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Remembering Exodus: A Development of Formulas Containing the Verbs עלה and יצא in the Deuteronomistic History

Introduction

The identity of a nation is forged by means of, among other factors, a shared body of knowledge that is passed from one generation to another. A certain group, be it nation, tribe, or family, remembers its past, formulates it, and reformulates it. This continuous formulation and reformulation of collective memories is an ongoing process that goes hand-in-hand with shaping the collective identity of the given group. As has been shown in this book, Israelite society was no exception. The Israelites remembered their past, formulated it into narrative or poetry, and continuously revised it. Any new revision and reformulation of one's past is not arbitrary process but it is determined by such things as new circumstances, new religious movements, or new questions.

The exodus represents one of the most important blocks of the Israelite collective memory. It provides not only an important nexus for the interpretation of the Israelite past (history),[1] but it also illustrates how the Israelites presented their past (historiography). In sum, on the one hand, we can speak about the historical event of exodus. Thus, scholars entertained important questions such as the historicity of this event, its possible date, the itinerary in the desert, and the archaeological and textual background of proto-Israelites in Egypt and Palestine. On the other hand, scholars extensively discuss how the theme of exodus was elaborated, changed and remodeled in biblical texts, independent of whether or not the exodus is historical event.

This paper focuses on the historiographic presentations of the exodus theme. So, the main question of this paper is: How did the theme of exodus change in the Hebrew literature over the centuries? In sum, a detailed study of the historiographic techniques serves to create an understanding of the Israelite collective memory. Therefore, in this paper, I will examine exodus references in the Bible and propose a possible development of this cornerstone of the Israelite collective memory.

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1 Several studies have been dedicated to this theme; see, for example, Hendel 2001; Lohr, Evans, and Dozeman 2014; Propp et al. 2015; and Schmitz and Ederer 2017.

References to the Exodus in the Bible

Allusions to the exodus can be found in almost all the books of the Old Testament and can be dated from the pre-exilic to the late post-exilic period. Besides the long narrative in Exod 1–15, the biblical texts refer to the exodus by means of brief references and stereotyped formulas.[2] The verbs employed in these references and formulas convey different interpretations of the exodus.[3] Thus, the verbs בוא and הלךְ refer to the exodus as walking out of Egypt (2 Chr 20:10; Exod 3:18). The verbs נחה and נהל focus on God leading the people from Egypt to the Promised Land (Exod 15:13). The verb שׁוב describes the exodus as the Israelites' return home (Gen 48:21; Zech 10:10); the verb פדה describes the Israelites being ransomed from the house of slavery (Exod 3:8; Mic 6:4; 1 Chr 17:21); as do the verbs נצל (Exod 3:8; 6:6) and גאל (Exod 6:6; 15:13); and the verb קרא interprets the exodus as a response to God's personal call (Hos 11:1). If the subject is the pharaoh or the Egyptians, the verbs שׁלח or גרשׁ treat the exodus as an expulsion from Egypt (Exod 3:20; 12:39). Finally, there are poetic expressions used to refer to the exodus, such as digging up a vine and transplanting it in Israel (Ps 80:9).[4]

The verbs that occur most frequently in the exodus accounts are עלה and יצא (see Table 1).[5] The former means to go up (in *qal*) and to bring up [out of Egypt] (in *hiphil*), while the latter means to go out (in *qal*) and to bring out [of Egypt] (in *hiphil*).[6] Several scholars have linked the occurrences of these verbs with the strata/documents of the Pentateuch[7] so that the references to the exodus primarily have been researched in the context of Pentateuchal studies.

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2 For a similar distinction in methodology, see ch. 5 by Dominik Markl in this volume.

3 See for example, Daube 1963, 23–38.

4 See also Ps 81:5–6.

5 In this article I will use the Hebrew texts, since the Greek translations adopted a partially different style for referring to the exodus; cf. Scialabba 2019.

6 This distinction is better captured in German, where two exodus formulas are used that signal which underlying Hebrew verb has been used: her*auf*führen/Her*auf*führung (עלה in *hiphil*) versus her*aus*führen/Her*aus*führung (יצא in *hiphil*); cf. Gross 1974, 425, 446.

7 Cf. Wijngaards 1965; Gross 1974.

Table 1: Occurrences of the verbs עלה and יצא in the Exodus formulas

		עלה in qal (9x)	יצא in qal (41x)	עלה in hifil (40x)	יצא in hifil (85x[8])
DtrH	Joshua		4 (2:10; 5:4, 5, 6)	1 (24:17)	2 (24:5, 6)
	Judges	3 (11:13, 16; 19:30)		3 (2:1;[9] 6:8, 13)	2 (2:12; 6:8)
	1–2 Samuel	2 (1 Sam 15:2, 6)		4 (1 Sam 8:8; 10:18; 12:6; 2 Sam 7:6)	1 (1 Sam 12:8)
	1–2 Kings		3 (1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9; 2 Kgs 21:15)	3 (1 Kgs 12:28; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36)	5 (1 Kgs 8:16, 21, 51, 53; 9:9)
1–2 Chr			1 (2 Chr 5:10 [1 Kgs 8:9])	1 (1 Chr 17:5 [=2 Sam 7,6])	2 (2 Chr 6:5 [1 Kgs 8:16]; 2 Chr 7:22 [1 Kgs 9:9])
Pentateuch		2 (Exod 13:18; Num 32:11)	27 (Exod 12:41; 13:3, 8; 14:8; 16:1; 19:1; 23:15; 34:18; Num 1:1; 9:1; 11:20; 22:5, 11; 26:4; 33:1, 3, 12, 38; Deut 4:45, 46; 9:7; 11:10; 16:3(2x), 6; 23:5; 24:9; 25:17)	17 (Gen 46:4; 50:24; Exod 3:8, 17; 17:3; 32:1, 4, 7, 8, 23; 33:1; Lev 11:45; Num 14:13; 16:13; 20:5; 21:5; Deut 20:1)	58 (Exod 3:10, 11, 12; 6:6, 7, 13, 14, 16, 26, 27; 7:4, 5; 12:17, 42, 51; 13:3, 9, 14, 16; 14:11; 16:3, 6, 32; 18:1; 20:2; 29:46; 32:11, 12; Lev 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38, 42, 55; 26:13, 45; Num 15:41; 20:16; 23:22; 24:8; Deut 1:27; 4:20, 37; 5:6, 15; 6:12, 21, 23; 7:8, 19; 8:14; 9:12, 26, 28(2x); 29; 13:6, 11; 16:1; 26:8; 29:24)
Prophets		2 (Hos 2:17; Isa 11:16)	3 (Mich 7:15; Jer 7:25; Hag 2:5)	9 (Jer 2:6; 11:7; 16:14; 23:7; Hos 12:14; Am 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic 6:4)	11 (Jer 7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13; Ezek 20:6, 9, 10, 14, 22; Dan 9:15)
Other books			2 (Ps 105:38; 114:1)	2 (Neh 9:18; Ps 81:11)	3 (Ps 105:37, 43; 136:11)

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8 There are several other passages that allude to the exodus that will not be taken into consideration in this study, cf. for example Isa 52:12; 55:12; and Ezek 14:22.

9 A similar reference to the exodus occurs in Judg 10:11, but there is no verb. Its construction is similar to Judg 6:8–9; see Gross and von Erasmus Gass 2009, 161.

