

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ACCORDING TO THE TRADITIO-HISTORICAL METHOD

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Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature has been called the "epitome of the atomistic emphasis in folklore".¹ Such criticism goes to the heart of the comparative approach since concern with motif and tale type stands at the center of this school of folklore, which began in the late nineteenth century with the publication of such works as Marian Roalfe Cox's Cinderella and was taken up and most firmly established in Finland.² In recent years, the Finnish, comparative approach has come under ever increasing attack, chiefly for its lack of theoretical integrity. Melville Jacobs, one of its many critics, refers to the comparative approach as "the world-wide grab-bag procedure".³ Jacobs self-righteously exhorts folklore to get with what's happening in the neighboring social and humanistic disciplines, especially minimal unit studies in anthropology.

Intellectual hucksterism finds an all too compliant target in the folklorist who suffers from discipline envy as regards the prestige status of anthropology vis-a-vis folklore. However, Jacobs' type of bandwagonism cuts both ways. Why should folklore get-with anthropology, in its American guise? Will that solve our theoretical problems? American anthropology itself is regarded by Northern European anthropologists, as represented by the Scandinavian's Ake Hultkrantz, as an instance of cultural lag and a left-over from the time of the discoveries of exotic peoples and the founding of colonial empires.⁴

We do not accept the ad hominem argument that condemns the comparative approach because it is a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Because the works of Frazer are wanting in method, it does not follow that the comparative approach is wanting in merit. There are many folkloristic problems that can best be approached by a comparative orientation,⁵ as we shall shortly demonstrate. However, while retaining the comparative stance toward data, it is necessary to turn what has heretofore been merely an unselfconscious approach into a reflective scientific methodology.

Folklore, attracted by the prestigious flash of anthropology and psychology, has overlooked the scholarly discipline of Biblical studies. This is quite surprising in view of the fact that the latter addresses itself to the problems of "oral transmission", "traditionality", and "variant texts".⁶ Probably, Biblical studies is overlooked by the folklorist because it is equated with apologetics, Wellhausen textual criticism, or redactionism. In contradistinction to folklore's oversight, the "Myth and Ritual" school of Old Testament studies emphasizes folklore and folkloristic methods.⁷

Biblical scholars who utilize the comparative method, unlike their counterparts in folklore, have developed a critical awareness of the dangers associated with the comparative method. Henri Frankfort in his The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions (N.Y., 1951) concludes by warning that extreme caution should be used in arguments of analogy,

for the search for similarities may lead to the superficial construction of a unity that does not exist. If motifs, terminology, themes, or views are to be compared, Frankfort warns that it is "the cultural context that holds the secret of their significance." Th. C. Vriezen,⁸ in an attempt to avoid the construction of a superficial unity, would denote parallels which are determined only by identity of terminology, such as is done by the historico-geographical school that compares "similar" motifs across time and space, by the term "homologous parallels." Those parallels which are determined by the identity of function within the context in which they respectively exist, Vriezen would denote by the term "analogous parallels".

In the case of motifs, therefore, it is necessary to examine each motif in its own traditio-historic context. The Sitz im Leben of each motif in the society in which it belongs must be investigated by an analytical method that is competent to discover analogous parallels.

In Biblical scholarship the analytical method that is most relevant to the needs of folkloristic research is the traditio-historical method, which represents a multidimensional approach in that it deals with all determinants of a folkloric item.⁹ There are four basic principles of the method as it applies to folklore.¹⁰ (1) The folkloric material must be investigated in all its aspects. Tradition works, tradition complexes, and separated tradition unities must be worked out as far as possible. (2) The traditio-historical investigation must at the same time be both formal and topical, making use of all means at hand; literary-historical, psychological-sociological, archeological, cultural-historical, ideological, and structural. (3) Synthesis, the interpretation of the smaller units, such as motifs, in relation to their literary context is required. The literary context is not sufficiently explained by classifying it according to genre. Rather, it is necessary to determine the Gattung (form) of each folkloric item. The item's form must be understood to have been derived from the specific life situation (Sitz im Leben) to which it belonged, which in turn had its own historical presuppositions.¹¹ (4) The traditio-historical method requires an understanding of the right valuing of the range of oral tradition. It is not enough to consider only that material found in oral tradition. The tradition fixed in writing must be investigated in order to receive a full picture of the item under investigation. It is most important, for the consistent application of the traditio-historic method, "that oral tradition and transmission in writing should not be played off as mutually exclusive alternatives, but be considered as methods, running alongside and complementing each other."¹²

The comparative approach in folklore has opened itself to criticism by its unscientific drawing of parallels -- no distinction is maintained between homologous and analogous parallels. This serious theoretical failing can be seen in the way the comparative school defines the term "motif", the main building block in their monumental studies. Stith Thompson defines the term as "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed....in order to become a real part of tradition an element must have something about it that will make people remember and repeat it." Although imprecise, this definition causes no real difficulty. Problems arise, however, from his remarks on motifs in terms of their relationships, one with the other; "...the investigation of motifs is very important in showing international relationships....in the comparative study of motifs there is no assumption of historical relationships. Sometimes it exists

and sometimes it does not."¹³

Earlier Thompson defined a motif as "part of a tradition," then he goes on to tell us that two motifs may be compared without assuming any historical relationship. How can this be? Each motif by definition, is a part of a tradition, and a tradition, a cultural phenomenon, is "a precipitate of history."¹⁴ If Thompson means that two motifs can be compared with no regard for their temporal¹⁵ and cultural context then such a comparison is indeed nothing more than Jacobs' "world-wide grab-bag." In order to be fair to Thompson and his followers, it should be noted that their collations of homologous parallels were not intended to be used for "contextual" comparative purposes. Indeed, Thompson anticipated Jacobs and meant his motifs to serve as "the minimal units" necessary for the establishment of Ur-types.

