Michaela Bauks / Wayne Horowitz /
Armin Lange (ed.)

Between Text and Text

The Hermeneutics of Intertextuality in Ancient Cultures and Their Afterlife in Medieval and Modern Times



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Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz,
and Armin Lange

in association with
Bernd Hene

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Preface

The present volume publishes the proceedings of the third meeting of the network "The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" at the Koblenz campus of the University of Koblenz-Landau on September 21st–24th, 2009. Under the heading "Between Text and Text" both the meeting and its proceedings engage with the hermeneutics of intertextuality in ancient cultures and the afterlife of these hermeneutics in medieval and modern times. Previous meetings were dedicated to the questions of hyper-/paratextuality (Palimpsests: An International Symposium on Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature; Vienna, February 25th–27th, 2007)[1] and metatextuality (*Palimpsestes II: Symposium international sur la littérature de commentaire dans les cultures du Proche-Orient ancien et de la Méditerranée ancienne/*Palimpsests Two: An International Symposium on Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures; Aix-en-Provence, September 25th–27th, 2008).[2]

The Koblenz meeting was organized by Prof. Dr. Michaela Bauks (University of Koblenz-Landau) and Prof. Dr. Armin Lange (University of Vienna). We are grateful for the hospitality of the University of Koblenz-Landau during our meeting. It is furthermore a pleasant obligation to express our gratitude to the "Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln" and the "Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Jugend und Kultur" of the German state of "Rheinland-Pfalz" for their financial support of our meeting. A warm word of gratitude is addressed to the editors of the Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series for accepting our volume for publication, and to Jörg Persch and Christoph Spill at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht publishers for accompanying us during the editing and production of our volume. Copyediting and typesetting of the present proceedings was done by Bernd Hene (University of Leuven), for whose support we are especially thankful. We are furthermore indebted to Antje Arend (University of Koblenz-Landau), who supported us in translating some of our contributions, and to Lilli

[1] The proceedings of this meeting are published in the volume *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R.J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[2] The proceedings of this meeting will be published in the near future in *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures, September 25th–27th 2008* (ed. P. Alexander and S.H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

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Ohliger (University of Koblenz-Landau), who prepared the index for this volume.

With regard to orthography we did not impose on our authors one orthographic system either but left them the choice between British and American orthography. Abbreviations are according to *The SBL Handbook of Style.*

At the end of this preface, it should be emphasized that the various theological positions and religious opinions expressed in the articles of this volume do not necessarily reflect the views of its editors. The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network, as well as its third meeting and the proceedings of this meeting brought and bring together scholars of diverse religious backgrounds. The authors of this volume's contribution are not interested in convincing others of their own religious opinions and convictions but express their views to foster an interdisciplinary and interreligious dialogue. For the same reason we as editors did not harmonize the use of terms like Old Testament and Hebrew Bible.

Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz, and Armin Lange
Koblenz, Jerusalem, and Vienna, October 2012

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Michaela Bauks, Wayne Horowitz, and Armin Lange

Introduction

Under the heading "Between Text and Text" both the meeting and its proceedings engage with the hermeneutics of intertextuality in ancient cultures and the afterlife of these hermeneutics in medieval and modern times. The intertextual nature of texts has aptly been described in the famous dictum of Julia Kristeva:

> Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.[1]

Kristeva's revolutionary insight is hardly denied today. Her approach led to a paradigm shift in the study of ancient, medieval, and modern literatures. Intertextuality is especially dominant in ancient texts. Ancient literatures are often corporate literatures. Ancient texts often evolved over centuries and were written and rewritten repeatedly. Sources were merged and various oral and written traditions were integrated, alluded to, and adapted. Even when classical Greek culture developed the concept of the individual author, the individual claim to authorship did not put an end to the intertextual way of writing in antiquity. But the study of ancient intertextuality has also particular difficulties to address. To name just a few: The bulk of the ancient literatures is known only in fragments or is not preserved and our knowledge of the ancient cultures and languages is far more limited than the one of modern cultures and languages. Both, the importance of intertextuality in antiquity and the special difficulties to research it emphasize though the need to do so. The present volume focuses therefore mainly on ancient texts and their intertextualities but gives a few perspectives on how ancient intertextualities display the same mechanisms as the medieval (see the contributions by Dimitrova, Miltenova, and Waldman) and modern ones (see the contributions by Davidowicz and Oeming).

The volume as such is structured in three parts. In the first part (Methodology), we ask for the methodology of ancient intertextualities and how to research them. In the second part (The Intertextualities of Written and Visual Texts) we ask for the various forms of intertextuality in ancient, medieval, and modern cultures. The third part (Cultural Memory and Canon)

[1] Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue and Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader* (ed. T. Moi; Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 34–61 (here 37); cf. eadem, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. L.S. Roudiez; Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 66.

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engages with the function of intertextuality in cultural memories and canones.

Part 1: Methodology

We begin our proceedings with three methodological reflections by Philip Alexander, Michaela Bauks, and Gebhard Selz of how to study intertextuality in ancient texts. Ancient texts pose particular problems for the study of intertextuality because their ancient contexts are mostly lacking, because we have a limited knowledge of the language they are written in, and because we do not share the ancient cultural presuppositions of the audiences and authors of ancient literatures. The study of intertextuality in ancient cultures requires hence especially careful methodological reflection.

Michaela Bauks ("Intertextuality in Ancient Literature in Light of Textlinguistics and Cultural Studies") discusses intertextuality from the perspective of contemporary textlinguistics. She defines text as "a very important instance of sign production or sign reception, independent of the medium/support of the text transfer."[2] In antiquity, intertextuality is part and parcel of the scribal recitation and copying of texts. In this process, scribes recombined, revised, and added to the textual traditions, which they transmitted. The widespread cognitive mapping of crossover cultures in a partial oral world favors intertextuality in antiquity. Intertextual relationships have to be examined from a text-typological perspective. The closing and reopening of texts is a simultaneous activity in canonical collections and influences inter- or transtextual processes significantly. That a texts is (often) rewritten, expanded etc. indicates its integration into the cultural memory of a given society and hence its scriptural and/or canonical authority. Because in antiquity a text serves as a permanent reference point for an ongoing process of largely oral recitation, ancient intertextualities need to be described different than modern ones.

