

JUSTIN J. WHITE

The Poetics of Visuality

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

182



Justin J. White

The Poetics of Visuality

Ekphrasis, Material Agency, and the Visual Imagination
in Biblical Antiquity

Mohr Siebeck

Justin J. White, born 1983; is an independent scholar who researches philosophy of visual communication in Mediterranean antiquity. He completed his Ph.D. with Distinction at Yale University in 2020 with the dissertation “Ekphrasis and the Poetics of Visuality in Ancient Israel.”
orcid.org/0009-0004-2280-4736

ISBN 978-3-16-163344-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-163345-4
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-163345-4

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2024 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Druckerei Stücker in Ettenheim, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Acknowledgements

This project could serve as a test case for the iterative growth of academic research. Various elements of this monograph have existed in multiple iterations, even if the form in which they appear in this study does not closely resemble the form they took when they were initiated. As a result of this iteration, I find it difficult to adequately acknowledge all those who have helped this intellectual project come to fruition.

This monograph began as a dissertation completed while in residence at Yale University over the academic years 2018–19 and 2019–20. Much of the research that contributed to this project was conducted over my doctoral years at Yale, which were enriched through frequent travel nationally and internationally for conferences and colloquia. This travel and research was generously funded through the Yale Judaic Studies Program, the Yale Department of Religious Studies, and the Yale Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

I am deeply grateful to the mentors and colleagues who enriched this project and the arguments contained therein. Joel Baden supervised my dissertation, and served as an advisor and faculty mentor to me throughout my eight years of study at Yale, while pursuing both my MAR from the Divinity School and my PhD from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His exceptionally high expectations in no way proved to be an intellectual or psychological burden. On the contrary, I consider myself blessed to have had a supervisor who attended so closely to every detail in an attempt to make both the minute and the whole better. His flexibility gave me the confidence and freedom to pursue a topic far afield from his own research. And his well-timed levity helped ease the pressure that comes with this endeavor. Cory Crawford willingly and enthusiastically accepted an offer to co-plan a colloquium with a student he had never met at a university far from his home on a topic no one in Hebrew Bible had yet published on (unbeknownst to me at the time, he was in the process of doing so). The time we spent thinking about that colloquium resonates throughout this book, not just the third chapter which attends most directly to the colloquium topic.

I have also benefitted greatly from the mentorship and teaching of several others. Throughout my time at Yale John Collins served as an informal advisor and frequent teacher. Many of the ideas in this dissertation had their origin in his seminars. I have learned much from him – both about the topics he teaches and from the critical yet congenial manner with which he engages ideas. Hindy Najman, while only overlapping with me at Yale by two years, got me interested in how biblical studies engages the humanities. I consider this an indelible mark,

as this is the frame through which I understand my work. Bob Wilson was a veritable encyclopedia of biblical scholarship. My interest in materiality and lived religion stems in no small measure from his work and teaching.

In addition to those working primarily in the areas of biblical literature, it was my privilege to learn also from many working in other fields. The two seminars I took as a visiting doctoral student at Columbia with Zainab Bahrani provide the very foundations of this project. In my many years as a student I never encountered a more masterful teacher. In my first semester at Yale I was fortunate to teach a course in Yale College with Kathryn Slanski, which first got me interested in visual culture. I still find her presentation of visual material engaging and fascinating. Agnette Lassen taught me much about the practicality of materiality in antiquity, and has hospitably included me in her regional seminar on ancient art history. Finally, my exploration of ekphrasis in Israel is deeply informed by the work of the participants at the Yale ekphrasis colloquium: Milette Gaifman, Meghan Henning, Neville McFerrin, Verity Platt, Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Jackie Vayntrub, Ruth Webb, and Robyn Whitaker. Their work is cited throughout.

No superlatives adequately express the gratefulness I feel toward the colleagues with whom I went through my time at Yale. Laura Carlson, Mark Lester, and James Nati, in particular, proved exceptionally generous interlocutors, who are forthcoming with productive feedback that is simultaneously critical and thoughtful. They have each impacted how I think about the Hebrew Bible (and far beyond) in ways too numerous and profound to recount. More importantly, I count them among my closest friends. More broadly, I was fortunate enough to participate regularly in the remarkable intellectual community at Yale, including with select scientists, whose wit, charm, and nuanced thoughtfulness I continue to find edifying. In addition to my student colleagues, I have thoroughly enjoyed my time in the Department of Religious Studies. During my time in the department, Katie Lofton showed what it means to a deft and passionate leader.

My parents, Dixie and my late father Jim, offered sustaining encouragement throughout my time in New Haven and beyond. They are two of the most loving and generous people I have known. My brother, Will, never fails to ask how it's going. My wife, Jessica, is an exceptionally generous, kind, and thoughtful partner. Her self-sacrifice and resilience have gotten us to where we are today. And my daughters, Rosie and Genevieve, have mollified the lows of writing with their genuine sweetness and silliness. This work is dedicated to them.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
List of Figures	XI
List of Abbreviations	XIII
1. What Do Images Have to Do with Biblical Texts?	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Approach of this Study	5
1.3 The Format of this Study	6
2. The Hebrew Bible and Visual Culture	9
2.1 “There Were Images in Israel”: The Rise of Iconographic Interpretation	9
2.1.1 The Fribourg School	11
2.1.2 The Second Generation of “Biblical Iconographers”	12
2.1.3 Whence a Theory of Iconographic Interpretation?	15
2.2 Images as Texts: Panofsky’s Iconology	17
2.2.1 Iconography before Panofsky: Aby Warburg	18
2.2.2 In Search of Meaning: Panofsky’s <i>Meaning in the Visual Arts</i> ...	19
2.2.3 Visual Meaning from Verbal Context: The Legacy of Panofsky .	28
2.3 Rethinking the Relationship between Image and Text	31
2.3.1 Plato’s Metaphysics of Images and Texts	32
2.3.2 The Continuing Legacy of Idealizing Words	35
2.3.3 The Image-Text Dialectic	39
2.3.4 Seeking a Poetics of Visuality	41
2.4 Conclusion	42
3. Ekphrasis and the Visual Imagination in Ancient Israel	45
3.1 What Is Ekphrasis (for)?	45
3.1.1 The “Genres” of Ekphrasis	50
3.1.2 Ekphrasis in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature ..	55
3.2 Seeing the Ineffable through Ekphrasis: Ezekiel’s Inaugural Vision ...	55
3.2.1 The Conundrum of Ezekiel 1	56
3.2.2 The Feeling of Seeing through Ekphrasis	58
3.2.3 Ekphrasis and Epiphany	66
3.2.4 Ezekiel’s Epiphanic Ekphrasis	67
3.2.5 Affective Ekphrasis in Ezekiel	86