The danger in the use of motifs as an object of comparison lies in the way homologous parallels are themselves assumed to be grounds for supposed historical relationships. John M. Vlach in his article "Folktale Diffusion Across the Sahara and Afro-American Folklore: A Note"¹⁶ demonstrates how historical data can upset conclusions based solely upon the evidence of homologous motifs. By including temporal and functional considerations as elements of his definition of "motif", Thompson could have insured that the application of the concept of motif would not have led folklore into critical difficulties and theoretical positions.

In the field of New Testament studies, the Lund School of theology, whose principal exponents are Anders Nygren and Gustaf Aulen,¹⁷ has investigated the dominant literary motifs of the Gospels in order to establish the actual contents of the Christian belief as fixed in these motifs. Peter Berger characterizes the role of the motif as employed by the Lund School: "The concept of the religious motif, which can be used with advantage in any phenomenological approach to religion, outside as well as inside the Christian tradition, refers to a specific pattern or gestalt of religious experience, that can be traced in a historical development."¹⁸ It is evident that if the Lund approach to motifs is followed, the number of elements that can be classified as motifs will be much smaller than the number of elements so classified by Thompson. However, by insisting that a motif refer to a pattern or gestalt of experience we insure that all those elements so classified will be susceptible to comparative study based on the traditio-historical methodology.

The Lund School is concerned with motifs as crystallizations of religious experience that are found in a secondary "literary" setting that depends upon popular belief and historicity. The folklorist, however, deals with märchen as well as sagen or legends. Since märchen generally do not "rely upon a specific referent outside themselves, either in a realm of belief, or in history"¹⁹ the actual experience and anthropological or historical situation that is crystallized in the motif is generally impossible to determine. For this reason, Berger's characterization must be enlarged.²⁰ We define a motif as follows: A motif is the smallest element of a theme that recurs in narrative in variable forms and connections. The motif refers to a specific pattern or gestalt of experience. In its secondary literary setting within a legend or sage the motif gives expression to ideas and experiences inherent in an actual situation of anthropological or historical nature. In its secondary literary setting within a märchen the motif portrays elements of a pattern or gestalt of a heightened or

symbolic situation which is a reflection of an actual situation of anthropological or historical nature.

Since we have defined motif in respect to "theme", it should be noted that by "theme" we mean what Ruskin meant by motive: "a leading emotional purpose" in a composition.²¹ I. M. Greverus gives a similar definition of theme with which we would agree: "a basic idea, out of which the story rises and which encompasses the whole story."²²

We shall now proceed to a comparative analysis of a motif as found in the Pentateuch and as found in the writings (Dead Sea Scrolls) of the Qumran Coventers. The comparison will be based upon the traditio-historical method and will attempt to demonstrate understanding of the functional similarity of the structure of each motif in the belief system of its authors.

Our study concerns itself with motif parallels within a single cultural tradition, the Israelite one, because it is our opinion that before cross-cultural analysis can be undertaken the relatively simpler but fundamental task of understanding the synchronic and diachronic structural dynamics of motifs must be accomplished. It is to this task and to that of the justification and furtherance of the comparative approach to folklore that we now turn.

The motif with which we shall deal is first stated fully in the Pentateuch as follows:

But I will harden Pharoah's heart, and though I multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, Pharoah will not listen to you; then I will lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my hosts, my people the sons of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great acts of judgements. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt and bring out the people of Israel from among them.

(Exodus 7:3-5:RSV trans)

Before analyzing the structure of this motif we must briefly mention two other motifs that have been suppressed and subsumed in our motif. Later we shall see how the negation of these two "mythological" motifs created certain theosophical dilemmas which "the hardening" motif attempted to solve.

The first suppressed motif is that of "the war of the gods", i.e. Yahweh versus the gods of Egypt. This motif has been obscured in the Pentateuch and is only alluded to at the time of the last plague;²³ a hint of the tradition in an amputated fashion is preserved in the words of Jethro in Ex. 18:11.²⁴

The second suppressed motif is that of "the competition of the messenger of Yahweh against the Egyptian magicians." Since the Egyptian magicians drew their power from their gods, just as Moses and Aaron drew their power from Yahweh, this motif has inherent within it the idea of a competition of gods. The Book of Exodus, i.e. its editors, represses the messenger competition motif by amalgamating the earlier competition motif with the later plague motif.²⁵

Having mentioned that the motif of "the war of the gods" and the motif of "the competition of the messengers" were both suppressed because they were

antithetical to the monotheistic principle which prevailed at the time when Exodus:7 was redacted, this is a suitable point at which to say a few words about the relation of oral tradition to writing before returning to the "hardening" motif for an analysis of its structure. What was said earlier about the necessity for understanding the right value of the range of oral tradition deserves to be stressed at this point.