This article focuses on the stereotypical expressions and formulas the scribes employed to refer to the exodus in the Deuteronomistic History (DtrH).[10] The references to the exodus in this corpus do not form an essential part of the narratives; on this basis, it is plausible to suggest that they were associated with different periods. Consequently, it stands to reason that these references reflect the updating of past collective memory by offering new interpretations of the key formative "event" in the past – exodus – that was deemed relevant to address developments and concerns in different subsequent presents. Therefore, a study of the stereotypical expressions and formulas employing the verbs עלה and יצא can cast not only new light on the formation of the DtrH, but also illustrate how the corner stone of Israelite collective identity – exodus – developed and was reshaped over centuries.[11]

Qal Forms

When referring to the exodus, the verbs עלה and יצא occur mainly in the *qal* and *hiphil* forms. David Daube argued that the *qal* forms were used in the earliest accounts of the exodus in the Bible.[12]

עלה in *qal*

Occurrences of the verb עלה in *qal* referring to the exodus are relatively rare in comparison with the *hiphil* form. There are only nine in the Hebrew Bible, five in the DtrH: three in the book of Judges (11:13, 16; 19:30) and two in 1 Samuel (15:2, 6). They are found in different syntactical roles and contexts. Most expressions use the verb עלה in an infinitive construct (seven times) in a subordinate temporal clause. When the infinitive construct is preceded by the word יום, the reference to

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10 Under the term DtrH will be understood the books of Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings.
11 The major studies of this theme have been undertaken by Wijngaards 1965 and Gross 1974. The former gave a list of occurrences and its division into sources. The latter divided the references to the exodus into nine formulas based on the syntax of the phrases. For other studies of the exodus formulas, see also Humbert 1962; Daube 1963; Lubsczyk 1963; Childs 1967; and Zenger 1969. Moreover, the entries in *TDOT* VI and XI reorganize the previous research in a new way. For later studies of the exodus theme, see, for example, Gärtner and Schmitz 2016 and Schmitz and Ederer 2017.
12 Daube 1963.

the exodus conveys a temporal meaning. When the word יום is absent or when the verb עלה is in a finite form, the reference to the exodus assumes a military aspect.

Exodus as a Moment in the Distant Past

The construct chain יום + the infinitive construct of the verb עלה interprets the exodus as a moment in the very distant past, equal to "since the beginning of the world." Thus, Judg 19:30 claims that such an abomination had not happened since the day of the exodus למיום עלות בני ישראל מארץ מצרים עד היום הזה. A similar concept of the exodus as a vague reference to the distant past is found in Isa 11:16 and Hos 2:17. These three references indicate that for the pre-exilic prophets and the editor of the last part of Judges, the exodus was understood as the beginning of Israelite history, i. e. as far back as the Israelite historical memory could go.

Military Context

Frequently, when the infinitive construct of עלה in *qal* refers to the exodus, it does so in a temporal clause: בעלותו ממצרים (in singular Judg 11:13; 1 Sam 15:2) or בעלותם ממצרים (in plural: Judg 11:16; 1 Sam 15:6). These references to the exodus are incorporated into two narratives describing two Israelite wars. Judges 11 describes Jephthah's war against the Ammonites,[13] and 1 Sam 15 reports Saul's punishing the Amalekites and showing mercy to the Kenites.[14] Both Judg 11 and 1 Sam 15 are similar in several respects. In both cases, the scribes are depicting Israelite military conflicts: one located in the Transjordan (Judg 11) and the other in Negev (1 Sam 15). Thus, in Judg 11 the Ammonites claimed the Amorite territory the Israelites had occupied after the defeat of the Amorite king Sihon (cf. Num 21:10–35; Deut 2:26–3:17).[15] Similarly, in 1 Sam 15 the Lord asked Saul to punish the Amalekites because of what they had done to the Israelites when they were going up out of Egypt (cf. Exod 17:8–13; Deut 25:17–18). So, both stories recount memories of battles waged by the Israelites when they were going out of Egypt. In these cases, the verb עלה contraposes the verb ירד, "to descend." Several biblical stories

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13 Niditch 2008, 131–33.

14 McCarter 2008, 266.

15 For a comparison of all three sources, see Sasson 2014, 425–32. It is generally accepted that the version in Deut 2 is the most recent one; however, there is a discussion concerning Numbers and Judges; Gross and von Erasmus Gass 2009, 557–63. I support the early dating of Judg 11:12–28, cf. Germany 2017, 262–63.

narrate the tumultuous events of the patriarchs who descended to and ascended from Egypt (Gen 13:1; 45:9, 25; 46:4; 50:7, 14).[16] These stories, even though put in writing in later periods, telescoped the memories of the Semites moving between Canaan and Egypt in the second and first millennia BCE.[17] Thus, the Israelites going up out of Egypt repeated the itinerary of the Semites, namely, Abraham, Jacob and Joseph. But on their way up, the Amorites and Amalekites opposed and attacked the Israelites. The narratives in Judg 11 and 1 Sam 15 insist the Israelites did not intend to wage war against the Amorites and the Amalekites; they were attacked and forced to defend themselves. In both cases, the Israelites waged a "just" war. The recollections of the "just" wars the Israelites had conducted in the past were used to justify wars conducted against subsequent enemies – Jephthah waged war against the Ammonites and Saul against the Amalekites. Thus, in these cases, the references to the exodus evoke a background of ancient military conflicts that was skillfully used by the scribes to justify the "just" wars conducted by Saul and Jephthah.

When the verb עלה occurs in a finite form, it conveys a similar nuance about the exodus. The reference to the exodus in Num 32:11 is inserted in the midst of the narrative of the conquest of Transjordan (similar to Judg 11). Exodus 13:18 contains an unusual reference to the exodus employing the verb עלה in *qal*: ויסב אלהים את העם דרך המדבר ים סוף וחמשים עלו בני ישראל מארץ מצרים – "So God led the people by the roundabout way of the wilderness toward the Red Sea. The Israelites went up out of the land of Egypt prepared for battle" (NRSV). Despite the different interpretations of the noun וחמשים, the commentators agree on the military nature of this term, such as "arrayed for the battle, prepared for the battle, marching in military units," etc.[18] This tradition identifies Egypt as the point of departure for the Israelite military campaign against the Canaanites. For this reason, it is better to translate this verse not as "the Israelites went up out of the land of Egypt" but as "the Israelites marched/started their military campaign from Egypt."[19]

The references to the exodus in 1 Sam 15:2, 6 and Judg 11:13, 16 can be considered the oldest references to the exodus in the DtrH. This conclusion can be supported by the fact that references in 1 Sam 15:2, 6 were rewritten in Deut 25:17 (see below, 157) and that Judg 11 contains vestiges of a monolatric concept of God

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16 In particular, the Joseph cycle is based on he and his family going down and up between Canaan and Egypt (Gen 37–50); cf. Gross 1974, 427–28.

17 Hendel 2001; Bietak 2015.

18 See, for example, Sarna 1991, 69; Propp 1999, 487.

19 A war context is mentioned in Exod 1:10. It describes the pharaoh's fear that the Israelites might join Egyptian enemies and then escape from Egypt (ונלחם בנו ועלה מן הארץ).

that could hardly be invented in the late pre-exilic or post-exilic period. According to this view, the deity Yhwh was placed on the same level as Chemosh.[20]

This conclusion allows us to point out the oldest exodus strata in the DtrH. What are the characteristics of these strata? These references to the exodus do not present Egypt in negative terms, such as a house of oppression, but rather as the starting point of the Israelites' journey toward Canaan.

The itinerary towards Canaan is described in two ways. First, the Israelites' going up out of Egypt follows the itinerary of the ancient Semites telescoped in the stories of the biblical patriarchs. Second, in Judg 11 and 1 Sam 15, the *qal* form of עלה refers to a "just" war the Israelites fought going up out of Egypt. The "going up" from Egypt assumes a full military meaning in Exod 13:18 – the Israelites left Egypt in military formation (cf. also Num 32:11 referring to the warriors).[21] So, the "going up" is understood as the beginning of a military campaign, from Egypt to Canaan, and in both cases the verb can be translated as "embarked on a military campaign." Even though the explicit military references linked with the exodus in Exod 13:18 and Num 32:11 may be later in date,[22] the military connotation is present in Judg 11 and 1 Sam 15, where it evokes wars associated with the exodus in order to classify these subsequent wars as "just."