3.3 Ekphrasis and Representation in the <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i> ..	86
3.3.1 The Structure and Content of the <i>Shirot</i> Collection	89
3.3.2 The Origin and Background of the <i>Shirot</i> Collection	90
3.3.3 Ekphrasis of the Vivified Temple in Songs 9–13	92
3.3.4 Representation and Mediation in the Heavenly Temple	98
3.3.5 The Image as the Real	103
3.4 Conclusion	104
4. Imagetexts and Visual Rhetoric in the Hebrew Bible	107
4.1 Text and Image in the Hebrew Bible	107
4.2 Like the Egyptians: The Smiting God and King in Isaiah 10	112
4.2.1 “Woe to Assyria”: The Haughtiness of the Divine Weapon in Isa 10:5–19	114
4.2.2 “Like the Egyptians”: The Smiting King and God in Isa 10:24–27	118
4.3 Image in Text: The Ephah Vision of Zechariah 5:5–11 and Divine Representation	128
4.3.1 Visual Imagination in the Ephah Vision of Zechariah	129
4.3.2 Text and Image in the Ephah Vision	132
4.3.3 The Living Woman	139
4.4 Dialectics of Resistance in Daniel 6	139
4.4.1 The Tale of the Lions’ Den	140
4.4.2 Mass Media and Imperial Propaganda	142
4.4.3 Visual Differentiation in Daniel 6	157
4.4.4 Rhetoric in Response to the Power of the Image	161
4.5 Conclusion	161
5. Visual Material Agency in the Hebrew Bible	165
5.1 What Power(s) Do Images Have?	165
5.1.1 The “Lives” of Images? How to Talk about Object Agency	167
5.1.2 The <i>Leben</i> and <i>Nachleben</i> of Images	169
5.1.3 Persons, Personhood, and Identity	172
5.1.4 The Distributed Person	174
5.1.5 Whose Agency? Emic versus Etic Perspectives	176
5.2 Images, Agency, and the Ancient Near East	180
5.3 Image Agency in the Hebrew Bible	186
5.3.1 Prohibiting (Re)Presentation: The Biblical <i>Bilderverbot</i>	188
5.3.2 (Re)Presentation and the Development of the <i>Bilderverbot</i>	200
5.3.3 Prophetic “Idol Parodies” and the Iconicity of Polemics	214
5.3.4 Hosea and the Golden Calf	216
5.3.5 Moral Impurity and Object Agency in Ezekiel	219
5.4 Conclusion	227

6. Conclusions: Image and Text in Ancient Israel	231
Bibliography	237
Index of Ancient Sources	267
Index of Authors	275
Index of Subjects	277

List of Figures

- Figure 1 Synoptic table of Panofsky's iconology. Adapted by the author from Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 40–41.
- Figure 2 Cast of reverse of original slate palette (Hierakonpolis; ca. 3000–2850 BCE. Cairo, Egyptian Museum). London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 3 Ivory label; Abydos; ca. 2930 BCE. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 4 Line drawing of relief; Wadi Maghara, Sinai; 5th Dynasty. Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.
- Figure 5 Line drawing of relief; Wadi Maghara, Sinai; 6th Dynasty. Adapted by the author. Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.
- Figure 6 Wall Relief, South Face of Pylon VII; Karnak; 18th Dynasty. © Princeton University Press.
- Figure 7 Ivory; Amarna; 18th Dynasty. Berlin, Neues Museum. © State Museums of Berlin, Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection / Margarete Büsing CC BY-SA 4.0.
- Figure 8 Stele of Ramesses II; Tyre; ca. 1270 BCE. Beirut, National Museum. © Andres Reyes / Manar al-Athar.
- Figure 9 Wall relief; Medinet Habu; 20th Dynasty. © Ross Burns / Manar al-Athar.
- Figure 10 Bronze bowl; Salamis, Cyprus; seventh century BCE. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 11 Silhouette-inlay ivory; Samaria; ninth–eighth centuries BCE. Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London.
- Figure 12 Bronze figurine; Megiddo; ca. 1000 BCE. Chicago, the ISAC Museum. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago.
- Figure 13 White limestone stele; Ras Shamra (Ugarit); ca. 1700–1400 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 14 Ivory plaque; Arslan Tash; eighth century BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre. © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Raphael Chipault / Art Resource, NY.
- Figure 15 Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 971. Courtesy of the Persepolis Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.
- Figure 16 Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 584*. Courtesy of the Persepolis Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.
- Figure 17 Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 9*. Courtesy of the Persepolis Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.
- Figure 18 Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 16*. Courtesy of the Persepolis Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.

- Figure 19 Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 7*. Courtesy of the Persepolis Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project.
- Figure 20 Composite line drawing from impressions of PTS 2*. Courtesy of M. B. Garrison.
- Figure 21 Line drawing from modern impression of IAM 4581. Courtesy of Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre.
- Figure 22a Clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. Israel Museum; Hecht Museum. Photo: Clara Amit, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Figure 22b Line drawing of clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. After Leith, *DJD* 24, pl. XVII, WD 17.
- Figure 23a Clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. Israel Museum; Hecht Museum. Photo: Clara Amit, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Figure 23b Line drawing of clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. After Leith, *DJD* 24, pl. XVII, WD 36.
- Figure 24a Clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. Israel Museum; Hecht Museum. Photo: Clara Amit, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Figure 24b Line drawing of clay bulla; Wadi Daliyeh; mid-fourth century BCE. After Leith, *DJD* 24, pl. XVII, WD 51.
- Figure 25 West jamb of eastern doorway in northern wall; Throne Hall; Persepolis. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago.
- Figure 26 West jamb of eastern doorway in southern wall; Throne Hall; Persepolis. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago.
- Figure 27 North jamb of southern doorway in western wall; Throne Hall; Persepolis. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago.
- Figure 28 North jamb of northern doorway in eastern wall; Throne Hall; Persepolis. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago.

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AchHis	Achaemenid History
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Society
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BARIS	BAR (British Archaeological Reports) International Series
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien (Neukirchen, 1951–)
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentaries
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJD 11	E. Eshel et al., eds. <i>Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1</i> . DJD 11. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
DJD 23	F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, eds. <i>Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31</i> . DJD 23. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
DJD 24	M. J. W. Leith. <i>Wadi Daliyeh I: The Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions</i> . DJD 24. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EABS	European Association of Biblical Studies
<i>Erlsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>

FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBAI	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JFSR	<i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion</i>
JHebS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JJSSup	Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
MTR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIVAC	New International Version Application Commentary
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RC	<i>Religion Compass</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>

RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SPFT 1	M. B. Garrison and M. Cool Root, <i>Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets Volume I Images of Heroic Encounter: Part 1: Text</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SymS	Symposium Series
TB	Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

1. What Do Images Have to Do with Biblical Texts?

In no other time in history has there been such an explosion of visual images. And yet we seem to pay little attention to them, we do not always “understand” them, and most of us are largely unaware of the power they have in our lives, in society, and how they function to provide most of our information about the world.

– Jonathan E. Schroeder¹

We still do not know exactly what pictures are, what their relation to language is, how they operate on observers and on the world, how their history is to be understood, and what is to be done with or about them.

– W.J.T. Mitchell²

1.1 Introduction

What do images have to do with biblical texts? Over the course of the past half-century this has become a question of increasing interest among scholars of the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Judaism, and the New Testament. The answer to this question is, of course, far from settled. Furthermore, the nature of the question itself is still open for debate. What, after all, *is* an image? What images are we talking about? Does what the term “image” implies in English overlap sufficiently with the panoply of terms used in the various biblical languages to refer to visual objects? Do images have *anything* to do with biblical texts? And this is to say nothing of the many questions one could ask about “biblical texts.”

That this question is of any interest at all to the biblical disciplines is likely the result of the growing place of images in contemporary culture. This phenomenon has been well illustrated by many art historians and culture theorists.³ Visual marketing campaigns are so ingrained in the modern collective consciousness that at times we hardly seem to notice them, and yet can identify them immediately upon cursory inspection.⁴ Despite their ubiquity – what Mitchell

¹ Schroeder, *Visual Consumption* (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.

² Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 13.

³ Vivid examples are offered by Michael Squire and Mitchell. See Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–11 and Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28–56.