Gebhard J. Selz ("Texts, Textual Bilingualism, and the Evolution of Mesopotamian Hermeneutics") attempts to clarify some basic aspects of the evolution of Mesopotamian hermeneutics, focusing on the ontological status attributed to texts (and signs) from the late fourth millennium onwards. Selz describes how the bilingual nature of early Mesopotamian cultures led to a mixture of two Sumerian and Akkadian elements in the cuneiform texts of early Mesopotamia. Almost every text consisted of both Sumerian and Akkadian elements. In this sense writing as such becomes intertextual because cuneiform texts include almost by default both a Sumerian and an

[2] Michaela Bauks, 45.

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Akkadian text. As cuneiform signs can be both logographic representations of a given word and signs for syllables, each cuneiform sign evokes furthermore a range of associations. This special characteristic of cuneiform signs results in particular intertextualities. Signs and words and signs and meanings are intertwined.

Philip Alexander ("A Typology of Intertextual Relations Based on the Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity") shows how the typology developed in a research project of the universities of Manchester and Durham is of importance for the question of ancient intertextuality. The project uses a textlinguistic approach to literary profiling. Alexander finds the following four types of intertextual relations in ancient Jewish literature from 200 B.C.E. to 700 C.E.: explicit and implicit metatextuality (i.e. commentary and translation), extensive verbal overlaps (i.e. retellings, reworkings, continuations etc. of earlier texts), borrowing of text-segments and language (i.e. quotations, allusions, expressive re-use of the language of another text), literary models (i.e. the development of literary genres based on a literary role model).

Part 2: The Intertextualities of Written and Visual Texts

The contributions to this part of our proceedings study various examples of different intertextualities which are at work in both written and visual texts (a relief and movies). We ask for the intertextual phenomena of retelling, rewriting, and continuation (roughly corresponding to Alexander's extensive verbal overlaps), commentaries and translations (corresponding to Alexander's explicit and implicit metatextuality), quotations and allusions (corresponding to Alexander's borrowing of text-segments and language), and genre and motif (roughly corresponding to Alexander's literary models). It is obvious that a single volume cannot study all existing and/or possible types of intertextuality comprehensively. The below examples do not want to be more than spotlights on a much broader phenomenon.

The retelling, rewriting or expansion of anterior texts in posterior ones is arguably the most common way of textual expression in the oral, written, and visual literatures of antiquity. Therefore, many contributions to our proceedings study this phenomenon.

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Retelling, Rewriting, Continuation

The Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network has studied the retelling, rewriting, and expanding of anterior texts in posterior ones in its first meeting in dialogue with the work of Gérard Genette.[3] One of our main insights beyond Genette's work was that not just one anterior text is retold, rewrote or expanded in one posterior text but that most posterior texts employ several base texts. To avoid the impression of a simple one-layered relationship between anterior and posterior texts many members of our network describe the phenomenon in question as paratextuality and use instead of Genette's rhetoric of a hypotext which underlies a hypertext the terms "paratext" and "base texts"[4] while others use Genette's terminology or prefer other designations.

The contributions of Sydney H. Aufrère, Klaus Davidowicz, Manfred Oeming, Markus Risch, Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, and Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta to the present proceedings show how paratexts disclose new significations in their base texts (Risch) by combining the primary base text with secondary base texts that are either part of the same literary work as the primary base text (van Ruiten) or that derive from other texts and even religious cultures (Aufrère and Roig Lanzillotta). For this purpose both literary and visual paratexts can be used and/or combined (Aufrère, Davidowicz, Oeming).

Markus Risch ("Tradition and Transmission of Texts and Intertexts in the Hebrew Bible and in Ancient Jewish Literature [Gen 6:1–4]") discusses the reception of Gen 6:1–4 in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 6–16), the book of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 5:1–10), and in the *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252). The "twofold aim" of Gen 6:1–4 evokes diverging new significations in various paratexts. In *1 En.* 6–16 the *Book of Watchers* creates a new myth out of Gen 6:1–4. This new myth both complements Gen 6:1–4 and censors the anthropological dimension of Gen 6:3 by introducing the punishment of the sons of God into the story. *Jubilees* 5:1–10 solves the problem of the two-fold aim of Gen 6:1–4 by telling two separate stories. *Jubilees* 5:1–2 is a mythological text which explains the emergence of the giants. *Jubilees* 5:3–8 is a hamartiological text that explains the limitation of the giants' lifespan by way of their sin. *Commentary on Genesis A* censors the mythical parts of

[3] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Stages 8; Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). Cf. *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R.J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[4] Cf. Armin Lange, "In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," in *In the Second Degree*, 3–40.

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Gen 6:1–4 and focuses on the anthropological interest of Gen 6:3 in interpreting the limited lifetime of human beings as a deadline of the deluge.

Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten ("Abraham's Death: The Intertextual Relationship between Gen 25:7–10 and *Jub*. 22:1–23:8") shows that the story of Abraham's death in Gen 25:7–10 is integrated into a new narrative in *Jub*. 22:1–23:8. The author of the *Jubilees* combines elements of Isaac's farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1–29) and Jacob's deathbed scene (Gen 47:27–50:14) with Gen 25:7–10. In this way, *Jubilees* achieves a new message by way of a "transvalorisation" of its base text insofar as both the "value" of Abraham and the "value" of Jacob change in their respective relationships.

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta ("*Gospel of Thomas* Logion 7 Unravelled: An Intertextual Approach to a *locus vexatus*") finds the most plausible explanation for logion 7 of the *Gospel of Thomas* in the Platonic opposition apparent/real (δόξα/ἀλήθεια, *doxa/alêtheia*) and its widespread application to the differentiation of an apparent and a real man (cf. Plato, *Republic* 588–89). The integration of the Platonic base text in the Jesus tradition transforms the textual and conceptual world of the Platonic base text in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Of the conceptual framework of Plato's *Republic*, delimited by the polar pairs of justice and injustice, harmony and disharmony and, more importantly, by appearance and truth, only the latter pair, i.e. appearance and truth, is of interest for the Gnostic worldview of the *Gospel of Thomas*. The *Gospel of Thomas* transforms the Platonic political (in the etymological sense) and juridical framework to a primarily anthropological one. Logion 7 of the *Gospel of Thomas* is thus on the one hand an example of how old texts transform and recreate themselves and thereby continue to create meaning for their readers and on the other hand it is an example for the shifting values in the minds of their readers.

