

tion that many scholars will reject this as a naive, unduly generous assessment. It is the only one that is not patronizing or condescending toward the ancient authors, the only one consonant with all the evidence examined in this book.

The method adopted in this treatment has been to separate analysis of the historians' reconstructions from analysis of their presentations—to explore the logic of two different, if interrelated, historiographic procedures separately. It operates on the postulate that H(Dtr) and his colleagues were three-dimensional human beings, not abstract, hypothetical quantities, living in a society of readers or hearers who would not tolerate outright lies or even overdone pettifoggery. This postulate may be wrong. It is the only one that, doing justice to the authors who are the object of our study, does no injustice to ourselves.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. F. M. Cross, "The Epic Traditions of Early Israel: Epic Narrative and the Reconstruction of Early Israelite Institutions," in R. E. Friedman, ed., *The Poet and the Historian* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983), 19.
2. The list includes R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic, 1980), 23–46; J. Barr, *The Scope and Authority of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), 5; for a convenient summary of these developments, see J. J. Collins, "Is a Critical Biblical Theology Possible?" forthcoming in W. H. Propp, D. N. Freedman, and B. Halpern, eds., *Ex Occidente Lux* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).
3. See, e.g., H. W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale, 1974), especially 134–36, 160f. Further bibliography in Chapter 1.
4. J. R. Goody and I. Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," in J. R. Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968), 27–68, especially 31–45. The basic insight is attested in England in the first half of the nineteenth century.
5. See already F. M. Cornford, "A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's Theogony," in *The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays*, ed. W. K. C. Guthrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1950), 95–116.
6. See Goody and Watt, "Consequences" (n. 4), 20f. For Israelite literacy see recently, A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 39; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981). I doubt, however, whether writing was widely disseminated. The vowelless alphabet remains a cipher of the tongue; the orthography, as a recent ostrakon from Khirbet Uzza with full orthography shows, did not reflect pronunciation, but was conventional.
7. G. Widengren, "Myth and History in Israelite-Jewish Thought," in S. Diamond, ed., *Culture and History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin* (N.Y.: Columbia University, 1960), 467–90. The quotation is from pp. 484f. Widengren undergirds himself with the work of J. Hempel (pp. 472f.), whose views coincide with the ideology underlying A. Rosenberg's *Mythos des zwanzigen Jahrhunderts* and collide with those actuating Noth's work. For the history of Widengren's position, see J. A. Rogerson, *The Problem of Myth in the Old Testament* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974). See further on cultic metaphor, A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel," *JBL* 67 (1948): 37–53; J. Pedersen, "Passahfest und Passahlegende," *ZAW* NF 11 (1934): 161–75.
8. E.g., A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1977), 194–96.
9. See J. A. Hofstijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (HSM 31; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984).
10. See Chapter 9, n. 31. Cf. J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Haven: Yale University, 1983), 92–96.
11. See on Ashurbanipal, M. Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal gegen die Araber" *WO* 7 (1973): 74–85; on Esarhaddon, R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Afo Beih. 9; Graz, Austria: Weidner, 1956), 68; on Sennacherib, N. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR* 214 (1974): 25–39; on Sargon, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.)* (Paris: Geuthner, 1912). For earlier examples see the enumeration in E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," in R. C. Dentan, ed., *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven: Yale University, 1955), 63–67; and A. L. Oppenheim, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* 19 (1960): 133–47.