The classical expression of literary criticism has been made by J. Wellhausen: from the narratives of Genesis, he says, "One cannot gather any historical knowledge about the Patriarchs, but only about the time when the narratives which concern them took shape in the people of Israel."²⁶ Today Biblical literary criticism considers the preliterate state of these documents. Roland De Vaux is an example of one who holds the middle position within the traditio-historical school.²⁷ He applies serious restriction to the affirmations of the scholars of the Scandinavian branch of the traditio-historical school who greatly insist on the accuracy of the oral tradition in the Near East and among people who use writing very little.²⁸ On the other hand, De Vaux amends the opinions of G. E. Mendenhall and E. A. Speiser who believe that writing assures historical accuracy since "writing (in antiquity) is used to preserve, not as in the modern scholarly world, to create."²⁹ De Vaux agrees that writing "preserves"; it is, he notes, "the last link of a living tradition." However, he warns that writing "adds to this tradition its personal mark by the choice, the combination, the presentation, and the appreciation of the traditional material which it uses."³⁰

Jan Vansina, studying the types of traditions found in Rwandi and Burandi, discusses how the political system of these native societies imparts bias and imposes "limitations upon the folk traditions." The folk traditions, as they are refined and performed in the royal circle, he observes, "suffer from the bias imposed by the functions they fulfill," the functions being political and to a lesser degree social.³¹ The ideological function that affects the traditional oral material that is preserved in its final form in writing is clearly seen to be operating in the motif of "the hardening". The suppression of motifs antithetical to monotheistic Yahwism is a function of the politics of the Priestly party who fixed the tradition of the Exodus in its present Biblical form.³²

We now return to the "hardening motif" for an analysis of its structure.³³ The motif's structure is triadic, made up of three themes:

- Theme I: "No extra-divine opposition." ...All opposition to Yahweh is represented as originating from Yahweh Himself... "I will harden Pharaoh's heart."
- Theme II: Aspect I "Great Judgements": Instrument of divine retribution.
Aspect II "Great Judgements": Means of divine manifestation.
- Theme III: "The Egyptians will know that Yahweh is God."

These three themes fuse into one motif by means of triadic interplay. In the Book of Exodus the first theme is emphasized to the point of being forced.³⁴ It is safe to conjecture, along with Loewenstamm,³⁵ that Theme I was emphasized to dispel any doubt in the ability of Yahweh to over-

power Pharoah and to assert the monotheistic principle that all is from Yahweh, even opposition to His demands. Theme II, "Great Judgements", has a pivotal role within the motif's structure. From the aspect of divine manifestation, it is the vehicle for the realization of the third theme.

Whereas Genesis I sidesteps the dilemma of monotheism, that God as the author of everything is the creator of evil as well as good, by stating that darkness (i.e. evil) was in the world before the first creative act and all God's creative acts are good,³⁶ Exodus is forced, by virtue of its author's desire to suppress the "mythological" motifs of Yahweh's battles with other gods, to state explicitly that God Himself was the cause of evil in that He hardened Pharoah's heart. However, the theme of "hardening Pharoah's heart" conflicts with the idea of the justice of Yahweh's punishments of "Great Judgements".³⁷ This dilemma is cemented into the monotheistic belief system and remains chronically unsolvable until, as happens in our motif, it is combined into a larger unit organized on a superordinate level. In our case this is done by linking Theme II in its second aspect to Theme III.

Robert P. Abelson states in his study of intrapersonal conflict resolution: "The dilemma is transcended by imbedding the conflicting parts in a new concept instrumental to some higher purpose."³⁸ Theme III provides the transcendent purpose that resolves the dilemma by invoking the principle that causal reason is found only in the Creator Himself. As Theme III states it: "And the Egyptians shall know that I am The Lord."

Thus far we have seen how the Biblical motif of "the hardening" excludes conflicting beliefs within its belief structure.³⁹ Next we shall analyze how certain concepts which were latent in the motif became manifest when subjected to the belief system of the Qumran thinkers and how the motif functions to resolve certain of their belief dilemmas.

In Qumran literature the motif of "the hardening" expresses the same mode of dialectically induced faith that is a characteristic of Biblical faith, especially as found in the Book of Psalms. As regards Biblical Judaism, R. J. Zwi Werblowsky states the dialectic this way: "Faith is the trust in God's faithfulness...God vindicates Himself by vindicating the righteous...and conversely the righteous strengthens his faith by recalling previous divine interventions and God's mercies to Israel."⁴⁰ Our motif was an aid to such a faith for its Qumran audience.

The motif of "the hardening", as a part of the larger motif of "the going out from Egypt" and "the splitting of the Red Sea", is set in a mundane, historical framework. "The hardening of the heart of Pharoah" expresses one aspect of what was understood as the start of a process in history that was felt to have begun with the history of the Exodus and to have been concluded with the election of the House of David and the building of the Temple.⁴¹

Under the exigencies of post-destruction conditions, motifs that had, as in the case of our motif, only a one time historical meaning were transformed by being given an eschatological⁴² or schematic meaning.⁴³ Whereas in pre-Exilic times the appeal for a vindication of faith took the form of a demand for immediate, historical salvation to demonstrate that the God who had saved His people in the past history had not abandoned

them in the present,⁴⁴ the post-destruction appeals, as represented by Isaiah 2:1-4, 11:1 and 15-17 and Jeremiah 23:5, 7-8, called not for a single vindicating event as did Gideon, for example, but they called for the beginning of a new historical process based on the model of the Exodus. Qumran literature demonstrates a further development of this line of thought.

The Damascus Covenant,⁴⁵ which can be thought of as the group's founding manifesto, can properly be termed historical literature. It is an attempt to comprehend history by speculating about its significant periods and arriving at a schema in order to establish a guide for future action.⁴⁶ The Qumran Coverters understood their existential situation to be a typologically parallel extension of the Biblical experience. That this is so is demonstrated by the way they view themselves as the last wave of the returning exiles who went out from the land of Judah in 587 (CD IV:3) and the way they feel that all the unfulfilled Biblical promises of redemption apply to them, "the last ones" in the line of history (CD IV:4).