Sydney H. Aufrère ("An Attempt to Classify Different Stages of Intertextuality in the Myth of Horus at Edfu") discusses the interplay of hieroglyphic texts (wall inscriptions) with iconographic texts (reliefs) in the temple of Horus at Edfu. The inscriptions and reliefs are excerpted from books kept in the local temple library at Edfu. The excerpts are intended in each case to evoke the meaning of the whole text kept in the library. In this way, the reliefs and inscriptions of the Horus temple at Edfu integrate localized mythological texts into the hieroglyphic and iconographic depiction of the Horus myth. A complicated intertextual web between inscriptions and iconography as excerpts of more extensive myths results in a "Horianization" of various local mythologies in "a mythological *takeover by force*"[5]: "the myth of Horus imposes a re-reading of the world which integrates other local features and takes into account its own criteria and attaches them as

[5] Sydney H. Aufrère, 150.

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external elements. In the end a new Egypt appears after the battle and imposes itself for eternity. Thus Horus arouses in his wake another mythological reading that has nothing to do with the original one."[6]

The contributions of Klaus Davidowicz and Manfred Oeming show that the mechanisms which allowed ancient Jewish and Gnostic paratexts to find new significations in their base texts can also be observed in modern cinematological paratexts. *Klaus Davidowicz* ("Kabbalistic Elements in Popular Movies") studies the use of practical Kabbalah in modern movies based on the example of the Golem. He describes a sequence of literary and cineastic paratexts which are related in a complicated intertextual web and incorporate various secondary base texts as well. They range from the first mentions of the Golem in medieval Jewish mystic texts to Yehuda Judel Rosenberg (1859–1935) who first connected the Golem legend with Rabbi Loew of Prague in his 1909 folk-book *Miracles of the MaHaRaL of Prague*. Rosenberg's version of the Golem narrative inspired various Golem films beginning with Paul Wegener's three Golem movies (1914, 1917, 1920) and ending with an episode of the TV series *The Simpsons* ("You Gotta Know When to Golem" USA 2006). Davidowicz's description of Wegener's third movie (*Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*) reminds in its incorporation of motifs from Goethe's *Faust* and in its adaptation of anti-Semitic prejudice of the intertextuality of ancient paratexts. Various secondary base texts are used to develop new significations out of the movie's primary Golem base texts.

After describing the reception of the book of Job in various professional and non-professional short clips, *Manfred Oeming* (" '*In kino veritas*': On the Reception of the Biblical Book of Job in the Context of Recent Cinematography") studies two cinematographic reworkings of the book of Job in light of the hermeneutical paradigm shift towards the reader and what happens in the reader when he interacts with the text. *Adam's Apples* (Denmark 2005, directed by Anders Thomas Jensen) is more explicit about its Joban base text and correlates it intertextually with a certain reading of the New Testament as well as with narratives of contemporary social problems, racism, and medical crises. *A Serious Man* (USA 2009, directed by Joel and Ethan Coen) reworks the book of Job into the contexts of the nineteenth century Jewish Stettl on the one hand and of middle class Jewish orthodoxy in the US of the twentieth century on the other hand. In addition to these narratives, *A Serious Man* employs the lyrics of the band Jefferson Airplane as another base text. Both cinematographic paratexts to the book of Job evoke new meanings by way of the intertextual contexts into which they put

[6] Aufrère, 150.

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it. "When the book of Job is interpreted in these films, the inscrutable side of God's nature is dealt with from many perspectives …"[7]

Commentaries and Translations

Interpretative texts engage with a particular kind of intertextuality. Not only do they interpret one or more base texts but often engage in addition with numerous further written and other texts to achieve their interpretative goal. The metatextuality of commentaries and other explicitly interpretative texts has been addressed in the second meeting of the Hermeneutics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam Network.[8] Without redoing our earlier work the contributions to the present proceedings focus on the intertextual aspect of metatextuality.

Based on the example of two eschatological commentaries from the Qumran library (4Q174 and 4Q177), *George J. Brooke* ("Controlling Intertexts and Hierarchies of Echo in Two Thematic Eschatological Commentaries from Qumran") describes intertextual hierarchies in ancient Jewish commentaries. On the first level, the underlying interpreted authoritative base text controls the structure of the overlaying commentary. On the second level, the author of a commentary makes explicit references to further authoritative texts in support of his interpretation of the underlying base text. On the third level, deliberate or unintentional echoes of other authoritative traditions can be found. On a fourth level Brooke detects echoes of other literary traditions, and on a fifth level he investigates echoes of possible textual worlds. "The Jewish commentary traditions from antiquity permit the modern reader to see a place both for the author and the reader. Through selected controlling primary texts, secondary supportive texts and a hierarchy of echoes the rich intertextual character of the interpretative tradition becomes all the more apparent when described and analysed through the application of intertextuality as a somewhat loosely defined modern reading strategy."[9]

Gilles Dorival ("Biblical Intratextuality: MT-Numbers and LXX-Numbers: A Case Study") shows how the Hebrew book of Numbers is restricted in its intertextuality to other parts of the Pentateuch. The Hebrew text (MT) displays thus a tendency to relate events in Numbers to the previous history of Israel. In the Greek translation this tendency increases by

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[7] Manfred Oeming, 178.

[8] Cf. *Palimpsests: Commentary Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures, September 25th–27th 2008* (ed. P. Alexander and S.H. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

[9] George J. Brooke, 195–96.

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some forty additional cases of intratextual correspondence to earlier parts of the Pentateuch. Later on, the Targumim increase these intratextual correspondences yet again. This restricted form of intratextual intertextuality in Numbers indicates not only that the Pentateuch existed as a standalone text when its Greek translation was made, but also points to a special authority of the Torah. Only the Torah can illuminate the Torah.