⁴ Schroeder states the problem with exceptional clarity: “We are exposed to hundreds of images every day. Not in church, or at museums – but all around us in advertising, on the

has referred to as the “increasing mediatization of reality” – Schroeder and Mitchell, in the quotes that opened this study, claim that images remain a subject about which we are largely ignorant.⁵ We fail to offer satisfactory answers to a basic interrogation of images. Anne Marie Seward Barry characterizes this failure by stating baldly that modern culture lacks “visual intelligence.”⁶ This dearth of visual intelligence has not reduced the number of images we process on a daily basis, however, as Schroeder so clearly flags. It is not a question of consumption. Much to the contrary, as Michael Squire has astutely observed, “we are still much better at *consuming* images than at critically *engaging* with them.”⁷

Our lack of deftness at engaging with the visual has certainly not prevented us from attempting to do so. And indeed, in the decades since Mitchell made those comments the humanities have seen a proliferation of studies taking up the problems he so astutely and concisely articulated.⁸ Some of these studies have delved into the ontology of images, inquiring into both what images are and how people talk about what they are.⁹ Others have asked more specifically how images relate to texts, and whether texts are capable of adequately explaining and recreating images and vice versa.¹⁰ Still others have ranged beyond the questions of what images are or mean, and have instead attempted to offer a description of what images do.¹¹ While much of this intellectual work has focused

Internet, on television, in newspapers, on billboards, magazines, buildings, radio, cable, t-shirts, credit cards, shopping carts, and cash register receipts. We live in a visual information culture” (Schroeder, *Visual Consumption*, 3).

⁵ Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 106.

⁶ Barry, *Visual Intelligence: Perception, Image and Manipulation in Visual Communication* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 338. Schroeder agrees in his assessment that consumers have not become visually literate (Schroeder, *Visual Consumption*, 172).

⁷ Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, 7. Squire’s emphasis.

⁸ An illustrative example can be seen in the work of the art theorist Gottfried Boehm. In the same year as Mitchell’s volume, Boehm contributed to and edited *Was ist ein Bild?*, *Bild und Text* (Munich: Fink, 1994). In his two essays in that volume (“Die Wiederkehr der Bilder,” in *Was ist ein Bild?*, 11–38 and “Die Bilderfrage,” in *Was ist ein Bild?*, 325–43) Boehm explores the problems with images. Roughly two decades later a volume was produced in celebration of Boehm’s seventieth birthday, in which colleagues and past students offered a range of “answers” (Sebastian Egenhofer, Inge Hinterwaldner, and Christian Spies, eds., *Was ist ein Bild?: Antworten in Bildern* [Munich: Fink, 2012]).

⁹ Cf., e.g., Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); idem, “Image, Medium, Body: A New Approach to Iconology,” *Critical Inquiry* 31 (2005): 302–19; Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, trans. John Goodman (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, eds., *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., Jaś Elsner, ed., “The Verbal and the Visual: Cultures of Ekphrasis in Antiquity,” special issue, *Ramus* 31 (2002); Shadi Bartsch and Jaś Elsner, eds., “Ekphrasis,” special issue, *CP* 102 (2007); Peter Wagner, ed., *Icons – Texts – Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996).

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey*

on modernity, some have extended and reconceptualized these hypotheses for antiquity as well.¹² This profusion of research has changed the landscape be-moaned by Mitchell. It is no longer the case that we have no responses to the problems he proffered.¹³ In fact, for those approaching these image-related questions for the first time, they are confronted with quite the opposite of the situation described by Mitchell. There is now so much theoretical research it has prompted James Elkins, a noted visual culture theorist, to suggest that there is “no way to summarize contemporary theories of the image.”¹⁴

Yet, despite this surfeit of theoretical rumination, biblical scholarship on the image in Israelite antiquity has remained remarkably unaffected by it.¹⁵ Research into the ontology and function of images in ancient Israel is predominantly taken up by three sub-areas within biblical studies: (1) the study of biblical iconography; (2) the study of Israelite religion; and (3) the study of biblical reception history in the visual arts. The third of these, the research of which can be seen perhaps most acutely in the Society of Biblical Literature’s annual meeting program unit Bible and Visual Art, investigates the reception of biblical literature into visual art throughout history. While this productive area of biblical and visual research does much to commend itself, its primary focus as biblical interpretation by means of subsequent visual expression differentiates its goals and practices from the other two, and, therefore, place it outside the scope of the present study.

(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) and Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

¹² Cf., e.g., Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Assyria and Babylonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); idem, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014); Verity Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Beate Pongratz-Leisten and Karen Sonik, eds., *The Materiality of Divine Agency*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 8 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015); Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*; Sharon R. Steadman and Jennifer C. Ross, *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward* (London: Equinox, 2010); Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination, and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham, U.K.; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); Robyn J. Whitaker, *Ekphrasis, Vision, and Persuasion in the Book of Revelation*, WUNT 2/410 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

¹³ Less than two decades after Mitchell posed those questions, in what self-reflectively serves as an update, a collection of essays, written by many of the visual theorists who – along with Mitchell – explored his original questions, further elucidate how the questions and answers have evolved (Neal Curtis, ed., *The Pictorial Turn* [London: Routledge, 2010]).

¹⁴ Elkins, “Introduction,” in *What Is an Image?*, ed. James Elkins and Maja Naef, The Stone Art Theory Institutes 2 (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 1–12, here 1. While this comment was published in 2011 it was originally issued in an introductory speech to the series of seminars, the transcriptions of which make up the substance of the volume, in 2008.

¹⁵ Christoph Uehlinger has observed the same problem in the study of religion(s) more broadly (Uehlinger, “Approaches to Visual Culture and Religion: Disciplinary Trajectories, Interdisciplinary Connections, and Some Suggestions for Further Progress,” *MTSR* 27 [2015]: 384–422).

The study of ancient Israelite religion has historically been the area of biblical research which takes up questions of materiality in ancient Israel. For this reason it often has close affinities with archaeology and Israelite material culture. The study of Israelite religion has had an evolving and ambivalent relationship to the texts of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁶ At times, especially when this area was relatively nascent within biblical scholarship, it embraced the biblical record as a true expression of ancient Israel's religious beliefs and practices. At other times, especially more recently, it has eschewed biblical texts as the products of an ideological minority who anachronistically retrojected their ideologies onto a distant, non-factual Israelite past. A result of these disparate treatments of the role of biblical texts in Israel's religious history is two parallel discourses which largely accept and restrict evidence according to their predetermined set of evidentiary standards, including those that engage theoretical work in non-biblical disciplines.¹⁷ As a corollary they have each become largely insular explorations of the topic as determined by the accepted frameworks each has constructed, such as iconism/aniconism, veneration of Asherah/Baal, Yahweh's mythic origins, and the sacrificial cult.¹⁸ While very recently these seemingly closed conversations have begun to open themselves up to theoretical developments in a range of disciplines in the humanities and humanistic social sciences, the ability of interdisciplinary theoretical developments in image studies to penetrate these discourses has remained minimal.

A related situation with a much shorter history of research can be observed in the study of biblical iconography. Over the last fifty years, this area of biblical research has grown considerably.¹⁹ Indeed, in many ways, the present study participates in and was formulated in response to the trends in biblical iconography. This area of research attends directly to the relationship between image and text in biblical antiquity, and, therefore, embraces the role of biblical texts in visual interpretation and vice versa. While this area has seen considerable development in the methods of iconographic interpretation, these developments have come by means of an almost iterative process, through which subsequent scholars build off of the work of prior scholars even as they qualify it. This process has

¹⁶ The treatment of biblical literature among studies in Israelite religion is neither chronologically linear nor limited to these discussions. For a helpful review shortly after the turn of the century, see John J. Collins, *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism in a Postmodern Age* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005).

¹⁷ This has especially been true of mid-twentieth century trends in social theory. For more on this development, see chapter 5 below.

¹⁸ For a related critique, which will be explored further in chapter 5, see Alice Mandell and Jeremy D. Smoak, "The Material Turn in the Study of Israelite Religions: Spaces, Things, and the Body," *JHebS* 19, art. 5 (2019): 1–42.