The Qumran version of the motif of "the hardening", stated in one form in CD V:17-19, is used as an element in the Qumran scheme of history:

For in ancient times Moses and Aaron rose by the hand of the Prince of Lights, and Belial raised Jannes and his brother by his evil device, when Israel was delivered for the first time.

In Qumran thought the "first time" and "the last" or present time are closely connected. Their Teacher of Righteousness was understood to be the Moses-like figure who was expected to rise before the coming of the Messiah.⁴⁷ The new Moses signalled the start of a new historical process, typologically parallel to the Biblical Exodus-Trek Conquest sequence.⁴⁸ However, whereas the rise of the first Moses signalled the beginning of Israel's history per se, the Teacher, as the second Moses, marked the beginning of the end of her history. The Teacher's confrontation with his evil opponents in an Exodus setting was viewed as the penultimate act of mundane history which was followed by the ultimate act, the Trek into the desert, representing the last stage in the world drama before the start of the meta-historical messianic age of the Conquest.⁴⁹

Not only did "the hardening" motif function as an element in the Qumran scheme of history, but it also provided the Qumran thinkers with a Biblically significant form in which three of their principle doctrines, dualism, predestination, and eschatology could be artistically expressed.⁵⁰

The fact that the motif was "Biblically significant" is most important to our understanding of why a motif that has been used in narratives of the past is used again in a new context. Arthur Christensen⁵¹ could not fathom the psychological reason why motifs "catch on." He characterized motifs as "...des épisodes qui captivent l'auditoire par leur étrangeté ou par leur effet comique ou tragique, et qui, par leur caractère dramatique et serré, se retiennent facilement dans tous leur détails."

Christensen's difficulty in establishing "une loi psychologique difficile à définir" was due to the fact that he, like those who were to follow him in his concern with motifs, lifted the motif out of its con-

textual tradition in order to examine, in isolation, its literary qualities. But motifs, as Thompson says, form "part of a tradition"; this means that they come out of a tradition as well.

If folklore is understood to be both those cultural elements that, from the point of view of the wider, national, culture represent a deviation and those cultural elements that, from the viewpoint of the subgroup that holds them, represent old, traditional ways,⁵² then the folklorist must be aware of the way a motif used in a new textual context can function as a short-hand reference to a historically significant tradition, as is the case with the motif of "the hardening" in Qumran literature. It is thus incorrect to speak of a group, such as that of the Qumran Community, as "borrowing a motif." Rather they were continuing the tradition of the use of the motif, albeit with a changed structure.

Under the ideational pressure of the Qumran concerns with dualism, pre-destination, and eschatology, the idea of a competition of divine forces, which the Biblical account suppressed, made a reappearance in the form of the Prince of Lights, and Belial. We wish to point out that any thesis such as that the Biblically suppressed motifs of a "battle of the gods" or "competition of messengers" led an underground oral existence until they emerged in Qumran literature does not concern us in our analysis of "the hardening" motif, nor are we either advocating or depending on such a thesis which is impossible to prove. Rather, we contend that the motif of "the hardening of the heart of Pharaoh" because of its structure, containing as it does contradictory concepts, and because of its setting, which is one of confrontation, contains within itself the possibility of being used to express the idea of a competition of divine forces without any need for its Qumran users to have been aware that in its pre-Biblical existence it expressed a similar theme. When faced with the question of why "the hardening" motif was chosen in preference to other motifs in the Biblical tradition valued by the group, it is possible to conjecture that its structural suitability as a vehicle for the expression of the Qumran principle of dualism together with its place in the scheme of Biblical history made it a natural choice.

We shall now proceed to examine our motif in light of Qumran doctrines and attempt to demonstrate that although certain elements may differ, the motif as found at Qumran is not an exegesis of its Biblical original but stands as a self-contained permutation of the original; moreover, the overarching functional role of the motif in resolving an insoluble belief dilemma will be shown to be identical in both cases. Before this can be done, however, a brief look into the motif's structure is necessary.

The motif, as found in CD V:17-19 (this essay, p. 41) has a different thematic structure than its Exodus counterpart, for what were two separate themes in the Biblical rendition are a single theme in the CD version. Theme II and III are elided and abbreviated into the single theme of "deliverance". "When Israel was delivered for the first time" calls to mind both the subject of Theme II, the instrument and means of deliverance, "Great Judgements", and the subject of Theme III, the purpose of the deliverance. The phrase "When Israel was delivered for the first time" functions as a symbol, a part for the whole. Other documents from Qumran, however, treat Theme I and II quite fully, as we shall shortly see.

Theme I of the motif as found in CD V:17019 concerns itself with a contest of divine forces. In its Exodus appearance Theme I emphasized that there

was no extra-divine opposition to Yahweh; the use of the first person, the direct discourse of Yahweh telling us that "I will harden Pharaoh's heart", makes the monotheistic idea very clear. In CD V, however, Theme I is a description in the third person of what transpired. Yahweh is not mentioned, and instead we are told that two supernatural creatures, the Prince of Lights and Belial support their respective messengers. Thus Theme I of CD V emphasizes dualism, while it leaves to be inferred the monotheistic principle that God, the Creator of all, stands above the antagonists. Exodus, on the other hand, in order to leave no opening for a dualistic interpretation, prefers to emphasize Yahweh's agency at the expense of highlighting the logico-moral dilemma of Yahweh condemning that which He Himself created to oppose Him.