Margaret Dimitrova ("New Testament Quotations in a Medieval Slavonic Manuscript with Commentaries on the Song of Songs") analyzes how New Testament quotations in commentaries on Canticles were translated in their Slavonic versions as opposed to the Slavonic text of Canticles itself. The translation of the Canticles text in the commentaries is innovative in comparison to ninth and tenth century translations of this biblical book made in Bulgaria but the rendition of the New Testament quotations is much closer to the existing Slavonic versions. This difference might be due to the frequent liturgical use of New Testament texts in Slavonic contexts. The translators of the Canticles commentaries might have been forced to be more innovative in their rendition of the Canticles text than in their translation of New Testament quotations because revised Slavonic translations of the New Testament existed while for Canticles they did not. In comparison with Brooke's research, Dimitrova's results hint to the possibility that texts which are quoted as secondary base texts could be more determinative for interpretative efforts to disclose the meaning of the primary base text than the primary base text itself.

Quotations and Allusions

The articles in this part of our proceedings demonstrate the different functions and uses of quotations and allusions in ancient scientific and scholarly (Meyer) as well as poetic (Harder) and religious texts (Bormann). They ask how quotations and allusions are employed to develop new religious significations by way of intertextual encounters, how they mark and reference scholarly or scientific positions, and how they delimit a particular poetic approach in dialogue with the approaches of other poets.

Martin F. Meyer ("Quotations in the Writings of Aristotle") investigates if the quotations that Aristotle made in his preserved oeuvre inform us about the process of text production and about the relation of written texts to oral scientific performance. Aristotle's quotations of literary works of other authors are mostly paraphrastic, explicit references to other authors are very rare as are verbal quotations. Even at a time when writing had already become the established from of scholarly and scientific discourse, it did not play a role whether the texts which Aristotle referred to were written

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or oral. Aristotle is known for being the first author to cross-reference his own works extensively. These cross-references show that Aristotle did not use fixed titles for his own works. Especially in his scientific treatises, Aristotle's cross-references demonstrate though that written texts played an important role in the sciences as the quantity and nature of scientific data did not allow for oral but only written transmission.

While Meyer is interested in the mechanisms of and reasons for scholarly/scientific referencing in the fourth century B.C.E., *Annette Harder* ("Intertextuality as Discourse: The Discussion on Poetry and Poetics among Hellenistic Greek Poets in the Third Century B.C.E.") studies how and why early Hellenistic poets referenced each other. The establishment of the Alexandrian Museum and Library in the third century B.C.E. created an environment that enabled a new kind of intertextual referencing in Hellenistic poetry. A case study of the treatment of the Argonauts in the work of the Alexandrian poets Callimachus of Cyrene, Apollonius Rhodius, and Theocritus shows that this new Alexandrian environment allowed for an intertextual discourse on poetry and poetics. In this discourse, the evocation of the other poet's text was used as a means to define one's own choices and to carry on a discussion on how to write poetry.

Lukas Bormann ("The Colossian Hymn, Wisdom, and Creation") carries the study of citational intertextuality to the study of religious texts. Bormann finds allusions to Job 28; Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24; Wis 6:12–20; and 7:22–8:1 in Col 1:15–20. The sapiential terminology of Col 1:15–20 builds "a matrix of creation from the viewpoint of the wisdom tradition. God creates an agent or mediator, who is between God on the one hand and the world including human beings on the other hand. This agent or mediator stands in a special relationship to God. He is very similar to God ('image'), and his origin was the very first 'beginning.' He was built by God before the creation as the 'first' or the 'beginning.' God performs 'all his deeds' in relation to this agent/mediator, who resides in the creation and rules in a special way over it."[10] But Col 1:15–20 does not simply incorporate sapiential thought. It adapts it to the christological concept of exaltation to the throne of God. The intertextual encounter of earlier christological concepts with wisdom thought evokes in this way a new reading of Christ.

Genre and Motif

Andreas Wagner ("Typological, Explicit, and Referential Intertextuality in Texts and Images of the Old Testament and Ancient Israel") discusses the

[10] Lukas Bormann, 254.

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importance of intertextuality for the study of the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible not only includes many cases of intertextuality but also provokes the creation of new intertextualities. Wagner focuses in his study on the use of the genre of calls of woe, the *kô ʾāmar* formulas, and the motif of the raised arm. Based on these sample cases, Wagner emphasizes: 1) Intertextual research can only adequately depict phenomena if it uses diachronic perspectives. 2) Language and image are two different media, but both transport contents which can refer to each other and, at times, have similar propositional-referential meaning. Images are therefore " 'intertexts,' although embodied 'intermedially.' "[11] 3) The creation and formulation of the traditions of the Hebrew Bible are crucially defined by many forms of intertextuality. This applies to how the biblical books developed as well as to the intertextuality of their canones and their receptions. 4) The important role of pre-texts in the Hebrew Bible implies the existence of semantic moments which cannot originate with any author of any construction. The intertextual particularity of the Hebrew Bible can only be perceived if "typological and referential-propositional"[12] states of knowledge exist. If they no longer exist, or have never existed in the first place, intertextuality is lost.

Part 3: Cultural Memory and Canon

Canones have been viewed as the literary means to preserve and communicate a cultural memory.[13] If cultural memory is communicated by way of canonical texts, the intertextuality of these canonical collections becomes of great importance for the understanding of the hermeneutics of cultural memory. The contributions of Stefan Alkier, Wayne Horowitz, Armin Lange, Anisava L. Miltenova, Zlatko Pleše, and Felicia Waldman ask therefore for the intertextuality of canones and cultural memories. Wayne Horowitz points to the existence of para-canonical literature and deconstructs thus the dichotomy of non-canonical and canonical texts as the memory spaces of a cultural memory. Para-canonicity allows for an easier development of a cultural memory because para-canonical memory spaces are textually more flexible than the canonical ones. Alkier shows how the intertextuality of textually fixated canones themselves allows for the intertextual development of new significations for canonical texts inside a cultural memory. The articles of Waldman and Miltenova provide examples of how

[11] Andreas Wagner, 268.
[12] Wagner, 270.
[13] Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (ed. A. Erll and A. Nünning; Media and Cultural Memory 8; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.

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canonical and para-canonical intertextuality is able to generate new meaning even beyond the limits of the canon. Lange and Pleše demonstrate the importance of intertextual encounters in intercultural discourses for the forming and reforming of cultural memory.