יצא in qal

The *qal* form of יצא occurs forty-one times in the Bible, seven times in the DtrH: four times in Joshua (2:10; 5:4, 5, 6) and three times in 1–2 Kings (1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9; 2 Kgs 21:15). Let us organize these references into four groups.

Substitution for the Qal Form of עלה with יצא in Qal

Both Saul (1 Sam 15:1–3) and Moses (Deut 25:17–19) describe a war against the Amalekites. While 1 Sam 15:2 employs the verb עלה in *qal*, however, Deut 25:17

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20 "So now the Lord, the God of Israel, has conquered the Amorites for the benefit of his people Israel. Do you intend to take their place? Should you not possess what your god Chemosh gives you to possess? And should we not be the ones to possess everything that the Lord our God has conquered for our benefit?" (Judg 11:23–24 NRSV).

21 To these references we can also add Num 13:22.

22 The late dating of Exod 13:18b is based on its links with 13:18a, namely the phrase ים סוף; so Germany 2017, 96. Nevertheless, this is not a sufficient argument; it only proves that 13:18a is later in date.

uses the verb יצא in *qal*.[23] A similar replacement of the verb עלה in *qal* with the verb יצא in *qal* took place in Josh 2:10 in recounting the Israelites' conquest of the Amorite territory,[24] and in Deut 4:45–46, which tells the same story found in Judg 11. While in Judg 11:13, 16 the verb עלה is used in *qal*, in Deut 4:45–46[25] and Josh 2:10, the *qal* form of יצא appears.[26]

The preference of the book of Deuteronomy for the verb יצא (nine times in *qal* and twenty-one times in *hiphil*)[27] and the almost complete elimination of the verb עלה from this book when referring to the exodus (except for Deut 20:1) reveals the mentality of the Deuteronomic scribes and the importance of the verb יצא when referring to the exodus. That a similar substitution took place in Josh 2:10 indicates that this procedure was used by some Deuteronomistic circles as well. As a result, it is possible to conclude that the southern scribes, namely Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic ones, preferred the verb יצא when they referred to the exodus. This conclusion further confirms the theory proposed above that the exodus references in 1 Sam 15 and Judg 11 belong to the oldest exodus references in the DtrH and that they may well have been linked with the Northern Kingdom.[28]

War against the Egyptians and a Negative Presentation of Egypt

Both *qal* forms of עלה and of יצא were employed in a context of war. The military overtone of both verbs derives from the semantic ranges of these verbs: the verb עלה means "to march (against)" and the verb יצא means "to go out (to wage a campaign)." Thus, in Exod 13:18 the Israelites went out in military units (verb עלה

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23 *TDOT* XI, 87.

24 The late date of the Josh 2:10 is based on the expression אשר הוביש יהוה את מי ים סוף מפניכם "how the LORD dried up the water of the Red Sea before you" (NRSV) as well as on the fact that Josh 2:10 refers to both Amorite kings, Sihon and Og in the same phrase Dozeman 2015, 230–31.

25 The similarity between Deut 4:46 and Judg 11:13, 16 is furthermore accentuated by the fact that both texts refer to the defeat of Sihon, the king of the Amorites. Neither Judg 11:13–16 nor Deut 4:46 mention Og; when Deut 4:47–48 refer to Og, the verses do not contain any reference to the exodus. Other stories referring to the Israelite conquest of the Amorite territories (Num 21:10–35 and Deut 2:26–3:17) do not use the verbs יצא or עלה. On the contrary, Deut 3:1 uses another expression to refer to exodus: ונפן ונעל דרך הבשן "When we headed up the road to Bashan" (NRSV).

26 For a more detailed study, see Kristin Weingart's contribution (ch. 1) in this volume.

27 The exodus formulas in Deuteronomy were used to summarize "the entire redemptive event of Israel from the bondage in Egypt until the entrance into the land" (Childs 1967, 37).

28 See, for example, *TDOT* XI, 87.

in *qal*). A similar military overtone in the description of the Israelites going out of Egypt is found in Num 33:1, 3[29] and Josh 5:4–6, both of which use the verb יצא in *qal*.

While the *qal* form of עלה when used in connection with the exodus appears in the passages describing military operations in Transjordan and Canaan, the *qal* form of יצא refers to the military conflicts between the Israelites and the Egyptians before and during the exodus.[30] See, for example, the reference to the exodus in Exod 14:8 in the context of the pharaoh's defeat.[31]

The patterns of replacement in Deut 4:45, referring to the war with the Amorites, and in Deut 25:17, referring to the Amalekite assault (see above, p. 155), sum up a complex sequence of events: when the Israelites set out from Egypt, they first defeated the Egyptians (a meaning typical for the verb יצא) and then anyone who attacked them along their journey towards the Promised Land (a meaning suggested by the replacement of עלה with יצא).

The account of the Israelites' war with Egypt goes hand-in-hand with a negative description of the enemy. While the use of עלה presents Egypt in neutral terms, the passages that use the *qal* of יצא depict Egypt in negative terms, as the house of slavery (Exod 13:3).[32] The significance of the *qal* of יצא and its link with a negative description of Egypt can be better understood when the use of the verb יצא is studied in legal contexts. This verb is used in the Covenant Code to describe the manumission of both male and female slaves (cf. Exod 21:2, 7, 11). The same vocabulary appears in Deut 15:16 (linked with שלח). Similarly, in Lev 25:30, the property "goes out" in the jubilee.[33] Thus, the verb יצא conveys liberation from slavery (Exod 13:3), while the qal of עלה is never used in a similar context.

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29 Numbers 33:1 is a title for the whole chapter; for a detailed examination, see Dohmen and Ederer 2016, 8–14.

30 The war with Egypt is indirectly alluded to in the command to remember and praise the great deeds the Lord had done for the Israelites, which should be told to the next generation (Exod 13:8: בצאתי ממצרים; cf. also Ps 114:1; 105:38).

31 "So he had his chariot made ready, and took his army with him; he took six hundred picked chariots and all the other chariots of Egypt with officers over all of them. The LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt and he pursued the Israelites, *who were going out boldly*. The Egyptians pursued them, all Pharaoh's horses and chariots, his chariot drivers and his army; they overtook them camped by the sea, by Pi-hahiroth, in front of Baal-zephon" (Exod 14:6–9 NRSV)

32 See the comparison between Egypt and the Promised Land in Deut 11:10–12.

33 Wijngaards 1965, 93.

Chronological and Liturgical References

While the *qal* form of the verb עלה refers to an indistinct moment in the far distant past (cf. Judg 19:30), the *qal* form of the verb יצא in 1 Kgs 6:1 treats the exodus as a definite moment in history. Similar examples support the view that the *qal* of יצא denotes precisely datable moments in the history of exodus that then provide a chronology of ancient Israel:

At the end of four hundred thirty years, on that very day, all the companies of the LORD went out from (יצאו) the land of Egypt. (Exod 12:41)

The whole congregation of the Israelites set out from Elim; and Israel came to the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, *on the fifteenth day of the second month after* they had departed from (לצאתם) the land of Egypt. (Exod 16:1)

On the third new moon after the Israelites had gone out of (לצאת) the land of Egypt, *on that very day*, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. (Exod 19:1)

The LORD spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, *on the first day of the second month, in the second year after* they had come out of (לצאתם) the land of Egypt. (Num 1:1)

The LORD spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, *in the first month of the second year after* they had come out of (לצאתם) the land of Egypt. (Num 9:1)

They set out from Rameses *in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the day after the passover* the Israelites went out (יצאו) boldly in the sight of all the Egyptians. (Num 33:3)

Aaron the priest went up Mount Hor at the command of the LORD and died there *in the fortieth year after* the Israelites had come out of (לצאת) the land of Egypt, *on the first day of the fifth month*. (Num 33:38)

In the four hundred eightieth year after the Israelites came out of (לצאת) the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month of Ziv, which is the second month, he began to build the house of the LORD. (1 Kgs 6:1)

All of these chronological references employ the *qal* of יצא. The consistency of this usage can be noticed in Deut 12:41–42. When the author refers to the exodus in the context of a definite date (12:41), he employs the *qal* of יצא, whereas in the ensuing verse, he uses the *hiphil* of the same verb. It has been proposed that this pattern comes from a Deuteronomist who created an overarching chronology for the DtrH.[34]

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34 Noth 1968, 110; Würthwein 1977, 62.