¹⁹ For a helpful summary of its growth and evolution, see Ryan P. Bonfiglio, *Reading Images, Seeing Texts: Towards a Visual Hermeneutics for Biblical Studies*, OBO 280 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 1–10. Much of this history is chronicled in chapter 2, with a particular focus on its theoretical foundations.

resulted in a notable refinement of the methods employed by so-called biblical iconographers. A natural corollary of such an iterative process, however, is that the foundation itself is not widely challenged. In this way biblical iconography has not fully reckoned with Mitchell's questions, as those questions were not yet widely discussed when biblical iconography was undergoing its rapid iterative development.

This study attempts to forge a new path, which reconceptualizes the ontology and function of images in ancient Israel by employing the frameworks that have emerged in interdisciplinary theoretical discourses. In this way I attempt to bridge the gap between the profusion of theoretical research in interdisciplinary perspective and the discourses among biblical scholars that engage the analogical topic of the image and visuality in ancient Israel. I bring contemporary theoretical thought into conversation with biblical studies in the hope that it will inform the biblical discourses and, reciprocally, that the biblical data can engage the interdisciplinary discourses. One of the goals of this study, therefore, is to usher biblical studies into the interdisciplinary conversation on images.

1.2 The Approach of this Study

The attempt to engage multiple disciplines in a robust way, while also adhering closely to biblical discourses such that the biblical material is never relegated in status, requires the unfortunate selection of foci. As briefly alluded to above, the interdisciplinary literature is exceptionally diverse in its approaches to the inter-related questions posed by Mitchell. For example, art historians have a particular (and understandable) penchant for using images as primary data to describe image ontology and agency, whereas comparative literary theorists may stay entirely within the medium of text, never citing an image, even while attempting to articulate the same things. Part of this disparate engagement with adducible data is a function of which data are considered primary in each of these respective fields. The selection then comes as a natural result of their attempt to produce research that is productive for their field. It is also, however, a tacit admission that images and texts make up our two primary data sources for accessing images.

In part this study is a search for at least preliminary answers to the inter-related questions "what *was* an image in ancient Israel?" and "what did images *do* in ancient Israel?" Answering these questions, as will be noted several times throughout this study, is a fraught endeavor. The comments by Schroeder and Mitchell above similarly decried a lack of visual understanding or rumination on the nature of the image in the contemporary society of decades past. The profusion of image research that has come after those comments has largely attempted to rectify those deficiencies, with the result that numerous systems of

representation and characterizations of visuality and images have since been produced, many of which will be explored in this study. The results of this impressive research suggest, however, that there is likely no natural or pure ontology of visual representation. Rather, how the nature and function of images is construed is historically and socially contingent, based upon the varying beliefs and systems of knowledge that exist within various communities. And indeed, as will be explored in chapter 2, many proposed ontologies of images make epistemological claims about the verbal nature of knowledge and, therefore, the verbal nature of images. As a result, no amount of research into modern theories of image ontology can tell us the nature and function of images in ancient Israel. Rather, this sort of research, which this study employs regularly, informs our understanding of our own metaphysical (and therefore ontological) assumptions about the nature and function of visual representation, while also articulating alternative systems through which visual representation might be construed. This in turn helps modern exegetes, who want to historicize and contextualize materials from ancient Israel, avoid the projection of their own philosophical presuppositions onto ancient Israelite ideologies. And yet the questions remain. In order to go about answering these questions then, we must attempt to learn as much as possible about what ancient Israelites thought about images and how they engaged them, which brings us to the texts they left behind.

This study will focus primarily on texts of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism as a means of elucidating ways in which ancient Israelites engaged with visuality and construed the relationship between text and image. It is, therefore, not a study that primarily employs interartistic comparison, such as is typical of biblical iconographic studies. Rather, this study spends the majority of its pages on engaging the varied relationships between texts and images by means of textual analysis. The motivation for this focus stems from a need to offer a more robust account of the relationship between text and image as a conduit to constructing a more nuanced conceptualization of images in ancient Israel. The majority of chapter 2 is devoted to demonstrating this need. Yet while texts remain the centerpiece of this study, the methods of interpretation are theoretically informed by interdisciplinary discourses in order to elucidate the varying ways in which the texts of the Hebrew Bible can continue to be used as primary data to discuss visuality and images in Israelite antiquity.

1.3 The Format of this Study

The bulk of this study comprises four chapters, the latter three of which each develops out of or by implication of the one that came before it. In chapter 2 I offer an overview of how biblical studies have engaged in the study of Israelite visual culture. I begin with a brief history of biblical iconographic exegesis,

in order to contextualize how biblical scholars have explored the relationship between biblical texts and visual images from ancient Israel. This history reveals the extent to which biblical iconographic methodologies rely upon the theory and method of Erwin Panofsky. In the second part of the chapter I explore the method and theoretical underpinnings of Panofsky's iconology, which I critique for its reliance on verbal signification to describe visual meaning and its failure to account for the ways in which images exist as objects of social interaction through time. After briefly describing how Panofsky's theory was taken up by art theorists, I outline the ways in which these legacies fail to employ a historicized metaphysics of visibility endemic to ancient Israel by describing their dependence on western dualistic metaphysics. I conclude the chapter by proposing an alternative way of conceptualizing text-image dialectics in ancient Israel, which I call the poetics of visibility.

Chapter 3 engages one particular aspect of the poetics of visibility in ancient Israel, namely ekphrasis. Ekphrastic texts describe visual phenomena with the rhetorical goal of recreating visual experience. While these texts have long been associated with Graeco-Roman rhetorical culture, I provide two examples of ancient Israelite ekphrastic texts, one from the Hebrew Bible and one from Second Temple Judaism. After summarizing scholarship that presents how ekphrasis was thought to be effective in Graeco-Roman antiquity, I propose that Israelite iterations of ekphrasis functioned differently based on Israel's differing metaphysics. I attempt to demonstrate how Israelite ekphrastic texts were nonetheless effective at recreating the emotional experience of seeing. In the second case study I argue that the poetics of visibility in ekphrastic texts can be used to outline further an ontology of images in Jewish antiquity, which builds in particular on the focus in the second chapter on articulating metaphysical assumptions.

Chapter 4 employs Mitchell's concept of the imagetext to illustrate how biblical texts engaged with external visual culture. I describe how this process relied upon visual knowledge, which it engaged through visual as well as verbal rhetoric. This process employed differentiation, which can be helpfully understood through Derrida's concept of *différance*. I provide two case studies that engage external visibility by employing visual rhetoric through a process of differentiation and deferment. This chapter uses interartistic comparison to express the varying ways in which the visual rhetoric of text makes use of differentiation to achieve its rhetorical ends. In a third case study I likewise describe the rhetorical employment of differentiation, but one that seemingly responds to the propagandistic messaging of the image. I demonstrate this messaging both historically through historical and geographical contiguity and rhetorically through the poetics of visibility.

Chapter 5 moves away from a focus on the poetics of visibility to engage the ways in which the Hebrew Bible embraces a metaphysics of images that saw

them as living embodiments of their (typically divine) referents. The chapter opens by offering an orientation to the topic of object agency, which has been explored thoroughly in the humanistic social sciences in recent years. These discourses talk about objects as existing in a social nexus through which they engage with humans and humans engage with them. This concept of the social “lives” of things extends the concept of social interaction with objects introduced in chapter 2. I demonstrate how the biblical image ban presupposes an ontology of images in which images were embodiments of what they represented, which made their referents present through the material presence of the object. The image ban developed as a way of avoiding confusion over the material presence of deities other than Yahweh, eventually intensifying as the veneration of Yahweh was restricted to the Jerusalem cult. After demonstrating that prophetic anti-icon parodies share this view of images, I conclude by challenging the categories of iconism and aniconism.