Georg Fohrer notes that in the religion of Yahweh, divine and human activity are correlated by the dynamic way Israelite thought allows an idea or event "to pivot on two foci in order that the idea or event might be understood in its entirety. Thus, the same event may be depicted as intervention by Yahweh on the one hand, and as the human activity on the other."⁵³ In our motif as found in Exodus, "the hardened heart of Pharaoh" is depicted as intervention by Yahweh on the one hand, and as the human activity of the wilful Pharaoh on the other hand. Similarly, the theme of "Great Judgements" has a two-fold, pivotal aspect; when viewed from the standpoint of "cause" it is related to Pharaoh's activity, and from the point of view of "effect" or "result" it is related to the knowledge of God that the Egyptians receive. In the case of both "the hardened heart of Pharaoh" and the "Great Judgements", the two foci are brought into harmony by means of the intrapersonal conflict resolution mechanism of transcendence, expressed by Theme III with its transcending divine purpose.

In Qumran literature the dynamic thinking of the Israelites which "pivots on two foci" has given way to a more static dualistic view. CD V:17-19⁵⁴ sees the world as having been divided into two mutually exclusive camps by a predetermined decision of God. This static, dualistic view is most clearly expressed in I QS III:15 and 17-19:

Before their existence He ordained all their planning, and when they become whatever they are destined to be according to His glorious plan, they fulfill their tasks, and nothing can be changed....He has created Man to rule the world and put into him two spirits: these are the spirits of Truth and Evil, to walk by until the end of all generations.⁵⁵

At Qumran it was not a matter of pivoting first to one side and then to the other, as it was for the Israelites, but it was rather a matter of distinguishing between two sides (the Good vs. the Evil) which stood arranged in their predetermined order.⁵⁶

The same differences in terms of a dynamic versus a static point of view holds true for the two periods' historical orientation. In general, the Biblical version of the motif is more historically oriented towards the actual situation than its Qumran counterpart in CD V and IQH XV,⁵⁷ which will shortly be discussed in detail. The reason for this difference may be explained by the fact that Qumran thought turns history into prototype. We have already mentioned this phenomenon in connection with the schematic, or eschatological meaning that the Exodus event assumed in

the post-destruction period. However, the fact, as Bleddyn J. Roberts in his article on "Bible Exegesis and Fulfillment in Qumran" states, that "the enemies of the Community were, to them, not historical people or peoples, but the actual personifications of the biblical prototypes"⁵⁸ can also be explained by the Qumran Community's self-identification with the Biblical "people of God".⁵⁹ This is to say, they saw themselves as living the same tradition. To use Roberts's terms, "the apocalyptic element is the one element that characterizes the superstructure to which Scripture provides the base."⁶⁰

While 'apocalyptic' may serve as a general term for the outlook of the Qumran Community, it contains certain characteristics some of which are absent in Qumran literature.⁶¹ The Qumran people themselves provide us with a more apt term for their particular outlook. This term, viz. pesher, has as an added recommendation for its use the fact that it calls attention to the special way in which the Community related to the crystallized written tradition.

"Pesher" as a way of "reading" the written tradition points to the fact that in Israelite society around the beginning of the Christian era sacred tradition was not merely that which was codified in sacred scripture but was also that which was understood to be carried forward to (sacred) oral tradition.⁶² Here once again the complementary nature of written and oral narrative tradition must be appreciated and given due consideration in any folkloristic methodology. Similarly, material objects such as carved sticks, tablets, stools, pictures, and even umbrellas⁶³ which, as mnemonic devices, are "read", function as the written scriptures functioned for Israelite society -- i.e. as one strand which along with oral tradition makes up the collective tradition. Exclusive preoccupation with oral lore will mean that the folklorist receives an incomplete, and hence erroneous, picture of the tradition of the folk.

The pesher is an interpretation of a divine mystery, rāz, which was communicated by God to various prophets. The meaning of the communication remained sealed until its pesher was made known by God to His chosen interpreter, the Teacher of Righteousness.⁶⁴ Pesher as an exegetical category has a close affinity to the apocalyptic outlook described by Robinson in the second point of his definition, since the revelation of the scriptural word (as rāz) was believed to predominantly concern the time of the end, the last generation, when God's word in the rāz would be fulfilled. This aspect of pesher is confirmed in IQpHab VII:1-5.⁶⁵ To the Qumran Community, the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness to interpret the fulfillable words of scripture by pesher was a sign the time of the end was imminent, this is confirmed for us in CD I:10-12.

Having briefly noted the differences between Biblical and Qumran outlook and the way in which the Qumran thinkers, through pesher, related themselves to the Scriptures it remains for us to turn to "the hardening" motif as it appears in The Thanksgiving Scroll to examine the way the motif functioned at the hands of the Qumran Community as a means for the resolution of their intrapersonal belief dilemma.

As regards our motif, the crux of Hymn XV is lines 19-20:

For according to the mysteries of thy understanding Thou didst ordain them, to smite them with great judgements in the eyes of

all Thy creatures, that there might be a sign and a wonder to times eternal, that all might know Thy glory and Thy great might.⁶⁶

The structure of the above version of the motif is, like its Exodus forerunner, triadic:

Theme Iq:⁶⁷ "All things are ordained by God."