A similar group of occurrences of the *qal* of יצא appears in the ordinances for liturgical feasts, in particular, the feast of unleavened bread (Exod 13:3–10, see vv. 3 and 8; 23:15; 34:18; Deut 16:3) and the celebration of Passover (Deut 16:6). To this group we may also add a passage in Josh 5:3–6 that describes Joshua's circumcision of the people in the desert,[35] and the text of 1 Kgs 8:9 that recounts the establishment of the covenant at Mount Horeb.[36] The reference to the exodus in Hag 2:5 is made in the context of the construction and consecration of the temple. This group also includes the references to the solemn census of the Israelites in Num 1 and 26 (the verb יצא in *qal* is Num 1:1 and 26:4) and the "ordination" of the seventy elders in Num 11:20. All these references have the verb יצא in *qal*, and scholars generally associate these texts with the priestly source.[37]

In sum, the exodus references employing the *qal* of יצא in the DtrH assume two new meanings. First, the verses treat the exodus as a specific date in history (1 Kgs 6:1); second, the *qal* of יצא become linked with liturgical celebrations, the census, etc. (Josh 5:3–6 and 1 Kgs 8:9). The *qal* form of the verb עלה has never been used in similar contexts.

The Context of Sin-Provocation

Other references to the exodus employing the verb יצא in *qal* link the exodus with the Israelites' recalcitrant nature. Numbers 11:20 link the exodus with the Israelites' dissatisfaction with manna (cf. also Exod 16:1–3 לצאתם מארץ מצרים), with Miriam's disobedience and punishment (Deut 24:9; cf. Num 12), and with the rebellions against the Lord in the wilderness (Deut 9:7; cf. also Josh 5:6). Second Kings 21:15 inserts the exodus reference among Manasseh's transgressions, listing the Israelites' sins from the time of the exodus until Manasseh, and Jeremiah refers to the exodus in the context of the Israelites' continuous rejection of the prophets the Lord had sent to them between the exodus and the exile (Jer 7:25). The connection the exodus references with the rebellious nature of the Israelites occurs also in Num 32:11 using the *qal* of עלה, so it is not exclusive to the verb יצא.

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35 The verb יצא is used five times in this passage to refer to the exodus. Another reference to the exodus with the verb יצא and its link with the circumcision is Exod 12:43–51.

36 The reference to the exodus-covenant on Mount Horeb prepares for a new liturgy celebrated during and after the consecration of Solomon's temple (cf. also 2 Chr 5:10).

37 *TDOT* VI, 244.

Hiphil Forms

The *hiphil* forms of עלה and יצא occur 125 times in the Hebrew Bible, of which 21 are found in the DtrH. The discussion of these forms will be divided according to grammatical and thematic issues.

Participles and Their Meaning

The *hiphil* of both forms often occurs in the form of a participle (Table 2).[38] This is the case in the DtrH: in Judg 2:12 (the verb יצא) and in Josh 24:17 and 2 Kgs 17:7 (the verb עלה). In all these cases, the participle appears with a definite article, which means that the participle is placed in apposition. Numbers 23:22 and 24:8, Balaam's second and third oracle, employ unusual syntax. These two verses are the only cases in which the participle of יצא is found without the definite article. In contrast to all the other occurrences, the references to the exodus in the Balaam episode are nominal phrases:

אל מוציאם ממצרים כתועפת ראם לו (Num 24:22)
אל מוציאו ממצרים כתועפת ראם לו (Num 24:8)

"God is the one who brings them/him out of Egypt, like the horns of a wild ox for him." This difference has led scholars to conclude that these verses in Numbers represent the oldest version of the exodus formula, whereas the use of participles in apposition in Judg 2:12, Josh 24:17, and 2 Kgs 17:7 represent a later development.[39]

Table 2: Participles in the exodus formulas

Apposition			Subject	Bibl. reference
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	המעלה	אני יהוה	Lev 11:45
מארץ מצרים	suffix	המעלך	יהוה אלהיך עמך	Deut 20:1
מארץ מצרים	אתנו ואת־אבותינו	המעלה	יהוה אלהינו הוא	Josh 24:17
מארץ מצרים	אתם	המעלה	ליהוה אלהיהם	2 Kgs 17:7
מארץ מצרים	אתנו	המעלה	איה יהוה	Jer 2:6
מארץ מצרים	suffix	המעלך	אנכי יהוה אלהיך	Ps 81:11

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38 Another similar occurrence is Isa 63:11.
39 Zenger 1969, 337.

Table 2 (continued)

Apposition			Subject	Bibl. reference
מתחת סבלות מצרים:	אתכם	המוציא	אני יהוה אלהיכם	Exod 6:7
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	המוציא	מקדשכם אני יהוה	Lev 22:32–33
מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים	suffix	המוציאך	את־יהוה אלהיך	Deut 8:14
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	המוציא	על־יהוה אלהיכם	Deut 13:6
מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים	suffix	המוציאך	מעל יהוה אלהיך	Deut 13:11
מארץ מצרים	אותם	המוציא	את־יהוה אלהי אבותם	Judg 2:12

1–2 Samuel: Replacement of עלה with יצא

As pointed out above, the *qal* form of עלה in 1 Sam 15:2, 6 was replaced with the *qal* form of יצא in Deut 25:17–19. Similarly, the *qal* form of עלה in Judg 11:13, 16 was replaced with the *qal* of יצא in Deut 4:45–46 and in Josh 2:10. A similar process can be observed in the *hiphil* forms as well. The preference in 1–2 Samuel for the verb עלה was later "corrected" by using יצא instead. Thus, in 2 Sam 7:6,[40] the scribal use of the *hiphil* of עלה was replaced with the *hiphil* form of יצא in 1 Kgs 8:16. In 1 Kgs 8:16–17 Solomon quotes God's promise to David and then speaks of David's desire to build a temple and the divine response mediated through the prophet Nathan in 2 Sam 7:5b–7.[41] The book of Kings uses יצא instead of עלה:

(2 Sam 7:6)	ממצרים	את בני ישראל	<u>העלתי</u>	למיום
(1 Kgs 8:16)	ממצרים	את עמי את ישראל	<u>הוצאתי</u>	מן היום אשר

In 1–2 Samuel, the preferred verb to refer to the exodus is עלה (in *qal* 1 Sam 15:2, 6; in *hiphil*: 1 Sam 8:8; 10:18; 12:6; 2 Sam 7:6). The verb יצא in *hiphil* is used only once in 1–2 Samuel, when the agent of the exodus was Moses (1 Sam 12:8). The similarities between 1 Sam 12:6 and 8 show that the author contrasted the action of God, described with the *hiphil* of עלה (v. 6; cf. also 1 Sam 8:8; 10:18; 12:6), with that of Moses and Aaron, described with the *hiphil* of יצא (1 Sam 12:8):

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40 Cf. also a similar expression in 1 Sam 8:8: מיום העלתי אתם ממצרים.
41 Mulder 1998, 405.