I conclude the study in Chapter 6 by summarizing the insights generated from the prior chapters. I focus in particular on how tacit metaphysical assumptions have long dictated how scholars have engaged in the characterization of images and their roles in Israelite antiquity. I propose that future studies embrace texts and images as mixed media, which both engage in a dialectic with the other medium, while also remaining ontologically distinct. These insights do not offer a methodology for better engaging in interartistic comparison, but rather a theoretical basis on which to explore further the poetics of visuality in ancient Israel.

2. The Hebrew Bible and Visual Culture

Iconography allows our preunderstanding considerably less latitude than does the abstract phoneme. It can therefore make evident more quickly and effectively than written records a number of very common peculiarities of ancient Near Eastern reasoning and imagination. Iconography compels us to see through the eyes of the Ancient Near East.

– Othmar Keel¹

What pictures want from us, what we have failed to give them, is an idea of visibility adequate to their ontology [...]. Vision is as important as language in mediating social relations, and it is not reducible to language, to the 'sign,' or to discourse. Pictures want equal rights with language, not to be turned into language.

– W.J.T. Mitchell²

2.1 “There Were Images in Israel”: The Rise of Iconographic Interpretation

The first methodical approaches in biblical studies to the relationship between visual culture and scribal culture – that is, between images and texts – were pioneered by Othmar Keel at the University of Fribourg in the 1970s.³ Keel began the discussion with the publication of his *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*, which focused on the Psalms and the extent to which ancient Near Eastern “iconography” (*Ikonographie*) could illuminate the “conceptual world” (*Vorstellungswelt*) of the texts.⁴ A cornerstone of this project was to militate against the common opinion among biblical scholars at the time that Israel’s image ban (*Bilderverbot*) was related to a distaste for all

¹ Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, repr. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 8.

² Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?*, 47.

³ While Keel initiated what would become iconographic exegesis at this time, earlier biblical scholars had shown interest in material culture. Cf., e.g., George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis: Containing the Description of the Creation, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Destruction of Sodom, the Times of the Patriarchs, and Nimrod, Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods: From the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (New York: Scribner, 1876), which included visual analysis of the images on the Babylonian flood tablets, and James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

⁴ Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 7–11. Cf. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 7–14.

visual representation. This fact might be most clearly noted in the title of Keel's student Silva Schroer's dissertation and later monograph, alluded to in the title of this section, which stated simply: "There were images in Israel."⁵ Keel argued for a rich visual culture in biblical antiquity, which was more rigidly traceable chronologically in the visual record than in the textual one.⁶ The goal was to better understand the historical and cultural background of the biblical world by appealing to the comparative data of images when interpreting specific texts.⁷ Thus iconographic exegesis was pioneered as a comparative method. Keel's project was taken up by his students and colleagues after him, who eventually became known collectively as the "Fribourg School."⁸

⁵ Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder: Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament*, OBO 74 (Fribourg: University Press, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974). For more on the biblical *Bilderverbot*, see chapter 5 below.

⁶ And indeed he later argued that one could use corroborating visual evidence to date texts. Cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4, mit einem Beitrag von A. Gutbub über die vier Winde in Ägypten*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 84/85 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977).

⁷ See especially the later description by Christoph Uehlinger, "Bildquellen und 'Geschichte Israels.' Grundsätzliche Überlegungen und Fallbeispiele," in *Steine, Bilder, Texte: Historische Evidenz außerbiblicher und biblischer Quellen*, ed. Christof Hardmeier, *Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte* 5 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 25–77, here 31.

⁸ Just as with the university and city from which it takes its name, it is also called the "Freiburg School." Christoph Uehlinger has expressed discomfort with the description of this movement as a "school," as he suggests that referring to it thusly belies the heterogeneity of the approaches traditionally classified within it ("Beyond Iconography: Reviewing 50 years of Correlating Biblical Texts, Ancient Near Eastern Images, and Southern Levantine Artifact Culture in Religious-historical Perspective" [paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, CA, 24 November 2019]). It should be noted that not all of these scholars worked or studied at Fribourg. Rather Keel remained at Fribourg and operated as the central figure of early iconographic interpretation. Examples of these early works include Izak Cornelius, *Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (C 1500–1000 BCE)*, OBO 140 (Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); idem, *Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, and Asherah c. 1500–1000 BCE*, OBO 204 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder*; Urs Winter, *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt*, OBO 53 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983); Christoph Uehlinger, *Weltreich und "eine Rede": Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11,1–9)*, OBO 101 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); idem, "Das Buch und die Bilder: 25 Jahre ikonographischer Forschung am Biblischen Institut der Universität Freiburg Schweiz – Dank an Othmar Keel," in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean, 1st Millennium BCE*, ed. Christoph Uehlinger, OBO 175 (Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 399–408; and Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, trans. Thomas Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998).

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible

Genesis		35–41	48, 90
1:26	77 n. 135	37:7–9	223
10:10	129 n. 77		
11:2	129 n. 77	Leviticus	
28:16–19	198	1–16	221 n. 232
31:13	198	14:49–53	134 n. 95
35:14	198	16	45, 45 n. 5, 48
		16:2–28	45 n. 4
Exodus		16:34	45 n. 4
20	212 n. 198	17–26	221, 221 n. 232
20:2–5	108, 187, 202, 203 n. 172, 207	17:10–14	222
20:3–4	202	18:1–30	222
20:3	203	19:2	222
20:4–6	187 n. 107, 190	19:4	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116, 222
20:4–5	187 n. 105, 190, 190 n. 116	19:36	134 n. 95
20:4	201 n. 160, 203 n. 172	20:1–5	222
20:5	203–4, 203 n. 172	20:1–7	222
20:23	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116	20:7	222
23	212 n. 198	22:31–33	222
23:23–24	190, 190 n. 116	24–26	222
23:24	108, 190, 190 n. 116, 203, 203 n. 174	26:1	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116, 222
24:4	198	Numbers	
24:17	74–75 n. 124	21:4–9	191
25–31	45 n. 5, 48, 48 n. 16, 90, 105, 192	Deuteronomy	
25:8–9	45 n. 5	1:1–4:40	187 n. 105, 190 n. 117
25:18–22	223	4	190, 190 n. 116, 190 n. 117
30:35	94 n. 193	4:12–20	193
32	198, 218	4:15–20	190, 207
32:1–4	198	4:16	187 n. 105
32:5	199	4:23	187 n. 105
32:24	199	4:25–28	213
34:13	190 n. 116	4:25	187 n. 105, 213 n. 202
34:17	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116	4:28	187 n. 105, 190
35–40	45 n. 5, 48, 48 n. 16, 105, 192	4:45–11:31	187 n. 105, 190 n. 117