Wayne Horowitz ("The Astrolabes: An Exercise in Transmission, Canonicity, and Para-Canonicity") discusses the cuneiform astrolabe texts from Mesopotamia as a test case for issues of canonicity in the Ancient Near East. Over a thousand years, the astrolabe group was transmitted not nearly as faithful as "canonical" cuneiform texts like the astronomical treatise *Mul-Apin*. That the astrolabes material was transmitted with great variance between the individual texts in the astroblabe group shows that the astrolabes do not qualify as canonical texts. That their content was transmitted relatively faithfully shows though that they were not without recognition either. Horowitz therefore suggests the new label of "Para-Canonicity"[14] for the astrolabe texts. With the category of para-canonical texts Horowitz adds a new building block to the study of ancient cultural memories and ancient canones. The term "para-canonicity" allows for the recognition of a given text as an important memory space in a given cultural memory although it lacks the textual fixity which is characteristic for such memory spaces elsewhere. Instead, scribes could extensively rework the individual copies of para-canonical texts creating complicated intertextual relationships in doing so.

Stefan Alkier ("Reading the Canon Intertextually: The Decentralization of Meaning") discusses ways to read the Christian biblical canon intertextually. What Alkier argues here for the Christian canon is paradigmatic though for any other canonical collection of religious writings as well. Far from ideologically limiting possible interpretations, canonical collections have an intertextual disposition. The biblical canon sets the individual writings in new relationships, and these intertextual connections enhance the potential of meaning of the individual writings collected in a canon. The concept of the canon requires thus the belief that the scriptures collected in a canon have a surplus of meaning that reaches far beyond their original historical situation. But they can only achieve this surplus of meaning within the frame of the canon.

Felicia Waldman ("Turning the Interpretation of the Text into Text: Written Torah and Oral Torah in Jewish Mysticism") describes the kabbalistic attitude to written and oral Torah. In her survey she shows how various kabbalists developed a mystic understanding of the Torah by intertextual correlations of rabbinic legends with the report about the revelation of the Torah on Mt. Sinai. As the kabbalists disclosed what they claimed to be

[14] Wayne Horowitz, 288.

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the hidden mystic meaning of the Torah they understood the kabbalistic approach to the written Torah and the Kabbalah itself as rediscovered parts of the oral Torah. The Sinaitic event itself established for the kabbalists a correlation between the process of interpretation and revelation. The development of the Kabbalah as such can therefore be understood as the result of a particular intertextual reading of the two canones of the written and oral Torah. Waldman's article would thus be an example for Alkier's theory as to how canonical intertextuality is able to disclose surplus meanings of canonical texts, in this case of the written and oral Torah.

Anisava L. Miltenova ("Intertextuality in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition: The Case of Mixed-Content Miscellanies") investigates South Slavic miscellany manuscripts with mixed content from the end of the thirteenth until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The manuscripts of these mixed-content miscellany collections include mostly paratextual works which are mainly concerned with characters and events from the Hebrew Bible. The individual manuscripts of the mixed-content miscellanies attest to a relatively stable text of these collections. Not being biblical texts themselves they would therefore fall into Horowitz's category of para-canonical collections. The intertextuality of the various texts collected in the mixed-content miscellanies evokes meanings which accent the explanation of the Christian Old Testament with the New Testament, emphasize Christian eschatology, and express political ideology. Miltenova's study demonstrates how the intertextuality of canonical collections and the mechanisms of their intertextual interpretations are at work in the interpretation of para-canonical collections as well.

Armin Lange and *Zlatko Pleše* ("Text between Religious Cultures: Intertextuality in Graeco-Roman Judaism") study the way in which intercultural encounters are not only expressed but also fascilitated intertextually. Their work is based on the sample cases of Aristobulus of Alexandria and the *Letter of Aristeas*. In a complex intertextual web, Aristobulus isolates thematically related elements out of the text of the Torah and recontextualizes them into the discourse of the Greek cultural encyclopedia in order to communicate with Hellenistic culture. But he also isolates and recontextualizes elements of Greek wisdom into the diction of the Torah in order to reaffirm the chronological priority and conceptual superiority of Jewish wisdom. In a similar intertextual web, the *Letter of Aristeas* describes the Greek translation of the Torah as a highlight of both Jewish and Greek culture. By forging an intertextual link between the making of the Greek Pentateuch and the gift of the Torah as well as its public reading on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:3–7; Deut 4:2; 13:1), the *Letter of Aristeas* turns this translation into an important memory space of the Jewish cultural memory. With allusions to the rhetoric of Alexandrian philology, the *Letter of Aristeas* tries at the same

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time to embed the Greek translation of the Pentateuch into Greek cultural memory. The two examples show, "intercultural contacts occur through various forms of intertextuality. Depending on the form chosen, various degrees of acculturation and/or cultural resistance can be achieved."[15]

[15] Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše, 351.

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Part 1: Methodology

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Michaela Bauks

Intertextuality in Ancient Literature in Light of Textlinguistics and Cultural Studies

If we speak about text, it is not merely written text, but also conventions and discourses of history, culture, art and the dialogical perception of text. H.-G. Gadamer brought this to the point in his dictum that "Being that can be understood is language."[1] The title of this volume *Between Text and Text*[2] represents well the different connotations, which the term "text" includes: either as texts in relationship to one another, or in the form of different definitions and concepts of text as oral, written or iconographic products, or text as singular unity, or text as corpus. The studies on the subject "Between Text and Text" collected in this volume aim to integrate and reflect a maximum number of implications of this concept in the context of ancient literature. These include the following questions: Which markers signalize an intertext? And which categories can help describe it?[3] (see section 2). Before doing so, we have to reflect on the particularities of intertextuality in ancient literature in comparison with modern literary theories (see section 1).

1. What Does Intertextuality Mean and Which Aspects Have to Be Considered?

Since scholars started to recognize the permanent dialogical character of texts and the first debates on intertextuality by M. Bakhtin and J. Kristeva, the question arose as to whether it is possible to talk about intertextuality in general. All theories of intertextuality must be understood as specific histor-

[1] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (trans. J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall; 2d ed.; London: Continuum, 2004), 474.