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יהוה <u>אשר</u> עשׂה את משׁה ואת אהרן <u>ואשר העלה את אבתיכם מארץ מצרים</u> (1 Sam 12:6)[42]

וישׁלח יהוה את משׁה ואת אהרן <u>ויוציאו את אבתיכם ממצרים</u> (1 Sam 12:8)[43]

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This reading, however, is corrected by the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, which put the verb in the singular so as to attribute the exodus to God: ἐξήγαγεν τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. The reading of the plural form as a *lectio difficilior* is supported by the *Codex Vaticanus* that reads ἐξήγαγον. We may conclude that the verb ויוציאו in the plural represents the older text.

This examination shows that 1–2 Samuel, when referring to the exodus, preferred the verb עלה both in *qal* and in *hiphil*.[44] When these books use the verb יצא, they refer not to divine but to human activity. The problem with this use of the verb עלה is clearly reflected in the decision of the authors of later books to substitute יצא for עלה (Deut 25:17 and 1 Kgs 8:16; cf. also Deut 4:45–46 and Josh 2:10) or to correct the reading of 1 Sam 12:8 in the Greek and other versions.

1–2 Kings: A Distinction between יצא and עלה and Its Further Development

In the Deuteronomistic literature, the substitution of עלה with יצא points to the preference of the southern Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic scribes for the verb יצא when referring to the exodus, whereas the preferred verb of the northern scribes seems to have been עלה. This suggestion is buttressed by the examination of a subordinate clause: "God(s) who brought you (them …) out of the land of Egypt (the house of slavery)" (see Table 3).[45] In this phrase, God/gods is the subject of the action and the reference to the exodus appears in a subordinate phrase introduced by the particle of relation אשר. This phrase contains the *hiphil* of both עלה and יצא and occurs four times in the DtrH.

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42 "The LORD, who appointed Moses and Aaron and brought your ancestors up out of Egypt" (NRSV, adapted by the author).

43 "The LORD sent Moses and Aaron, who brought forth your ancestors out of Egypt, and settled them in this place" (NRSV).

44 To the texts presented above, we can add 1 Sam 8:8. A similar argument referring to the Israelites abandoning God and serving other gods is a preferred theme in Deuteronomy (for a link with the exodus reference, see 29:24–25). However, in the case of 1 Sam 8:8; Josh 24:17 and 1 Kgs 17:35, the scribes employed the verb עלה. First Kings 17 is linked with the Northern Kingdom, as argued below, which favored the verb עלה. As we shall see, Josh 24 represents the case in which the verbs are interchangeable.

45 For a detailed study of this formula, see Gross 1974, 430–37.

Table 3: Subordinate clauses in the formulas

Complement	Object	Predicate	Subject	Bibl. Reference	Hifil of
of the land of Egypt	you, them, …	particle אשר + predicate	God(s) and his attributes		
Golden calf and Jeroboam's apostasy					
מארץ מצרים	Suffix	אשר העלוך	אלה אלהיך ישראל	Exod 32:4	
מארץ מצרים	Suffix	אשר העלוך	אלה אלהיך ישראל	Exod 32:8	
מארץ מצרים	Suffix	אשר העלוך	אלה אלהיך ישראל	1 Kgs 12:28	
ממצרים	Suffix	אשר העלך	זה אלהיך	Neh 9:18	עלה
מארץ מצרים	את־אבתיכם	ואשר העלה	יהוה אשר עשׂה את־משה ואת־אהרן	1 Sam 12:6	
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	אשר העלה	יהוה	2 Kgs 17:36	
Other					
מארץ מצרים	את בני ישׂראל	אשר העלה	חי יהוה	Jer 16:14	
מארץ מצרים	את בני ישׂראל	אשר העלה	חי יהוה	Jer 23:7	
Part of a narrative/discourse					
מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים	Suffix	אשר הוציאך	יהוה	Deut 6:12	
מארץ מצרים	את־אבתם	אשר הוציא	אלהיהם יהוה	1 Kgs 9:9	יצא
מארץ מצרים	את־עמך	אשר הוצאת	אדני אלהינו	Dan 9:15	
Fixed formula in legal contexts – the verb is in 1st p. sing.					
מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים	Suffix	אשר הוצאתיך	אנכי יהוה אלהיך	Exod 20:2	
מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים	Suffix	אשר הוצאתיך	אנכי יהוה אלהיך	Deut 5:6	
מארץ מצרים	אתם	אשר הוצאתי	אני יהוה אלהיהם	Exod 29:46	יצא
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	אשר־הוצאתי	אני יהוה אלהיכם	Lev 19:36	
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	אשר־הוצאתי	אני יהוה אלהיכם	Lev 25:38	
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	אשר הוצאתי	אני יהוה אלהיכם	Lev 26:13	
מארץ מצרים	אתכם	אשר הוצאתי	אני יהוה אלהיכם	Num 15:41	

Examining this table, we can notice that the golden calf episode (Exod 32–34) and the texts related to it (Neh 9:19; 1 Kgs 12:28–Jeroboam's apostasy[46]) prefer the verb עלה when referring to the exodus.[47] A similar subordinate phrase is found in 1 Sam 12:6, Samuel's farewell speech. The exodus references in 1 Sam 8:8 and 10:18 (the *hiphil* of עלה) shows that all these passages are linked with a negative judgement of the people's demand to have a king. In other words, the specific use of the *hiphil* of עלה in 1 Sam 8–12 associates the people's desire for a king with the golden calf episode and may be understood as the precedent for Jeroboam's apostasy. Another reference to the exodus in 1–2 Kings that uses the verb עלה is found in 2 Kgs 17:36. In this text, the fall of the Northern Kingdom is attributed to its infidelity to the Lord who had brought them up out of Egypt. In sum, the *hiphil* of עלה in the subordinate clause in 2 Kgs 17:36 urges the reader to interpret the fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17) in the light of the golden calf episode (Exod 32–34), the people's request of the king (1 Sam 8–12), and Jeroboam's apostasy (1 Kgs 12–14). Most scholars agree that these episodes are pre-Deuteronomistic and most probably originated in the Bethel tradition.[48]

The analysis of the references to exodus in 1–2 Kings points to a neat distinction in using the verbs עלה and יצא. All occurrences containing the verb עלה in *hiphil* (1 Kgs 12:28; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36) refer to the episodes linked with the Northern Kingdom, and all of them have a negative overtone given to the passages by the southern editors.[49] On the contrary, the verb יצא in both *qal* and *hiphil* refer to episodes connected with the Southern Kingdom:

> עלה in *hiphil*: 1 Kgs 12:28; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36 (Jeroboam's apostasy and the fall of Samaria);
> יצא in *qal*: 1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9; 2 Kgs 21:15 (Solomon's construction and dedication of the temple, and Manasseh's sins);
> יצא in *hiphil*: 1 Kgs 8:16, 21, 51, 53; 9:9 (Solomon's prayer and Solomon's second dream).

This shows that 1–2 Kings maintained a clear distinction between the verbs עלה and יצא. The occurrences of the verb יצא are linked with the Southern Kingdom and are concentrated in the Solomon narrative (in *qal*, 1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9; in *hiphil*, 1 Kgs 8:16, 21, 51, 53; 9:9). These texts emphasize the importance of Solomon's

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46 For the text and its connections with biblical and extrabiblical data, see Noth 1968, 282–84.

47 It is reasonable to assume that this idea originated in the pre-exilic period and was later developed; see Römer 2005, 102.