5	190, 190 n. 117	Judges	
5:3-4a	202	3:7	198 n. 149
5:3	203		
5:6-9	108, 187, 202, 203 n. 172, 207	1 Samuel	
		4:4	137 n. 106
5:8-10	187 n. 107, 190		
5:8	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116, 201 n. 160	2 Samuel	
		6:2	137 n. 106
5:9	203 n. 172	15:7	197
7:5	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116	18	74-75 n. 123
7:25-26	221 n. 230	22	74-75 n. 123, 81
7:25	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116	22:11	136, 136 n. 104
12-26	187 n. 105, 211		
12:2-7	211	1 Kings	
12:2	212 n. 198	6-7	48, 48 n. 16, 90, 99, 105
12:3	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116, 208 n. 190, 211 n. 195	6-8	45 n. 5, 192
		12	198, 218
12:4	212	14:10	220-21 n. 227
12:5	212	14:24	221 n. 230
12:6	212	15:13	198 n. 149
12:7	212	18:3-4	108
12:31	221 n. 230	18:19	198 n. 149
13:15	221 n. 230	22:3-23:20	108
14:3	221 n. 230		
16:21-22	190 n. 116	2 Kings	
17:1	221 n. 230	16:3	221 n. 230
17:4	221 n. 230	18:4	191
18:9	221 n. 230	19:5	137 n. 106
18:12	221 n. 230	19:18	218 n. 213
20:18	221 n. 230	21:2	221 n. 230
22:5	221 n. 230	21:7	135, 198 n. 149
23:19	221 n. 230	21:11	221 n. 230
24:4	221 n. 230	23:4	198 n. 149
25:14	134 n. 95	23:7	198 n. 149
25:15	134 n. 95	23:13	221 n. 230
25:16	221 n. 230	24:10	60
27:1-32:47	187 n. 105		
27:15	187 n. 105, 190 n. 116, 221 n. 230	Isaiah	
		4:5	74-75 n. 126
28:36	187 n. 105	6	74 n. 121, 100, 137
28:64	187 n. 105	6:2-3	137
29:17	187 n. 105	6:6-7	137
32:16	221 n. 230	9:7-20	113 n. 25
32:17	218 n. 213	10	112-28, 119 n. 42, 161
32:21	218 n. 213	10:5-19	113-17
		10:5-6	114-15, 118
Joshua		10:5	117, 118
7:21	129 n. 77	10:7-14	126

10:7	116	1:1	84 n. 156
10:12	116–17	1:4–28	74 n. 120, 80, 84 n. 157
10:13–14	116	1:4	74, 76, 77 n. 132,
10:13	116		80 n. 146, 83 n. 154, 85,
10:15	117–18		85 n. 160
10:16–19	117	1:5	77–78, 78 n. 138, 79, 80,
10:20–27a	113, 113 n. 26, 118		83, 83 n. 154
10:24–26	119, 126–28	1:6–7	78–79 n. 141
10:24–27	118–28	1:7	77, 77 n. 132, 80,
10:24	118, 118 n. 41, 126, 127		80 n. 146, 85 n. 160
10:26	118, 118 n. 41, 126, 127	1:10	77–78
11:11	129 n. 77	1:12	136
37:16	137 n. 106	1:13	77 n. 136, 78, 78 n. 139,
37:19	218 n. 213		80 n. 146, 81, 83, 85
40:18–20	219 n. 216	1:14	78 n. 139, 80 n. 146, 85
41:5–7	219 n. 216	1:15	83, 83 n. 155
41:21–29	219 n. 216	1:16	77, 77 n. 132, 78,
42:8	219 n. 216		78 n. 138, 78 n. 139,
42:17	219 n. 216		80 n. 146, 85 n. 160
44:9–20	193	1:22–25	77 n. 132, 83, 84
45:16–17	219 n. 216	1:22	78, 78 n. 138, 80 n. 146,
45:20–21	219 n. 216		83, 85 n. 160, 94
46:1–7	219 n. 216	1:23	83
48:5	219 n. 216	1:24	80 n. 146, 81, 84, 136,
		1:25	84
Jeremiah		1:26–28	79
2:7	221 n. 230	1:26	78, 78 n. 138, 78 n. 139,
2:11	218 n. 213		79, 80 n. 146, 92, 94, 136
5:7	218 n. 213	1:27	77 n. 132, 78 n. 139, 79,
6:15	221 n. 230		80 n. 146, 85, 85 n. 160
7:10	221 n. 230	1:28	78 n. 139, 80 n. 146, 85,
8:12	221 n. 230		92
10:1–16	193, 219 n. 216	2:1	84
16:18	221 n. 230	3:12–13	92 n. 183
16:20	218 n. 213	4:12	220–21 n. 227
32:35	221 n. 230	4:15	220–21 n. 227
44:4	221 n. 230	8–11	99, 105 n. 228, 138, 222,
44:22	221 n. 230		223, 224
48:7	138	8:3–6	138 n. 110
48:29	117 n. 38	8:3	224
		8:6	224
Ezekiel		8:8	224
1	56–57, 74 n. 120, 74–	8:10	224–25, 225 n. 243
	75 n. 123, 77 n. 135, 86,	9–11	136
	91, 92, 92 n. 183, 94, 98,	9:3	223
	99, 103, 105, 105 n. 228,	10	91, 99 n. 210
	109 n. 10, 112, 138,	10:2	77 n. 136, 78–79 n. 141
	205 n. 178, 223 n. 239, 224	10:4	224

10:5	81 n. 148, 136	8:4	217
10:6	77 n. 136	8:5	217, 218
10:7	77 n. 136	8:6	217, 218
10:15	99, 136, 223 n. 239	8:14	216
10:19	136	11:2	216
10:20–22	99–100	13:1–6	216
10:20	223 n. 239	13:2–3	214 n. 205
11:22	136		
13:13	74, 74 n. 122	Amos	
16	222	8:5	134 n. 95
20:7	221 n. 229		
20:18	221 n. 229	Micah	
20:31	221 n. 229	6:10	134 n. 95
22:3–4	221 n. 229		
23	222, 225, 225 n. 244	Zephaniah	
23:7	221 n. 229	1:17	220–21 n. 227
23:12–13	225–26		
23:14–17	225–26	Zechariah	
23:30	221 n. 229	1:1	128
23:37	222	1:7	128
24	222	1–8	128
36:18	221 n. 229	5	100
36:25	221 n. 229	5:5–11	128–39, 161
37:23	221 n. 229	5:5	129 n. 76, 133, 135 n. 101
40–48	48, 48 n. 16, 90, 91, 105 n. 228, 224	5:7–8	135 n. 101
41:17–20	224–25	5:7	134, 135
43:11	97	5:8	134, 135, 137, 138
45:10	134 n. 95	5:9	136
45:13	134 n. 95	5:10	136 n. 105, 138
45:24	134 n. 95	5:11	132, 135 n. 101, 136, 138
46:5	134 n. 95		
46:7	134 n. 95	Psalms	
46:11	134 n. 95	17:8	205 n. 178
46:14	134 n. 95	18	74–75 n. 123, 81
		18:10	136
Hosea		18:11	136 n. 104
2:7	216	29:3	81
2:10–18	216	80:2	137 n. 106
2:10	216–17	99:2	197
2:15	217	104:3–4	81 n. 149
2:18–19	217	104:3	136 n. 104
4:1	217	107:23–32	74 n. 122
4:6	217	107:25	74
6:6	217	148:7–8	74 n. 122
8:1	215 n. 207	148:8	74
8:2	217		
8:4–6	214 n. 205		

Proverbs		6:8	158, 159
20:10	134 n. 95	6:9	157
21:4	117 n. 38	6:10	158
Job		6:11–12	160
20:7	220–21 n. 227	6:13	157
Song of Songs		6:15–16	157
4:1–7	72 n. 114	6:17	159, 160
4:1b–5	71–72	6:18	160
Daniel		6:22	159
1–6	139, 140, 141	6:23	159, 160
1	140	6:25	160
1:2	129 n. 77, 159	6:28	141 n. 116
5	159 n. 187	7–12	140
6	139–62, 141 n. 116, 159 n. 187, 159 n. 188, 171, 229	7	91 n. 181
6:1	159 n. 187	10:6	77 n. 133
6:2–3	158	10:16	77 n. 135
6:2	159	1 Chronicles	
6:4–5	160	28:18	91 n. 177
6:6	160	2 Chronicles	
		15:16	198 n. 149
		25:14–16	138

Ancient Near Eastern Texts

<i>Mīs pî</i> Ritual Text		Darius Tomb Inscription	
K9696		DNa 38–47	155
179–183	199 n. 153	Bisitun Inscription	
Ninurta Temple Inscription		DB col. IV § 63	156
obv. i11	115, 115 n. 31, 115 n. 33	Elephantine Papyrus of	
obv. i17b–18a	115, 115 n. 33	Darius's Bisitun Inscription	
Nebi Yunus Inscription		P. 13447	157
obv. 5–6	115, 115 n. 34		