[2] Cf. Heinrich F. Plett, "Intertextualities", in *Intertextuality* (ed. H.F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 3–29, esp. 5: "What is an intertext? … a text between other texts," but the "between" has to be predefined. He distinguishes in intratextual and intertextual systems: the first "guarantees the immanent integrity of the text" and the second "creates structural relations between itself and other texts."

[3] See Plett, "Intertextualities," 5.

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ical and cultural manifestations.[4] Practical adaptations of the concepts of Bakhtin and Kristeva for the analysis of literature were made e.g. by G. Genette, and by the *Konstanzer Schule*, which began to examine strategies of text-references.[5]

One decisive distinction is introduced by the latter: the distinction in *text-typological intertextuality*, which includes the level of literary genre (Genette: metatextuality), and the *referential intertextuality,* which examines the types of explicit relationships between pre-text and text (e.g. quotations) or the relationship of texts in a semantic way (e.g. allusion, paraphrase; with Genette: hypertextuality).[6]

The preoccupation with intertextuality presents a big challenge methodologically. In the foreword of the collective volume on *Reading the Bible Intertextually* R. Hays resumes the crucial point in the following way:

> The difficulty, though, is that the term intertextuality is used in such diverse and imprecise ways that it becomes difficult to know what is meant by it and whether it points to anything like a method that can be applied reliable to the analysis of texts to facilitate coherent critical conversation … On the one hand we find books and essays that use intertextuality as a way of talking about cultural semiotics … [like for example the intertextual linkages between modern films and biblical figures; M.B.]. On the other hand, … we find numerous studies by biblical scholars that use intertextuality as a new way of describing questions of source criticism or tradition history.[7]

Both kinds of comprehension of intertextuality will be presented in this volume. Moreover, scholars of ancient texts taking an historical-critical approach have more problems with intertextuality than scholars of modern

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[4] See Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 56–60, and Plett, "Intertextualities," 3–5, both for a critical evaluation; for an approach from exegetical perspective see Stefan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (ed. R.B. Hays, S. Alkier, and L.A. Huizenga; Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2009), 3–21.

[5] Karlheinz Stierle, "Werk und Intertextualität," in *Dialog der Texte: Hamburger Kolloquium zur Intertextualität* (ed. W. Schmid and W.-D. Stempel; Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 11; Vienna: Otto Sagner, 1983), 7–26; Manfred Pfister, "Konzepte der Intertextualität," in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien* (ed. U. Broich and M. Pfister; Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 35; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 1–30, esp. 26–28, who all in all names six aspects of qualitative order: referential, communicative, self-referential, structural, selective and dialogical. He adds two quantitative aspects: density and occurrence.

[6] Susanne Holthuis, *Intertextualität: Aspekte einer rezeptionsorientierten Konzeption* (Stauffenburg Colloquium 28; Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993). Cf. Alkier, "Intertextuality," 9, for the necessity of both categories in biblical exegesis; and Stefan Alkier, "Intertextualität – Annäherungen an ein texttheoretisches Paradigma," in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110* (ed. D. Sänger; BThSt 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 1–26, esp. 15–16.

[7] Richard B. Hays, "Foreword to the English edition," in Hays, Alkier, and Huizenga, *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, xi–xv (here xi–xii).

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literature, because they have to integrate several particularities of ancient cultures.

1.1 Origin, Author, and Reader of a Text

The concept of intertextuality "implies that a text is never a truly original creation of its author, but a part of a dynamic 'universe of texts' with which it dialectically interrelates" – according to the Egyptologist A. Loprieno.[8] Within the framework of ancient literature there is little consensus when it comes to the classification which text is the pre-text or if both are dependent on a third and older text which was not bequeathed.[9]

Furthermore a text is usually not written by a specific author, who can be denominated or located in time and space. No, in fact it is a traditional text, which has had a complicated transmission history. In some cases we have the name of the scribe or copyist (since the third millennium for some Mesopotamian literary texts) who takes responsibility for his copy. They were liable for the correct transfer of an older, not precisely predefined tradition.[10] If ancient texts mention authors, we almost have to do with fictive authors, who have to assure a particular authority by " 'honorary' authorship" or by pseudonym[11] for the transmitted text. We can cite the fragmental "Catalogue of Texts and Authors" found in the library of Assurbanipal at

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[8] Antonio Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Theories," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (ed. A. Loprieno; Probleme der Ägyptologie 10; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 39–58 (here 51); see Plett, "Intertextualities," 5, who emphasizes the paradoxical relationship of text and intertext, proposing a continuum of both.

[9] Yet Charlesworth speaks about "parallelomania"; cf. James H. Charlesworth, "Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) Between Two Texts," in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament* (ed. D. Sänger and M. Konradt; NTOA/StUNT 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 41–54 (here 43) – he tries to elaborate a systematic classification for discerning influences between two texts (e.g. Johannine thought and Qumran literature); cf. Stefan Seiler, "Intertextualität," in *Lesarten der Bibel: Untersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments* (ed. H. Utzschneider and E. Blum; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 275–93 (here 278–79).

[10] Cf. Gebhard J. Selz, "Offene und geschlossene Texte im frühen Mesopotamien: Zu einer Text-Hermeneutik zwischen Individualisierung und Universalisierung," in *Was ist ein Text? Alttestamentliche, ägyptologische und altorientalische Perspektiven* (ed. L. Morenz and S. Schorch; BZAW 362; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 64–90 (here 65–66); Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (trans. R. Livingstone; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 115, concerning author and authority.

[11] See Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 27–49 (here 31): "Until the Hellenistic era, anonymity prevailed." Examples of honorary authorship are e.g. the "Laws of Hammurabi," of pseudonym the fictional autobiography of the Epic of Gilgamesh or the book of Deuteronomy, attributed with the other four scrolls to Moses (34–36).