48 Wijngaards 1965, 100. Ps 81:11 and Lev 11:45, together with the early prophets and Josh 24:17, are generally considered a solid argument for dating the references to the exodus containing the verb עלה as the earliest biblical tradition referring to the exodus; see *TDOT* XI, 86.

49 Similarly, this phrase has a negative nuance in 1 Sam 12:6 because it is in the midst of Samuel's accusation after the people had urged God to give them a king (1 Sam 12).

construction and dedication of the temple and criticize Manasseh's disrespect for true worship (2 Kgs 21:15).

A similar distinction may be observed among the minor prophets active in the Northern Kingdom who used the verb עלה exclusively when referring to the exodus (in *qal*, Hos 2:17; in *hiphil*: Hos 12:14; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7). Micah, active in the Southern Kingdom, used both verbs: יצא in *qal* in 7:15 and עלה in *hiphil* in Mic 6:4.

Without entering into complex redactional issues of the Pentateuch,[50] we can sketch the further development of the subordinate phrase studied above, particularly in priestly texts (see Table 3). These texts use the verb יצא exclusively. The verb is in the first person singular, referring to God. All these instances occur in legal contexts,[51] in the Decalogue (Deut 5:6; Exod 20:2), in the Holiness Code (Lev 19:36; 25:38; 26:13), and in the miscellaneous laws of the book of Numbers (15:41) and of the book of Exodus (29:46).[52] The *verbatim* repetition of this phrase in Lev 19:36, 25:38, 26:13, and Num 15:41 as well as its variants in Exod 20:2, 29:45, and Deut 5:6 show that this reference to the exodus had become a fixed formula in the Israelite legal system.[53] A similar fixed formula never occurred with the verb עלה in a legal context.[54]

This observation shows that in these primarily priestly texts, the scribes used the verb יצא almost exclusively once the reference to the exodus became a fixed formula used in legal texts. Several southern compositions tended to eliminate the verb עלה when referring to the exodus and preferred a more "orthodox" verb – יצא. This was the case in Deuteronomy (except for 20:1), Leviticus (except Lev 11:45), Ezekiel, Daniel, and Psalms (except for Ps 81:11), all of which employed יצא.[55] The preference for the verb יצא may be explained by a close connection between the verb עלה and the golden calf episode, Samuel's critique of the people's desire for a king, and Jeroboam's apostasy.[56]

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50 See, for example, Blum 1984; Schmid 2008; Giuntoli and Schmid 2015; Albertz 2018.

51 Based on these occurrences, David Daube suggested that the exodus theme was first incorporated in legal contexts and only later into the narrative (1963, 23).

52 The Greek translation synchronized it with Exod 6:7, substituting the subordinate clause in Exod 29:46 with a participial one: ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου; "I am the Lord, your God, who brought them out from the land of Egypt."

53 According to Martin Noth, the exodus and the great deeds accomplished by Yhwh represent the oldest Israelite concept of faith (1948, 48–54). In these sessions it is possible to sustain the theory of the *kleine Credo*; see Childs 1967, 39.

54 It is important to note that when a similar fixed formula occurs with the verb עלה (Lev 11:45; Deut 20:1), the verb is in participle. This might suggest a different trajectory of the development of the formulas with participles and the formulas containing a subordinate clause.

55 Some scholars have argued that these exceptions are a sign of earlier composition, namely, pre-exilic and pre-Priestly material; cf. Gross 1974, 434–35.

56 Wijngaards 1965, 102.

Exodus Attributed to God or to Someone Else

Even though the most commonly used verb to refer to the exodus in the golden calf episode is עלה, the *hiphil* of יצא is used twice in this episode. The verb עלה is used when the action is attributed to Moses (32:1, 7, 23; 33:1, 12) or to gods or idols (Exod 32:4, 8; Neh 9:18; cf. also 1 Kgs 12:28); the verb יצא is used only when the exodus is attributed to God-Yhwh (Exod 32:11–12). Thus, the golden calf episode and Jeroboam's apostasy employ the verbs in the opposite way to 1 Sam 12:8. This anomaly, also present in other DtrH passages, means it would be worthwhile to investigate the agents of the verbs עלה and יצא in the texts referring to the exodus.

When the verbs עלה and יצא are used in *qal*, the exodus is understood to be the people's action. Once the verbs become *hiphil* forms (a causative form), the exodus is attributed to God. This linguistic shift reflects a significant development in the Israelite concept of God; indeed, the exodus becomes one of God's most important acts or attributes.[57] Nevertheless, there are some exceptions when the exodus is attributed to someone else:

Table 4: Occurrences of two verbal forms

עלה		יצא	
Agent	Reference	Agent	Reference
Other god(s)	Exod 32:4, 8; 1 Kgs 12:28; Neh 9:18		
Moses (and Aaron)	Exod 17:3; 32:1, 7, 23; 33:1, 12; Num 20:5	Moses (and Aaron)	1 Sam 12:8; Exod 3:10–12; 6:13, 26–27; 14:11; 16:3; Deut 9:12; Num 20:16)
A prophet	Hos 12:14		
The angel	Judg 2:1		

Table 4 shows that the exodus was variously attributed to divine action, Moses, Moses and Aaron, a prophet, or an angel. As emphasized above, the *hiphil* of עלה occurs in the golden calf episode (Exod 32–34) and in the episode of Jeroboam's apostasy (1 Kgs 12–14), but an examination of the verbs shows that these is the only places where the agents are gods in the plural, namely, the foreign gods.

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57 See for example Dohmen and Ederer 2016, 6–8.

Referring to the golden calf episode, Neh 9:18 uses the same verb (עלה in *hiphil*); even though the verb is in the singular, the agent is another god or gods, not Yhwh.[58] The attribution of the exodus to other gods is linked exclusively with the verb עלה (cf. Deut 9:8–21). Other cases where the agent is not God and the verb is עלה are linked with the murmuring passages (Exod 17:3; Num 16:13; 20:5; 21:5).[59] Thus, the passages where the *hiphil* of עלה refer to the exodus and the agent is not God are concentrated mainly in three narratives – the golden calf, Jeroboam's apostasy, and the murmuring episodes in the desert.

When the agent is not God, the *hiphil* of the verb יצא conveys another nuance. Deuteronomy also refers to the golden calf episode (9:8–21). However, it does not use the phrase, "these are the gods who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (cf. Exod 32:4). Thus, Deuteronomy does not attribute the exodus to other gods. Moreover, while repeating God's speech addressed to Moses in Exod 32:7–8 almost word-for-word, the Deuteronomic scribes substituted the verb עלה with יצא when attributing the exodus to Moses:

לך רד כי שחת עמך אשר העלית מארץ מצרים סרו מהר מן הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם עגל מסכה
(Exod 32:7–8)
קום רד מהר מזה כי שחת עמך אשר הוצאת ממצרים סרו מהר מן הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם מסכה
(Deut 9:12)

In fact, this is the only case in the whole book of Deuteronomy where the agent of the exodus is not God but rather a human being. In sum, the Deuteronomic scribes changed the verb but did not feel authorized to modify the original assertion, since God had attributed the exodus to Moses. Finally, both the *hiphil* of עלה and יצא are used in the murmuring passages when the agent is not God (יצא in *hiphil*: Exod 14:11; 16:3).