Theme IIq: Aspect I "Great Judgements": Instrument of divine retribution.
Aspect II "Great Judgements": Means of divine manifestation.

Theme IIIq: "All will know God's glory and might."

The motif as portrayed in IQH answers the question, why did God harden the heart of Pharaoh? The answer is given in a more broad and logical way than is found in Exodus. The motif in Exodus speaks only about Pharaoh and the Egyptians; the motif in IQH extends the idea inherent in Theme I and makes it a cosmic principle. Theme Iq makes clear that active encouragement of the wicked by God is not a one time occurrence, as could be argued in the case of Pharaoh, but rather, it states that wickedness has been ordained. Themes IIq and IIIq answer the question, why was moral dualism established? or, put another way, to what end have the wicked and the righteous been pre-ordained?⁶⁸

The answer to the last question is contained in the first aspect of Theme IIq, the wicked were created in order to sin and to be punished. At the same time, Theme IIq, by virtue of its second aspect, expresses the means by which God manifests his power and sovereignty in the world. Not only is the pivotal function of the "Great Judgements" theme similar in the motif of Ex. 7:4 and IQH XV:19, but significantly enough, the literal term for the second pivotal term is the same, "Great Judgements".⁶⁹

Theme IIIq expresses the same idea as its Exodus counterpart, except that in Exodus the transcendent purpose for the creation of evil was manifested in history when the Egyptians knew that Yahweh was God, while at Qumran the monotheistic belief dilemma is resolved by an appeal to a super-ordinate resolution on the eschatological plane. At the last judgement, God's glory and might will be made manifest in rewarding his chosen and punishing, by condemning to perdition, those who were created to demonstrate His might.⁷⁰

The motif as reworked by the thinkers of Qumran combines two concepts that were particularly significant to them, dualism and pre-determinism, with the Biblical concept of the goodness of the Creator. Though the first two concepts are in conflict with the third, the Qumran thinker could resolve this otherwise insoluble dilemma by imbedding these conflicting concepts in the thematic structure of the Biblical motif and thereby utilize the traditionally sanctioned Biblical motif's transcendent reasoning resolution mechanism. By such a re-utilization of the applicable Biblical model to solve their belief dilemma, the Qumran thinker elicited reverence for the significance of the original event as experienced by their forerunners, and in spite of ideational changes of emphasis, the use of "the hardening" motif made later generations,

the Qumran Community among them, heirs of Biblical experience through its artistic means of creating a continuity of feeling.

Although we have concerned ourselves with a specific motif in a specific series of cultural contexts, it is earnestly hoped that this limited study will have shown the utility of the traditio-historical method, as developed by Biblical scholars, for folklore research in general. At the least, we shall be satisfied if we have demonstrated how the concept of a "motif", when properly defined and systematically related to context, can function as a valuable element within the framework of the comparative approach to folklore.

FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations: Qumran Documents (Dead Sea Scrolls)

IQM War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness
 IQS Manual of Discipline, or Rule of the Community
 IQH Thanksgiving Psalms
 IQpHab The Habakkuk Commentary (Peshar)

1. Alan Dundes, "Structural Typology in North American Indian Tales," The Study of Folklore, ed. Alan Dundes (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), p. 207.
2. Richard M. Dorson, The British Folklorists: A History (Chicago, 1968), p. 283.
3. Melville Jacobs, "A Look Ahead in Oral Literature Research," JAF 79 (1966), 414.
4. Ake Hultkrantz, "The Aims of Anthropology: A Scandinavian Point of View," Current Anthropology 9 (1968), 289-310 (includes CA comments).
5. Lauri Honko in his review of Dundes' The Study of Folklore (Temenos 2 [1966], 193-196), criticizes Dundes for giving a one-sided presentation in the book's second section dealing with "The Search for Origins." Dundes, Honko notes, does not mention "the most natural choice of methods" for dealing with the origins of folk poetry, "that is to say the tracing of the poets anonymous, showing his cultural milieu and source material and revealing the 'message' of [the] folk poem (why the poem was created, what the poet wanted to say, and to whom) (p. 194)." What Honko was referring to as the "most natural choice of methods" is of course, the comparative method.
6. Jan Harold Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore (N.Y., 1968), p. 4, considers these three qualities to be the first three essentials of true folklore. Cf. Francis Lee Utley, "Folk Literature: An Operational Definition," The Study of Folklore, pp. 7-24, esp. p. 8.
7. See S. H. Hooke, "Myth and Ritual: Past and Present," Myth, Ritual and Kinship (Oxford, 1958), pp. 1-21, for a history and defense of this school's method.