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Niniveh[12] (668–627 B.C.E.), the "Admonitions of Imhotep," pharao Djoser's ingenious architect (third dynasty; 2740–2720 B.C.E.), who is the first scribe mentioned in Egyptian literature,[13] or in later times the Bible, when the first books of the Torah were attributed to Moses.[14] So it is impossible to talk about the "original" version ("the first edition") that is preserved.[15] We can only speak about a first manuscript, which is conserved. Therefore we need to reconstruct the text's background in a historical-critical way before we think about the presence of a text within other texts. We have to reflect upon the authenticity of a manuscript or tablet, their collation and their editorial reconstruction.[16]

Likewise, the aspect of the original author as well as the aspect of the reader is more complicated than in modern literature. The *garstig breite historische Graben* ("historical hiatus") between the world of the ancient text and the world of the modern reader, cited by G.E. Lessing, should not be underestimated. Not only are the historical recipients of ancient texts hard to determine,[17] but there is another hermeneutic question: can the referential signs addressed to a historical reader in form of quotations, allusions etc. be understood today as they were understood in the antiquities? We need to construct a *historical semiotic* (G. Selz).[18]

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[12] Edited by Wilfred G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16 (1962): 59–77; cf. Wolfgang Röllig, "Aspekte der Archivierung und Kanonisierung von Keilschriftliteratur," in *Die Textualisierung der Religion* (ed. J. Schaper; FAT 62; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 35–49, esp. 44–45; and van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 46, 240–44.

[13] Cf. Ludwig D. Morenz, "Wie die Schrift zu Text wurde: Ein komplexer medialer, mentalitäts- und sozialgeschichtlicher Prozeß," in Lorenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 18–48, esp. 30–31, with note 38; concerning the traces of the lost work, transmitted pHarris 500, 6, 6–7 cf. Günter Burkard and Heinz J. Thissen, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I: Altes und Mittleres Reich* (3d ed.; Einführung und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 1; Münster: Lit, 2008), 82–83. See also Philippe Derchain, "Auteur et société," in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 83–94.

[14] In this case S. Holthuis talks about "pseudo-intertextuality." Cf. idem, "Intertextualität," 45; cf. Alkier, "Intertextualität," 14–15.

[15] Cf. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119: "One can speculate about individual readings of the tradition in earlier periods, but the fluid dynamics of textual transmission in such periods render impossible a methodologically controlled reconstruction of a broader textual tradition before such authorization of a single text occurred."

[16] Cf. several contributions from Kirsten Nielsen, John Barton, Michael Fishbane, Anton Schoors, Jean Louis Ska, and Patricia Tull in the *IOSOT Congress volume Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[17] Cf. for the evaluation of semiotical and reception-aesthetical approaches Pfister, "Konzepte," 20–24.

[18] Cf. Selz, "Texte," 86.

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1.2 Texts and Cultural Memory

Another aspect of traditional texts is also striking. Texts are testimonies of the "cultural memory" of people. J. Assmann distinguishes two different modes of remembering, called *episodic memory* and *semantic memory*:

> Episodic memory refers to our experiences, semantic memory to everything we had learned and memorized. It is called "semantic" because it is connected to meaning and reference. It is difficult to memorize senseless data, such as pages in a telephone directory. It can be done only by people endowed with a "photographic" memory … Semantic memory is preeminently social, photographic memory, in contrast, is a special case, uncoupled from its social foundation.[19]

Initially memory is an individual phenomenon. Then the memory of an individual is communicated to others.

> Tradition can be understood as a special case of communication in which information is not exchanged reciprocally and horizontally, but is transmitted vertically through the generations.[20]

This process can be called the *making of memory*, which aims to connect different humans in different times and places. The intention of making a bonding memory is to create cultural identity. The fixation of common cultural facts has a normative, contractual character and pushes the individual to fulfill the obligations he committed himself to the previous day. Assmann writes that the

> simultaneously collective and "connective" bonding nature of memory is expressed with particular clarity in the English-language words *re-membering* and *re-collecting*, which evoke the idea of putting "members" back together (re-membering and dismembering) and "re-collecting" things that have been dispersed. Thus they interpret memory as the restoration of a lost unity.[21]

1.3 Cultural Memory and Normativity

In a number of cultures, for example, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Jewish or Greek, the commitment on bonding memory seems realized by an authority, a "classical" selection of texts, called canon. Canon "attempts to bring the stream of tradition to a halt and to stabilize it."[22] Consequently, cultural

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[19] Assmann, *Religion*, 2.

[20] Aleida Assmann, *Zeit und Tradition: Kulturelle Strategien der Dauer* (Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 15; Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), 64; cited by Assmann, *Religion*, 8.

[21] Assmann, *Religion*, 11.

[22] Assmann, *Religion*, 118.

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memory takes risks to repudiate all kinds of transformations and actualizations, which are vital for adaptation over the course of history. The process of tradition cannot be stopped. It is transferred to hypertextual production of actualizations of bonded memory. During the last meeting we have seen that commentary literature is an important factor in this process. From studies of the reworked scriptural materials found at the Qumran library, G. Brooke has concluded that

> they show in a significant way various features of how the transformation of authoritative scriptures into canonical biblical books took place. From the post-canonical perspective these reworked compositions seem to fall into two groups: revision of biblical books, and more thoroughgoing rewritings of such books.[23]

He underlies, too, that

> rather than being the final word on what may be taken as authoritative in any religious tradition, canons of scripture tend to provoke extensive, elaborate, and creative exegesis.[24]

In other words: For hermeneutic reasons a canon implies the necessity of intertextuality in two ways: It develops an interrelationship between the individual writings, and a new relationship with other texts within the canon and therefore promotes the creation of new texts based on the canonized texts.

Further, the destination of ancient literature is different from modern literature. Recently D. Carr has presented a study where he concluded:

> Ancient corpora like the Bible were shaped for oral-written memorization and performance and education-enculturation. Contemporary literature, especially narrative prose, is designed for the pleasures of a predominantly silent and individual reading environment. Insofar … it must be attentive to the oral-written dimension of such texts and the aesthetics peculiar to such literature.[25]

The famous *Sitz im Leben* ("institutional setting") for the formation and transmission of all biblical texts for him is "the process of education and other forms of cultural reproduction."[26] He proclaims the same process in (written) textuality.[27]

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[23] George Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104, esp. 86–87 and 96.

[24] Brooke, "Authority and Canon," 96.

[25] Carr, *Writing*, 292–93.

[26] Carr, *Writing*, 292.

[27] In his definition the term "textuality" is always used in written contexts (Carr, *Writing*, 12).