There are a few cases where the human agent functions explicitly as a mediator of God's action. Thus, Hos 12:14 states that ובנביא העלה יהוה את ישראל ממצרים,[60] and 1 Sam 12:8 affirms that it was the Lord who sent Moses and Aaron to bring the Israelites out of Egypt (the verb is יצא). Similarly, the verb יצא is used in the

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58 A distinguishing element of these episodes is that God is never called יהוה but identified by the general term "your god(s)" אלהיך, contrary to all the other texts in which the Tetragrammaton is used.
59 The *hiphil* of עלה in the murmuring context occurs in Num 14:3; Jer 2:6, though, refers to God. To this list we can also add the "murmuring" of Gideon in Josh 6:13 that uses the *hiphil* of עלה.
60 "By a prophet the LORD brought Israel up from Egypt, and by a prophet he was guarded" (NRSV).

context of Moses being called by God (Exod 3:10–12; 6:13, 26–27).[61] An analogous function assumed mediation by an angel (Judg 2:1 using the verb עלה;[62] Num 20:16 with the verb יצא).

In conclusion, ancient biblical texts attributed the exodus to a divine, a semi-divine, or a human agent sent by God for this mission (Hos 12:14; 1 Sam 12:8; cf. also Exod 3 and 6). The portrayal of Moses or an angel as the mediator of the exodus probably comes from the earliest versions of the story, before the theological interpretation of the exodus became dominant. This phase is still preserved in some strata of the DtrH (1 Sam 12:8 and Judg 2:1). While this interpretation of the exodus was theologically acceptable even for the Deuteronomic scribes (cf. Deut 9:12), it gradually fell out of favor as later texts attributed the exodus exclusively to God. This might have been one of the reasons why the *qal* forms of the verbs עלה and יצא virtually disappeared from later texts and the *hiphil* became the preferred form (see Table 1).

Since the attribution of the exodus to other gods in 1 Kgs 12:28 links Jeroboam's apostasy with the golden calf episode (the texts used the verb עלה), this interpretation of the exodus became unacceptable and gradually disappeared (see the vestiges in Deut 9:12). A similar negative tone appears in the murmuring passages, in which the grumblers attribute the exodus to Moses and Aaron (the verb עלה). This interpretation also fell out of use. Since both interpretations used the *hiphil* of the verb עלה, we can conclude that the preference of later redactors for the verb יצא might have been a way to contrast the exodus attributed to gods or misinterpreted by the people in the desert with the "correct" interpretation of the exodus in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Daniel. This illustrates how the collective memory on exodus changed moving towards a new formulation of an old theme.

The Interchangeable Use of Verbs in Judg 2, 6, and Josh 24

The previous investigation has shown that in most cases, the verbs עלה and יצא convey different nuances. Thus, 1–2 Kgs and the minor prophets from the Northern Kingdom prefer עלה, while Deuteronomy and Leviticus, from the southern

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61 Ska 1979, 211–13.

62 According to Judg 2:1a, a reference to exodus appears in something said by an angel, although the speech is from God and not the angel. This confusion between divine agents and the divinity is not unusual in the Bible; cf. Gen 18:1–3; Josh 5:13–15, etc. Sasson 2014, 178–79. See also Ausloos 2008.

tradition, tend to use יצא. Moreover, I have argued that עלה is used primarily in negative contexts, such as the golden calf episode, Jeroboam's apostasy, Samuel's critique of the people's request, and the murmuring episodes, etc., whereas יצא became a preferred verb in legal texts. Finally, in most cases where the agent is not God, the verb עלה is used, whereas יצא links the exodus more clearly with divine activity.

However, there are texts in which none of these distinctions are applicable, such as Judg 6:8. To complete our investigation on the exodus formulas in the DtrH, we should focus on the texts in which the verbs יצא and עלה seem to be interchangeable.[63]

The interchangeability of both verbs is most apparent in Judg 6:8, where the scribes employ both verbs. This verse is located in the midst of a passage generally considered a later addition to the Midianite section (Judg 6:7–10).[64] This passage summarizes God's great deeds, starting with the liberation from Egypt up to the conquest of the Promised Land.[65] As for the references to the exodus, in order to underline his point, the later scribe juxtaposed three verbs referring to the exodus (*qatal* followed by *wayyiqtols*). The first verb העליתי has a neutral meaning, the second verb ואציא is linked with the negative image of Egypt as the house of slavery, and the third verb ואצל presents the exodus as liberation from the Egyptian oppressors:

אנכי <u>העליתי</u> אתכם ממצרים <u>ואציא</u> אתכם מבית עבדים <u>ואצל</u> אתכם מיד מצרים ומיד כל לחציכם
ואגרש אותם מפניכם ואתנה לכם את ארצם

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63 Humbert 1962, 449–50. In the Greek translation, the difference between the verbs עלה and יצא also has disappeared. Thus, for example, the LXX[A,B] reads ἐξήγαγον for the *hiphil* of יצא, whereas the LXX[Ant] reads ἀνήγαγον for the *hiphil* of עלה.

64 Thomas Römer considers these verses of very late date (2005, 136–38).

65 When the Israelites cried to the LORD on account of the Midianites, the LORD sent a prophet to the Israelites; and he said to them, "Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: I led you up from Egypt, and brought you out of the house of slavery; and I delivered you from the hand of the Egyptians, and from the hand of all who oppressed you, and drove them out before you, and gave you their land; and I said to you, 'I am the LORD your God; you shall not pay reverence to the gods of the Amorites, in whose land you live.' But you have not given heed to my voice" (Judg 6:7–10 NRSV).

A similar situation is found in Josh 24. When Joshua refers to the exodus, he uses the verb יצא (24:5–6);[66] when the people respond, they refer to the exodus by employing the verb עלה (24:17).[67]

Besides the DtrH passages, a similar use of both verbs occurs in the book of Jeremiah. Out of nine references to the exodus, four verses use the verb עלה (2:6; 11:7; 16:14; 23:7) and five the verb יצא (7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13). In Jer 11:4 and 7, both verbs are even used in the same subordinate clause:[68]

<div dir="rtl">

ביום הוציאי אותם מארץ מצרים (Jer 11:4)

ביום העלותי אותם מארץ מצרים (Jer 11:4)

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Finally, the same pattern appears in Exod 3: the *hiphil* of עלה is used in Exod 3:8, 17, while the *hiphil* of יצא appears in 3:10, 11, 12.[69]

Looking at this evidence, it is clear that the *hiphil* of יצא and עלה are used side by side in some parts of the DtrH, such as Judg 6:8. No significant difference between the two verbs is noticeable in Josh 24:5–6, 17 or in the final edition of Judg 2 (2:1, 12). The interchangeability of the two verbs is not limited to the DtrH but can be found in Jer 11:4, 7 and Exod 3. The same pattern appears in 1–2 Chronicles, since the Chronicler had no problem using both verbs as they had been used in 1 Samuel-2 Kings (see Table 1).

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66 The choice of the verb עלה in these verses might be explained by the reference to Balaam in Josh 24:9. In the Balaam cycle (Num 22–24), texts referring to the exodus employ the verb יצא exclusively, in *qal* (Num 22:5, 11) and in *hiphil* (Num 23:22; 24:8). There are numerous other instances where the Bible refers to the Balaam episode (Josh 24:9–10; Mic 6:5; Neh 6:6; 13:2; see also Num 31:8, 16; Josh 13:22). Among these passages, only Josh 24:9–10 and Mic 6:5 refer to the exodus in the previous verses (Josh 24:5–6 and Mic 6:4), and both use the verb יצא. Another reference that directly connects the Balaam episode with the exodus is Deut 23:4–5. These verses argue for the exclusion of the Ammonites and Moabites from the assembly of the Lord, because they had refused to give the Israelites food and water and had hired Balaam to prophesy against them on their journey out of Egypt. Deuteronomy 23:5 also uses the *qal* form of יצא. In sum, the references to the Balaam episode use יצא exclusively, in *qal* (three times) and in *hiphil* (twice), when referring to the exodus. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that Josh 24:5–6 goes along the same line.
67 Walter Gross has suggested that this verse is pre-Deuteronomistic (1974, 436); for the opposite view, see Germany 2017, 448–49. In this verse, the verb עלה might have been used to create a link with other passages that similarly refer to the exodus and contain a similar vocabulary, such as 1 Sam 8:8 (Samuel criticizing the people's demand to have a king) and 2 Kgs 17:35–36 (an explanation of the fall of Samaria).
68 LXX omits this verse.
69 Scholars have attributed the verses to different sources; it seems that for the scribes composing the final version of the chapter, the verbs were interchangeable.