8. Th. C. Vriezen, Religion of Ancient Israel, Ch. 11, n. 31 (Phila., 1967).
9. Heda Jason, "A Multidimensional Approach to Oral Literature," Current Anthropology 10 (1967), 413-426, discusses and provides a model of the determinants of an item of oral literature.
10. The four principles are drawn with modifications to apply to folklore, from Ivan Engnell, "Methodological Aspects of Old Testament Study," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden, 1960), Vol. 7, pp. 22-24.
11. Martin Noth, Developing Lines of Theological Thought in Germany (Virginia, 1963), p. 8. The form-critical method owes its origins to Hermann Gunkel who believed that a history of Hebrew literature could be written, not by the old way of studying the personalities of the writers, but in a new way by studying the development of the types of literature found in the Bible. See his chapter "Fundamental Problems of Hebrew Literary History," in his What Remains of the Old Testament (London, 1928), pp. 57-68.
12. Engnell, op. cit., p. 23.
13. Maria Leach, ed., Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (N.Y., 1950), Vol. 2, p. 753.
14. "There is general agreement that every culture is a precipitate of history." A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture (N.Y., 1963), p. 312.
15. A synchronic comparison of motifs is still historical in that the motifs are part of a cultural context. For analytical purposes the chronological moment is held fixed and the comparison is a depiction of the identity of two elements at a cross-sectional moment. See Kroeber and Kluckhohn, "Historicity," pp. 312-315.
16. Folklore Forum 3 (1970), 128-134.
17. Anders Nygren, Agape and Eros, trans. P. S. Watson (London, 1953); Gustaf Aulen, The Faith of the Christian Church, rev. ed., trans. Eric H. Wahlstrom (Phila., 1960).
18. Peter L. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism" Social Research 21 (1954), 477, cited in Shemaryahu Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," Biblical Motifs, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 39.
19. Butler Waugh, The Child and the Snake, Aarne-Thompson 285, 672C, and Related Forms in Europe and America: A Comparative Folktale Study, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana Univ., 1959), p. 47, pp. 43-51 considers the difference between märchen and sage and offers several enlightening analogies.
20. The lines along which we have modified Berger's definition and formulated our own definition have been derived from S. Talmon's ("The 'Desert' Motif" in Biblical Motifs, p. 39.) elaboration of Berger's definition.

21. "Motive," A New English Dictionary, ed. James A. Murray (Oxford, 1968), Vol. 6, p. 698.
22. Ina-Marie Greverus, "Theme, Typus, und Motiv Zur Determination in der Erzählforschung," International Congress for Folk Narrative Research, ed. G. A. Megas (Athens, 1964), pp. 130-13 cited in Ting-jui Ho, A Comparative Study of Myths and Legends of Formosan Aborigines, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana Univ., 1967), Vol. 1, p. 24.
23. Exodus 12:12; Numbers 33:4.
24. Perhaps also in Pg.82 according to S. E. Loewenstamm, The Tradition of the Exodus in its Development (Heb.) (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 49, 50.
25. Loewenstamm, Ibid., pp. 25-48; 51-56.
26. J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena Zur Geschichte Israels, 1886, p. 331 cited in Roland De Vaux, "Method in the Study of Early Hebrew History" in The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. Phillip Hyatt (N.Y., 1965), p. 20.
27. De. Vaux, Ibid., pp. 15-29.
28. See, for example, E. Nielsen, Oral Tradition (London: Studies in Biblical Theology, Vol. 11, 1954) and Schechem: A Traditio-historical Investigation (Copenhagen, 1955).
29. G. E. Menenhall, "Biblical History in Transition," in The Bible and the Ancient Near East, ed. G. E. Wright (1961), p. 34, cited in De Vaux, "Methods," p. 20.
30. De Vaux, "Method," p. 20.
31. Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology, trans. H. Wright (Chicago, 1965), p. 170. Vansina offers a more specific paraphrase of De Vaux's position: "The historical information that can be obtained from oral traditions is therefore always of a limited nature and has a certain bias. This is equally true of written sources...in both cases, the factor which most imparts bias and imposes limitations is the political system (p. 172)." Generally, Vansina in his method and conclusions is close to the right-wing of the Scandinavian school, particularly to those scholars such as Birger Gerhardsson, who in Memory and Manuscript (Uppsala, 1961), stresses the method of transmission and the rhetorical-poetical devices used to insure accuracy and facilitate memory.
32. Cf. Vansina, p. 211 for a discussion of the chain of communication and position of the redactor.
33. The possibility of analyzing Biblical motifs structurally was suggested to me by E. Leach's "The Legitimacy of Solomon: Some Structural Aspects of Old Testament History" (Archives Europeenes de Sociologie 7 (1966), 58-101). Our study differs from Leach's in that we are not interested in structure as large scale, abstract, patterned arrangement. Rather, we are interested in small scale structure as a function of belief resolution on the content level of meaning. (See Leach, pp. 67-70, 73 for an understanding of how our position lies between and borrows from both content and structural analysis.)

34. Ex. 4:21; 7:13, 16, 22; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:12, 34-35; 10:1-2, 20, 27; 14:4,8.
35. Op. cit., p. 75.
36. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," Biblical Motifs, op. cit., p. 1.
37. Re. the double characteristic of Yahweh's personality Ladislav Cerny, The Day of Yahweh and Some Relevant Problems (Prague, 1948), p. 66. Re. comparisons with Near Eastern gods, ibid., p. 66 note 81.
38. "Modes of Resolution of Belief Dilemmas," Journal of Conflict Resolution 3 (1959), 346. Our model owes many of its ideological features to Abelson's presentation.
39. Cf. the similar function of motif and symbol. E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vol. 4, p. 41.
40. "Faith, Hope and Trust: A Study in the Concept of Bittahon," Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies London 1 (1964), 101.
41. II Sam. 7:23 and its elaboration in Ps. 78.
42. Cf. S. B. Frost, "Eschatology and Myth," Vetus Testamentum 4 (1952), 80 on eschatologizing of myth at the time of the Exile. An example of the transformation is evident in the myth of the fallen angels (Gen. 6: 1-6) as handled in Is. 14 and Ezek. 28 -- Cerny, op. cit., p. 102.
- Chron. 13 is similar to our motif in the way a historical situation is eschatologized -- see W. F. Stinespring, "Eschatology in Chronicles," Journal of Biblical Literature 80 (1961), 217.
43. Schematicism, also called periodisation, is a feature of apocalyptic thought. For periodisation in apocalyptic thought see D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London, 1964), pp. 224-229.
44. Eg: Deut. 20:1; Judges 6:13; Ps. 80.
45. Hereafter CD The Cairo Documents of the Damascus Covenanters, cited from The Zadokite Documents, ed. with trans. and notes by Chaim Rabin (Oxford, 1954).
46. On periodisation at Qumran see Jacob Licht, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran," Journal of Jewish Studies 16 (1965).
47. N. Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," Journal of Jewish Studies 4 (1953), 175.
48. Talmon, op. cit., pp. 57, 58.
49. N. Wieder, op. cit., p. 171: Talmon, ibid. 1QM -- The War Scroll, cited from The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, ed. with commentary and intro. by Yigael Yadin, trans. from the Hebrew by Batya and Chaim Rabin (Oxford, 1962), demonstrates the meta-historical character of the Conquest, eg. it will be "an eternal redemp-