Deuterocanonical Books

Bel and the Dragon		3 Maccabees	
1–22	141 n. 116	1:8–10	46
23–42	141 n. 116	1:11	46
		1:12	46
		2	46 n. 9
		2:21	46 n. 9

Pseudepigrapha

1 Enoch

14 91 n. 181

Dead Sea Scrolls

War Scroll

1QM

V 5 97

V 6 97

V 9 97

V 8 97

V 14 97

VII 11 97

Aramaic New Jerusalem Scroll

1Q3 48 n. 16

2Q24 48 n. 16

4Q554 48 n. 16

4Q554a 48 n. 16

4Q555 48 n. 16

5Q15 48 n. 16

11Q18 48 n. 16

Ezekiel^b

4Q74 1 IV, 9 77 n. 136

Prayer of Nabonidus

4Q242 141

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice /
Shirot 'Olat Hashabbat

4Q400

3 II-5 3 97 n. 201

3-5 II 3 97 n. 202

4Q401

33 2 97 n. 201

4Q402

3 I 5 97 n. 201

6 2 97 n. 202

4Q403

1 II 3 96 n. 199

1 II 9 97 n. 201

4Q405

1 I 30 89 n. 170

14-15 I 2 97 n. 204

14-15 I 5-7 96 n. 199, 98 n. 207

14-15 I 5 97 n. 203, 97 n. 204

14-15 I 7 93 n. 188

15 II-16 6 93, 94 n. 191

15-16 II 4 97 n. 203

19 2 94

19 4 97 n. 202

19 5-6 100-1

19 5 95 n. 196, 96 n. 199,

97 n. 202, 97 n. 203,

101 n. 213

19 6 97 n. 202

19 7 97 n. 202

20 II-21-22 95

20 II-22 10 97 n. 204

23 II 89 n. 170

23 II 7 96 n. 199, 97 n. 202

23 II 9 97 n. 204

4Q406

1 89 n. 170

11Q17

5 6 97 n. 202

6 6 97 n. 202

9 8 97 n. 202

9-12 94, 94 n. 191

12-15 II 6 101 n. 213

Maslk

1 89 n. 170

Temple Scroll

11Q19 48

Ancient Jewish Writers

Josephus		<i>Jewish War</i>	
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		1.152	46 n. 6, 46 n. 8
10.131–34	60	1.354	46 n. 8, 46 n. 9
14.71–72	46 n. 8		
14.482–83	46 n. 8, 46 n. 9		
20.189–96	46 n. 9		

Graeco-Roman Literature

Herodotus		Plutarch	
<i>Histories</i>		<i>De gloria Atheniensium</i>	
III.84	148 n. 141	346f	107
Longinus		<i>Moralia</i>	
<i>On the Sublime</i>		347a	49–50 n. 22
15.9	64 n. 87	<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
Plato		10.48	59 n. 64
<i>Phaedrus</i>		68 II. 9–10	59
275d	34	70	59 n. 64
<i>Republic</i>		Quintilian	
3	34 n. 107	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>	
5	34	6.2.29–30	62 n. 76
5.472d–e	34	6.6.29	69 n. 106
7	33	8.3.30	54 n. 46
10	32–34, 34 n. 107	8.3.67–69	59 n. 63
10.598b	33, 87 n. 163, 201	8.3.67	60 n. 68
10.603b	87 n. 165	9.2.40	54 n. 46
<i>Statesman</i>		Xenophon	
285e–286a	33–34	<i>Anabasis</i>	
<i>Sophist</i>		I, 2.27	148 n. 141
233d–264b	32	I, 8.29	148
235d–236c	101 n. 217		
243b–c	231		
265b	87 n. 165		

Index of Authors

- Assmann, Jan 11
Auerbach, Erich 68–70
- Bahrani, Zainab 70–73, 101–2, 183, 196
Barry, Anne Marie Seward 2
Bartsch, Shadi 54
Baxandall, Michael 30
Benjamin, Walter 44, 165
Bonfiglio, Ryan P. 14, 16, 43, 167, 232
Brown, William P. 13
- Carroll, Robert P. 188
Cassirer, Ernst 21–22
Chan, Michael 115
Chavel, Simeon 55–57
Clark, T.J. 29–30
Collins, John J. 177
- Davis, Whitney 176, 178
De Hulster, Izaak J. 14
Derrida, Jacques 7, 107, 111–12, 127
Didi-Huberman, Georges 26–27, 170
Dusinberre, Elspeth R.M. 152
- Elkins, James 3
Elsner, Jaś 27, 45, 51–54, 65, 162–63, 170–71
- Feder, Yitzhaq 189
Feldman, Marian 172, 180, 185–86, 204
Foucault, Michel 31, 39–41
Freedberg, David 169–70, 179–80
- Garrison, Mark B. 148
Gell, Alfred 174–82, 184–85, 197
Goldhill, Simon 65
Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich 183
- Halbertyal, Moshe 201
- Keel, Othmar 9–14, 42, 231–32
Klingbeil, Martin 13
- Latour, Bruno 180
LeMon, Joel M. 13
Lester, Mark 167
Lévi-Strauss, Claude 177
Levtow, Nathaniel B. 215, 218–20
- Mandell, Alice 167
Margalit, Avishai 201
Mauß, Marcel 177
Mettinger, Trygve N.D. 192–96, 200
Mitchell, W.J. T. 1–5, 7, 9, 25–26, 31, 35, 38–44, 52–53, 104, 108–12, 179–80, 231–34
- Newsom, Carol 91–94, 98, 103
- Panofsky, Erwin 7, 11–13, 15–28, 31, 110, 170
Pickering, Andrew 180
Pongratz-Leisten, Beate 182–86, 196, 197
- Root, Margaret Cool 152–53, 156
Rowland, Christopher 92
- Schmidt, Brian B. 167, 188
Schroeder, Jonathan E. 1–2, 5, 231
Schroer, Silva 10, 42
Smoak, Jeremy D. 167
Sommer, Benjamin D. 196–200, 205, 207–10
Sonik, Karen 182–86, 196–97
Squire, Michael 2, 30, 36–39, 86–87
Stavropoulou, Francesca 167
Strathern, Marilyn 175–76
Strawn, Brent A. 14–15
- Uehlinger, Christoph 12–17, 232

Van der Toorn, Karel 180
Vernant, Jean-Pierre 69–70

Wagner, Peter 54
Warburg, Aby 18–19

Webb, Ruth 45, 50–54
Weitzman, Steven 46–47
Winter, Irene 181–86, 196

Index of Subjects

- Adad 124
agency 139, 167, 185, 209
agency / Object 5, 8, 163, 165–86, 188, 204
Amarna 121–22
aniconism 4, 107, 167, 183, 186–201, 205, 207, 212, 214–15, 218–20, 227–28
antiquity / Achaemenid Persian 42, 108, 141–57, 159–61
antiquity / Egyptian 119–26
antiquity / Graeco-Roman 7, 16, 32, 39, 46–47, 49, 50–70, 73–74, 82, 86, 210, 233
antiquity / Israelite 3–4, 7–10, 12–14, 16–17, 31, 42–50, 55, 57, 104–5, 108–9, 112, 114, 124–25, 165–69, 186, 188, 204, 210–11, 231–35
antiquity / Jewish 7, 46–48, 55, 88–89, 91–92, 103, 106, 232
antiquity / Near Eastern 9–15, 42, 67, 70, 73–74, 84, 86, 101–102, 108, 119, 126, 131, 138, 143–46, 153, 167, 176, 178, 180–87, 196–97, 209–10, 220, 225, 227, 233–35
Ark of the Covenant 191, 200, 205, 207–8, 210, 223, 225
Arslan Tash 131
art history 1, 3, 5, 11, 14, 16–18, 28–30, 36, 51, 165, 175
art theory, *see* art history
Asherah / *asherah* 4, 135–36, 198, 198 n. 149, 205, 210 n. 193, 212
Assyria, *see* empire / Neo-Assyrian