In conclusion, while 1 Samuel-2 Kings maintain the difference between the two verbs, it seems that at a later time, the distinction between the two faded away.[70] This conclusion is consistent with the different nuances we have noticed between עלה and יצא. The former in *qal* underlines the going up from Egypt to Canaan, and the *hiphil* form focuses on God's leading his people from Egypt to Canaan; the latter emphasizes liberation from Egyptian oppression. This distinction, however, later disappeared. Moreover, while the *qal* of עלה conveys a neutral view of Egypt, the *hiphil* form of עלה continues to present Egypt in both neutral or positive ways: positive (Gen 46:4; 50:24; in the murmuring episodes Exod 17:3; Num 20:5) and negative (Exod 3:17; Josh 24:17; Judg 6:8; cf. also 1 Sam 10:18; 2 Kgs 17:7).[71] The same is true for the military aspects associated with both verbs. At a later stage, both verbs in *hiphil* express similar nuances and become interchangeable. Such a mixing of the verbs is normally attributed to a later redactor[72] who was not part of the scribal circles responsible for the redaction of Deuteronomy, Leviticus, Ezekiel, and Daniel, who preferred the verb יצא.

Conclusions

The exodus represents the cornerstone of the Israelite collective memory. In this article I have examined how the collective memory about the exodus developed and gradually became the main theological issue of the Israelite religion. This development of the collective memory can be illustrated through the changes of the vocabulary the scribes used to refer to the exodus.

There are thirty-three references to the exodus in the DtrH (Table 1). None of the references constitutes a fundamental part of the biblical narratives or discourses but appear in subordinate clauses or support the main argument of the discourses. The scribes used them to create a contrast, to emphasize the rebellious nature of the people, to date events, or as rhetorical figures. Were these references to be eliminated from the narrative or discourse, readers would not even notice.

The most important process brought to light in this study is an almost systematic substitution of the verb עלה with the verb יצא in the exodus references. Thus עלה, in 1 Sam 15:2, 6 was substituted with יצא in Deut 25:17–19; עלה in Judg 11:13, 16 was substituted with יצא in Deut 4:45–46 and Josh 2:10; and עלה in 2 Sam 7:6 was substituted with יצא in 1 Kgs 8:16–17. Similarly, the verb עלה in Exod 32:7–8 was

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70 *TDOT* XI, 88–89.

71 Zenger 1969, 342. A similar negative meaning was conveyed by the verb יצא.

72 Gross and von Erasmus Gass 2009, 370.

substituted with יצא in Deut 9:12. The texts in which the substitution took place bear a strong Deuteronomic (Deut 4:45–46; 9:12; 25:17–19) or late Deuteronomistic stamp (Josh 2:10; 1 Kgs 8:16–17). On the contrary, the Chronicler did not substitute the verb עלה and used it as it was used in 1 Samuel‑2 Kings. This observation leads us to conclude that among certain southern scribal circles, the preferred verb to refer to the exodus became יצא, and the scribes did their best to substitute the verb עלה wherever possible. Assuming that in these cases the עלה references predated the יצא references, it makes sense to conclude that the references to the exodus in 1 Sam 15; 2, 6 and Judg 11:13, 16 belonged to the earliest exodus references in the DtrH. Similarly, the exodus reference in 2 Sam 7:6 must be earlier in date than 1 Kgs 8:16, and Exod 32:7–8 should chronologically precede Deut 9:12.

The references to the exodus in Judg 11 and 1 Sam 15 as well as similar ones containing the *qal* of עלה do not depict Egypt as the house of oppression and slavery but rather, as a point of departure. The exodus is understood as a military campaign starting in Egypt. Comparing these references to the exodus with those in the minor prophets, it is reasonable to conclude that in the pre-exilic period, there was a great variety of references to the exodus, even though it was not a predominant theological theme. The references to the exodus did not have a fixed form or stereotyped formula, as became the case in the legal sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

Another important result of our analysis is the coherent use of the verb עלה or יצא in specific contexts. Thus, the southern scribes used the *qal* of יצא exclusively for establishing chronological connections in the Bible (1 Kgs 6:1; cf. also Exod 12:41; 16:1; 19:1; Num 1:1; 33:3, 8). For this stratum, the exodus was a historical event that took place 480 years before Solomon's construction of the temple. In contrast, the verb עלה in both *qal* and *hiphil* was used to refer to a general point in the distant past (Judg 19:30; cf. also Isa 11:16; Hos 2:17). Similarly, the verb יצא in *hiphil* was used in texts describing the liturgical feasts (Josh 5:3–6; 1 Kgs 8:9; cf. also Exod 13:3–10; 23:15; 34:18; Deut 16:3, 6). The verb עלה in *hiphil*, however, became used predominantly to refer to illegitimate liturgical activities, such as the golden calf (Exod 32:1, 4, 7, 8, 23; 33:1; cf. Neh 9:18), the installation of the first king, Saul (1 Sam 8:8; 10:18; 12:6), and Jeroboam's apostasy (1 Kgs 12:28).

Another distinction between עלה and יצא is noticeable in 1–2 Kings. The verb עלה is used in texts exclusively linked with the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs 12:28; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36), whereas the verb יצא is used only in texts narrating stories about the Southern Kingdom (1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9, 16, 21, 51, 53; 9:9; 2 Kgs 21:15). A similar distinction is found among the minor prophets (עלה in Hos 2:17; 12:14; Am 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; יצא in Mic 6:4; 7:15).

Furthermore, while 1–2 Kings maintain a strict distinction in using both verbs, some DtrH texts used them interchangeably (Judg 6:8). A distinction between both

verbs did not represent a problem for the editors of Judg 2 and 6, Josh 24 and some chapters of Jeremiah and 1–2 Chronicles. This suggests that in the later period, at least three attitudes about how to deal with exodus references in the DtrH coexisted. The first maintained a distinction between עלה and יצא (1–2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr); the second used both verbs interchangeably (Judg 6:8, Josh 24:5–6, 17, cf. also Jer 11:4, 7 and Exod 3); and the third tradition tended to substitute יצא for עלה (Josh 2:10).

Finally, our study shows that the verb יצא became "prevalent in all thinking about the exodus."[73] While both verbs were suitable for conveying the military nuance of the exodus, the verb יצא became more suitable for linking together different themes of the Hebrew Bible.[74] Thus, the *hiphil* of יצא employed in Gen 15:7 describes God's bringing Abram out of Ur and links Abraham's departure from Mesopotamia with the Israelites' departure from Egypt. Similarly, the verb יצא is used for the manumission from slavery; this connects the return from the Babylonian exile with the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, with both movements portrayed as gaining freedom from a place of slavery. In the DtrH, יצא references are used primarily in the contexts describing the Israelites' recalcitrant nature, thus linking the murmuring and transgressions in the desert with Israelite idolatry in the Promised Land (cf. Judg 2:12; Josh 24:5–6; 2 Kgs 21:15), and the lamentations in the exodus with God's response to the cry of the exiles (1 Kgs 8:16, 21, 51, 53). Finally, the יצא references help establish a chronology (1 Kgs 6:1) and mark cultic events (Josh 5:4–6).

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73 Daube 1963, 33.

74 For linking the exodus with prophetic themes see Ska 1979, 213–15.

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