tion" (IQM I:12) and will be cosmic in scope (IQM:10 and passim).

50. The most explicit statement of these doctrines is found in IQS III and IV cited from The Manual of Discipline, ed. M. Burrows, J. C. Trevor, and W. Brownlee (New Haven, 1951).

51. Arthur Christensen, "Motif et Thème," FF Communications No. 59 (Helsinki, 1925), p. 5.

52. "Wider cultural pattern," "subgroup," and "subgroup in a culture that is national" are concepts used by Margaret Mead in her article "National Character" in Anthropology Today: Selections, ed. Sol Tax (Chicago, 1962), p. 401. The traditio-historical school, and I. Engnell in particular, are "patternists" in the Ruth Benedict, Mead mold.

53. Georg Fohrer, "Twofold Aspects of Hebrew Words," Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas, eds. Ackroyd and Lindars (Cambridge, 1968), p. 95.

54. The Qumran term for these camps is goral which is defined by J. Licht as "a group of beings upon which a single fate has been decreed and which is one of the two antagonistic camps that seek power in the world. Or in other words, the term goral a complete and exact definition only in relation to the sect's doctrine of dualistic-predestination..." J. Licht, "The Term Goral in the Documents of the Sect from the Wilderness of Judea," Bet - Hamiqra (Hebrew) (1956), p. 99.

55. Trans. by Jacob Licht in his essay "The Doctrine of Thanksgiving Scroll," Israel Exploration Journal 6 (1956), 10.

56. IQS III and IV describe the two camps in their struggles with each other for power in the world. A full exposition of the Qumran viewpoint is given in: Jacob Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD," Scripta Hierosolymitana 5 (1965), 88-100. J. T. Milik names the chief protagonists and their camps as found in IQS III 13-IV:1 in Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea, trans. J. Strugnell (London, 1959), p. 118; Milik notes that the catalogue of virtues and vices contained in IQS V:2-14 is a "psychological expression of this cosmic dualism." Ibid. cf. IQM III:17-18, 25; also IQM XIII:2: CD XX:2 for mention of "The Angel Mastema" as Rabin, op. cit., p. 74 translates. See P. Wernberger-Moller, Revue de Qumran 3 (1961), 413 ff. for references to the literature on the passage of 'the two spirits' of IQS.

57. IQH -- The Thanksgiving Scroll, cited from The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea, text, Inrdo., Commentary and Glossary by Jacob Licht (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1957).

58. Bleddyn J. Roberts, "Bible Exegesis and Fulfillment in Qumran," Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas, eds. Ackroyd and Lindars (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 198, 199.

59. IQM 1:51 Yadin, op. cit., p. 44.

60. Roberts, op. cit., p. 205.

61. H. Wheeler Robinson in Manson's Companion to the Bible (1939) pp. 307 ff. quoted in H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (London, 1963) defines the characteristic of apocalyptic as:

"(1) It is deliberately pseudonymous and not simply anonymous; ... (2) its view of history is deterministic, following the divine appointment and culminating in some crisis which is that of the writer's own age; (3) its emphasis is thus on the future and tends more and more to become extra-mundane, in contrast with the prophetic conception of a kingdom of God in this world (though this may be included); (4) apocalyptic is literary, not oral, and is marked by the excessive use of symbolism, the use of animal figures being especially noticeable."

Specifically Qumran literature such as CD, IQS, IQH and IQM lack point one and use prototypes rather than the symbolism mentioned in point four.

62. B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, op. cit., pp. 19-32, analyzes how the written and oral traditions function as two strands that make up the collective tradition (in Hebrew, Torah) of the Israelites.

63. Vansina, op. cit., pp. 36-39.

64. F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (London, 1959), pp. 7-11.

65. IQpHab -- The Habakkuk Commentary. Cited from Millar Burrows and J. C. Trevor and W. H. Brownlee, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark Monastery, Vol. 1 (New Haven, 1950).

66. Trans. by Jacob Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," op. cit., p. 10.

Note: the "them" of the passage refers to 'the wicked created by God' mentioned in previous lines several times.

67. "q" designates a theme of IQH XV:19-20 as distinguished from theme I, II or III of Ex. 7:3-5.

68. Licht, Thanksgiving Scroll, op. cit., p. 195.

69. Cf. Ex. 6:6.

70. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," op. cit., pp. 9, 10. Cf. IQH II:24, also Romans II:22-23.

Theme III (q) transcendent reasoning is also found in IQH II:24-25, IV:28, V:15, XVIII:21-22.