Baal 4, 11, 124–25, 205–6, 216–19, 228–29
Babylon 60, 129, 136–41
Babylonia, *see* Empire / Neo-Babylonian
Bilderverbot 8–9, 108, 167, 186–219, 227–29, 235

cherubim 88, 92, 94–95, 98–100, 136–37, 139, 191, 193, 196, 200, 205, 207–8, 210, 223–25, 227
combat encounter 143–44, 155–57
contest scene 142–53, 155–56, 159–60

différance, *see* Derrida, *see also* differentiation
differentiation 7, 32, 111–12, 118–19, 127, 132, 139–40, 157–62, 175, 195
dividual 173–76

ekphrasis 7, 43–44, 45–106, 162, 223–24, 226, 233
emic 176–80
empire 139–40, 142–57
empire / Achaemenid Persian 142–57
empire / administration 142–52, 157–60
empire / Neo-Assyrian 112–19, 126–27, 140, 142, 218, 226
empire / Neo-Babylonian 42, 60–61, 101, 112–13, 140, 142, 220, 225–26
empire / power 113–14, 127, 139–45, 152–63
enargeia 47, 50–54, 58–66, 82–84
ephah 128–39
epiphany 66–67, 74–79, 82–86, 92, 103–5
epistemology 6, 16–17, 168, 180, 232
etic, *see* emic

humanistic social sciences 8, 165, 173, 176–77, 180, 187
humanities 2, 4, 165

iconism, *see* aniconism
iconoclasm 193, 210–13, 228–29
iconographic exegesis, *see* iconography / biblical
iconography 4, 7, 9, 11, 15–30, 109–10, 127, 129, 131, 142–47, 156, 170, 192, 205–7, 210–12, 228

- iconography / biblical 3–17, 110, 232
 iconology, *see* iconography, *see also*
 Panofsky
 iconophobia 193, 204, 210–11, 213, 228
 idolatry 130, 167, 179, 201, 205,
 213–14, 220–21, 223–24, 227,
 234–35
 image / agency, *see* agency / object
 image / ban, *see* *Bilderverbot*
 image / fear, *see* iconophobia
 image / ontology 2–8, 16, 26, 32–35,
 39–40, 43, 88–89, 92, 101–6, 110,
 168, 172, 179, 187, 197, 201, 209,
 214–15, 220, 223, 228, 232–35
 image / power 44, 161, 163, 165–80,
 234
 image / (re)presentation 183–214,
 227–29, 235
 image / theory 1, 2, 5, 7, 14–15, 38–44,
 88, 128, 174, 180, 186–87, 231–35
 image and text 2, 4, 10–14, 16, 19, 21,
 23–25, 31–44, 51–52, 107–12, 132–39,
 157–58
 image and text / dialectic 7–8, 38–44, 52,
 108–9, 140, 161
 imagetext 40–41, 108–10, 114, 119, 127–
 28, 139–40, 161–63, 232, 234
 impurity 219–27

 Jerusalem 45–46, 48, 60, 76, 82, 99, 106,
 112–13, 129, 137–40, 208, 210–11, 220,
 224–26, 228

 Karnak 121
 kingship 112–28, 155–61
 Kuntillet 'Ajrud 197

Leben 8, 26–28, 169–72, 179, *see also*
 Nachleben
 lives (of objects), *see* *Leben* and *Nachleben*
 logocentrism 36, 43, 86, 104, 107–10
 Luther, Martin 32, 36–39, 86–87, 107–8

maşşebah / *maşşebot* 198–200, 205, 212,
 227
 materiality 4, 8, 33, 37, 89, 92, 96–100,
 103, 139, 162, 167–68, 175, 180, 185,
 197, 202, 206, 214, 218, 220, 227, 235

 mediation 29, 35–37, 56, 66–70, 88–89,
 98–102, 106, 171, 183, 200–1, 209,
 231–32
 Medinet Habu 123
 Megiddo 124–25, 131
merkabah 90–91, 103, 224
 metaphor 67–82, 84–86, 105, 112, 142,
 158, 162, 233
 metaphysics 6–8, 16, 32, 87, 101, 107,
 172–76, 180, 196, 201–3, 223, 232–35
 metaphysics / Cartesian 167, 171–72,
 195, 197, 233–35
 metaphysics / Platonic 32–37, 107, 209,
 233–35
 metonymy 69, 133–34, 193, 196–97
 mimesis 33–35, 56, 67–88, 98, 101,
 105, 183, 194, 197, 201, 209–10, 227,
 233–35
mīs pī ritual 184, 199, 218–19
 monotheism 167, 188, 204

Nachleben 26–30, 43, 54, 169–72, 179
 Nakš-I Rustam 155
 Narmer Palette 119–20
 Nimrud 131

 Persepolis 144, 147, 150, 153–57
 Persepolis Fortification archive 144, 147,
 149
 Persepolis Treasury archive 149
 personhood 172–76, 179–85, 196–99,
 203–4, 215–16, 229, 234–35
phantasia 58, 61–66, 84–85
 philology 23–25, 42
 poetics of visibility 7–8, 41–44, 57, 104–
 12, 128, 232–35
 polemics / anti-idol, *see* rhetoric / anti-
 idol
Progymnasmata 47–53, 57–62, 65, 70
 purity, *see* impurity

 Reshef 124–25
 rhetoric / anti-idol 167, 214–27
 rhetoric / visual, *see* visual / rhetoric /
 language

 Salamis 123–24
 Samaria 113, 124, 197, 217–18, 225, 229

- Sardis 150
 scopophilia 46–47, 106
 seals / cylinder / stamp 143–52, 157,
 159–60
 semiotics 7, 14, 25–26, 28, 35, 37–38, 43,
 52, 70–74, 106–7, 167, 193–202, 225,
 227, 233
 semiotics / Peircean 170, 177, 193–97,
 200, 205–6, 209, 212, 216, 227–28
 signification, *see* semiotics
 simile 67, 72, 80–82, 86, 105, 162, 233
 Sin 198
 structural linguistics, *see* semiotics
 structuralism, *see* semiotics
 synecdoche 67, 69–86, 105, 112, 161–62,
 196–97, 233, 235

 temple 45–48, 88–106, 129, 135–39,
 191–92, 200, 208, 222–27
 Teshub 124
 theophany, *see* epiphany
 theory of forms / ideas, *see* metaphysics /
 plato
 Thing Theory 168

 Ugarit 125–26

 verisimilitude 61, 64, 66, 72
 violence 119–28
 vision / prophetic 55–57, 67–86, 99–100,
 105, 128–64
 visual / imagination 42–44, 56–86, 104–6,
 108–12, 129–32, 161–62, 229, 233, 235
 visual / meaning 11, 19–30, 128, 163, 170
 visual / representation 6, 10, 31, 36, 38–
 41, 44, 52, 68–73, 79, 82, 86–89, 98–102,
 144–45, 153–56, 183, 192–219, 223,
 227–28, 233, 235
 visual / rhetoric / language 7, 11, 56, 67,
 119, 127–28, 142, 161, 234
 visual / theory, *see* image / theory

 Wadi Daliyeh 150–52
 Wadi Maghara 120–21

 Yahweh 4, 8, 13, 55–56, 74–76, 81, 85,
 113–18, 126–29, 136–39, 188–89, 197–
 213, 216–29
 Yehud 140