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1.4 Texts between Orality and Writing

Up to now we have spoken about intertextual phenomena without distinguishing between oral and written forms properly. In the last years the concept of text has changed in modern linguistics. Both oral and written traditions were now integrated in the discussion. The German linguist K. Ehlich promotes the definition: Texts are linguistic operations of oral transmission ("Texte sind sprachliche Verfahren mündlicher Überlieferung"[28]). They realize the transfer of knowledge or experiences situated in another temporal or cultural context as a retrieved communication ("wiederaufgenommene Mitteilung"). Ehlich talks about an expanded speech context ("zerdehnte Sprechsituation"), where the first speech act is separated from the immediate speech situation. The text is transmitted by a memorized act (e.g. by a messenger), and the (second) speaker is the medium or the transmitter of the original speech. Also the recipient changes. In this sense a text is an operation [/method] of elaboration of an expanded speech act ("ein Verfahren zur Bearbeitung der zerdehnten Sprechsituation"[29]).

We can assume that textuality is already preformed in oral texts, but it undergoes three important transformations in regard to written texts:

1. Oral texts are bonded to central patterns of the "primitive" (= unwritten) culture, in which they were generated.[30]

This process can be seen in the monumental inscription of Nar-Meher (first dynasty; at the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E.). The palette of king Narmer, found at Hierakonpolis, is a good example for bimedial textuality created by the intermedial cohesion of imperial iconography and hieroglyphic writing. On the first side Narmer wears the crown of Upper-Egypt, on the reverse the red crown of the north. Due to his successful military campaign against Wash, he became the first pharao of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nsw bjtj*). Only the names, the title of the Egyptian king and the geographical origins of the two enemies are written in hieroglyphs.[31] The other details are transmitted by the traditional iconographical motive "pharao smites the enemy" (see the illustration):

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[28] Konrad Ehlich, "Textualität und Schriftlichkeit," in Morenz and Schorch, *Was ist ein Text?*, 3–17 (here 11); cf. Michael Klemm, "Ausgangspunkte: Jedem seinen Textbegriff? Textdefinitionen im Vergleich," in *Brauchen wir einen neuen Textbegriff? Antworten auf eine Preisfrage* (ed. U. Fix et al.; Forum Angewandte Linguistik 40; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 17–29.

[29] Ehlich, "Textualität," 11; cf. the résumé of Ehlich's concept in Assmann, *Religion*, 103.

[30] Since the third millennium texts have been memorized and preserved by priests and other institutional personnel, who began to learn their "curriculum" by means of written versions of the ritual texts; cf. Assmann, *Religion*, 105–6, who emphasizes that festivals and rituals are oral forms of institutionalization assured by specialists. In the context of ancient oriental as well as biblical text collections Carr prefers to speak of "curriculum" in the state of "canon" (cf. *Writing*, 12, 276).

[31] Cf. Morenz, "Schrift," 24–29 with fig. 4.

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King Narmer on palette (First Dynasty, about 3000 B.C.E.; Cairo. Hierakonpolis. Slate: 0,64m)[32]

2. Oral texts are attached to a speech act (re-citation). It is possible that they need spontaneous and occasional actualizations, which are not previewed for written texts. In a written context the text is the result of a *reification* (*Verdinglichung*) from the original speech act by several abstract steps. It becomes independent from a personal transmission and has recipients, who were not at all addressed within the first speech act(s).

3. The criticism of oral texts by the defenders of written texts is concerned with the suspicion of *false/inaccurate reproduction*. Written texts seem to be closed and immutable.[33]

The aspect of conservation and *reification* of written texts is interesting in our context. But one of the main problems for the reconstruction of transmission history is the observation from widely spread motifs without any indication for a reconstruction

[32] James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), illustration 296.

[33] Yet J. Kristeva has argued that texts are not closed, fixed structures, but fluid entities shaped by contingent contextual factors. Hence they are open to modifications; cf. Hays, "Foreword," xii, resuming Julia Kristeva, *La révolution du langage poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1974).

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of the stream of tradition, because earlier intertexts are apparently not conserved. Studies from ethnology, which are specialized in oral cultures, would perhaps methodologically help.[34] The Egyptologist L. Morenz emphasizes the importance of songs, narratives, reports and also lists reflecting the oral transmission of texts.[35]

1.5 Texts and Their Medium

Texts can not only be distinguished as oral or written, or as administrative, literary or religious, but are also dependant on the medium on which they were transmitted (stela, tablet, papyrus, wall inscription, ostracon).

In certain cases, semantic and typological references enter a particular kind of relationship (e.g. architecture of tombs/sarcophagi with funeral texts), that G. Genette qualified in other contexts as architextual and S. Alkier as extratextual.[36]

This is particularly true in the study of Egyptian monumental tombs and Ptolemaic temples. Here, architecture and hieroglyphic text go hand in hand.[37]

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[34] Cf. Morenz, "Schrift," 18–23; cf. extensively the form-critical research in the beginning of the twentieth century (V. Propp; H. Gunkel etc.); cf. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, eds., *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003).

[35] Morenz, "Schrift," 28–29. He confirms that lists are not only the typical form of early writings, but that their ordering character shows oral origin with a mental (mnemotechnical) function (remembering of a codified memory). Cf. Markus Hilgert, "Von 'Listenwissenschaft' und 'epistemischen Dingen': Konzeptuelle Annäherungen an altorientalische Wissenspraktiken," *Journal for General Philosophy of Science* 40 (2009): 277–309.

[36] See Alkier, "Intertextuality," 8–9, who distinguishes intratextual, intertextual and extratextual investigations of biblical texts. The last one "concerns itself with the effects on the meaning of the text that emerge from the reference of the text to other extratextual signs. To these belong the classic introductory issues as well as the archaeological, social scientific, and politico-historical questions. All these are questions that investigate the generation of meaning through acts of reference to text-external signs."

[37] Jan Assmann, "Der literarische Aspekt des ägyptischen Grabes und seine Funktion im Rahmen des 'monumentalen Diskurses,' " in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 97–104. Also see Françoise Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou: Le rituel de l'offrande de la campagne: Étude de la composition* (OLA 51; Leuven: Peeters, 1992). See the contribution of Sydney Aufrère in this volume.

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