-164); Lévi-Strauss' culinary triangle-become-rectangle (PHL:166); the intricacies of Max Weber's thought, where his sociology of religion generates the first example in Jameson's work of character analysis where the compound and lateral terms designate figures or characters in both story and theory, along with the only appearance of extended concertina-type version (1973d:63-68, 88; IT2:13-17, 33); the elaboration of Lacan's signifying chain into a basic four-fold schema (IT1:111-114; the diagrams do not appear in the original version 1977f); the world-view or understanding of history itself in Adorno (LM:113), along with his aesthetic theory (LM:151-154); the formal and ideological combinations available within the closure of contemporary culture, providing a schema of cultural dominants themselves (realism, modernism, postmodernism) (SV:161), a schema which then turns out, for



the purpose of presentation, to have an inner square articulating the dynamics of film production (SV:198).

My own use of the square is limited to character evaluations in 3 Reigns 11-14 and the dynamic of inside and outside in 2 Chronicles 10-13. Others have found Jameson's development productive in analysis. Thus Conrad's Victory is subjected to the schema (Collits), as is the foot fetishism of postmodernism as that was developed in a review of the Italian version of the famous 1984 essay and subsequently incorporated by Jameson into the rewrite (PCLLC:10). Sprinker's analysis of Premchand's Godan utilizes the square yet again (Sprinker 1989b:70-71) as does the dissertation by Wesley on Joyce Carol Oates (Wesley).

However, the square is not available for universal application, indicated by Jameson's own selective use of the square: it would seem that the texts provide limits to such use, with reasonable evidence of a number of abandoned and derelict squares in Jameson's work. The best exhibit is the removal of the second and fuller square from the revision of the La Vielle Fille essay (1976j and PU:167); the obverse of this presence-absence pattern is the absence of diagrams in the original Lacan article (1977f) and their subsequent inclusion in the revision (IT1:111-114), including a basic Greimasian square. A suggestive "lopped" version, where the anticipated fourth term never pretends to appear, is used in assessing the patterns, by means of Niklas Luhmann, of signifieds and signs in Claude Simon's  *nouveaux romans* (PCLLC:141-142). At times it is resisted in places where the work of identifying binary oppositions has been done but where the square will not fulfill its proper function, as with the ecology, religion, sex and war of Le Guin's utopias [1975g]), or with the narrative closure of Raymond Chandler's novels, where it probably should have appeared (1983a).

A related analytic tool comes from the replacement of the semiotic square with the structural *combinatoire*, or "structural permutation scheme,"<sup>2</sup> a set of parallel but intersecting oppositions outlaying the logical possibilities and variables of a set of terms in which alteration of one of the normally four constituents results in comparable changes in the others (and thus opens up the possibility of determining the changes in the others upon discovery of change in one), and in which it is possible to deal with conformity and variation at the same time (1977g:551). The ultimate purpose

<sup>2</sup> On one occasion Greimas' square is described similarly as a "permutational mechanism" (1973d:63 / IT2:13).

of such a structural approach, as with the closely related semiotic approach of Greimas, is to ensure that the analysis hits bottom; in other words, that it recovers the historical conditions of possibility and limitation of certain textual forms (see further PU:146-150).

Specific examples of the *combinatoire* or combination scheme include: the relationship between form and substance, content and expression in developing the structural dimension of genre (PU:146-147); the four possibilities regarding modernism and postmodernism depending on one's stand for or against (1984h:62 / IT2:110 / PCLLC:61); the traditional solutions to the problem of historicism, namely antiquarianism, existential historicism, structural typology, and Nietzschean antihistoricism (1979c:45 / IT2:152); and the four ways of looking at a fairy tale -- surrealist, peasant or materialist, structuralist or protonarrative, and poststructuralist -- although here the designation of *combinatoire* does not appear (1986d); the permutations of film and novel, being novel into film, film into novel, novel and film composed simultaneously, and novel into film into novel (1980b). The combination scheme would seem to be an alternative route for the arrangement of logical possibilities which does not require, or rather resists, the application of the semiotic square.

Yet there is some border crossing, or at least the exchanging of pleasantries, between the semiotic and the structural. Firstly, what was initially described as a *combinatoire* -- Hayden White's four-by-four table used to analyze the nineteenth century narrative historians in *Metahistory* (1976c:4 / IT1:157-158) -- is transformed into a glorious square (1987o:xvii-xxi), a transformation enabled by the crucial decision of the location of the initial contradiction with metaphor and synecdoche rather than White's own metaphor and metonymy). Secondly, the Weber paper noted above avails itself of a *combinatoire* in the midst of all its Greimasian construction in order to explicate -- as part of the elaboration of the theory of the "vanishing mediator" in Weber's work -- the logical permutations (in the relationship between capitalism and protestantism) between ends and means on the one hand and rational and religious stances on the other (1973d:77-78 / IT2:23-24). Thirdly, there is the analysis on narrative closure in Raymond Chandler (1983a), where a combination scheme turning around the presence and absence of offices and residences articulates the spatial configurations of the various social types. Closure does not however, as would be expected in the structuralist aesthetic, take place when all the possibilities of the scheme are exhausted; rather, closure is enabled by the interaction or exchange between the axis of social typology

and a second one identified as nature: the closure of the natural or geographical code is projected (by means of those passages in which the margins of the urban and the natural appear) onto that of the systematization of the social order. In this case, then, the closure generated by axiological contact which was achieved earlier by means of the semiotic square (on P. K. Dick 1975a) is now brought about by means of the permutation scheme. Hypothetically both Greimas' semiotic square and the structural *combinatoire* might be used in every analysis, but their selective use in Jameson's own work suggests that methods as such are subject to certain limits and varying suitability and that their status and results are always tentative. The question recurs as to when and how to use a method, and then how one assesses such use.

This, then, is the way in which Jameson appropriates Greimas' semiotic square and utilizes it in narrative analysis.

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