other as Christ accepted them, Rom 15:7, or to carry each others' burdens, Gal 6:2), to exemplary behavior towards outsiders (Col 4:5; Tit 2:10), to pray for mission work (Col 4:3), to financial support of missionaries or the poor in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9), and to spread the Gospel ("holding forth the word of life," Phil 2:16). They are further exhorted to perseverance in the faith in view of hardships, temptations, and persecutions (1 Peter) and to wait for the return of Christ and the consumption of the kingdom of God. Christians are not to leave their assemblies but are to encourage one another (Heb 11:25). The content of these exhortations indicates some of the challenges which the early Christians from Jewish and Gentile backgrounds faced in ancient society often hostile to their confession and behavior (1 Peter). In view of the early Jewish origin of the NT authors and many of their addressees, it is noteworthy that the HB/OT law hardly occurs in NT exhortation (cf. Mark 2:23–28; 7:8–13; 10:17–22; Rom 13:8–10; Gal 5:14), although the authors draw on early Jewish ethical convictions and argument. Ritual purity and cultic instructions are of no concern.

To motivate the concrete behavior demanded in exhortation, the NT authors use various argumentative strategies. The new behavior which is demanded of the readers (the "imperative") follows from their new status of salvation and as the people of God, from the various gifts and activities of God, Jesus, or the Holy Spirit (the "indicative" of salvation; although the "indicative-imperative" scheme for understanding the sub-structure of NT ethics which was dominant in the 20th century [see "Ethics. III. New Testament"] has been questioned in recent discussion; see Horn/Zimmermann). Christian behavior is also motivated by the nature of God which Christians are exhorted to reflect (Luke 6:36; see Lev 19:2) and by eschatology: in view of the return of Christ and of future rewards or judgment (1 Cor 3:12–15; "all the more as you see the Day [of the Lord] approaching," Heb 11:25), Christians are to live godly lives here and now. There is to be a noticeable difference between their former behavior and their present Christian existence (at times juxtaposed by "then" and "now").

Some of the exhortation contained in the NT builds upon the HB/OT (1 Cor 9:9; 1 Tim 5:18), while other exhortations modify the HB/OT or appear in antithesis to it (Matt 5:17–48). Some exhortations in the NT closely resemble Hellenistic popular philosophical ethics in their content and form/style. Fiore notes that "much like the catalogues of virtues, vices, and sufferings, the images of father, nurse, pedagogue, and disease, the themes of money- or reputation-seeking teachers, the desire to be with the correspondents, the personal relationships and mutual concern among the correspondents, is common to Greco-Roman parenesis" (164). Other contents and how they are motivated are specifically Christian (e.g., the presence of the Holy Spirit, eschatological implications of the resurrection of Jesus).

Exhortation in the NT is closely related to proclamation and teaching. While the NT emphasizes that salvation is appropriated through faith in Christ and not by "works of the Law" (a disputed term) or other forms of human achievement, exhortation to good conduct and sanctification as a consequence of salvation is a prominent feature. Christians are exhorted "to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who is at work in them, enabling them both to will and to work for God's good pleasure" (Phil 2:12–3).

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Christoph Stenschke

See also →Parenesis and Protreptic

Exile

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

1. Assyrian Exile. According to 2 Kgs 17:6, Israelites were deported to Assyria, settled in Halah and Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. The deportation is also mentioned in two Summary Inscriptions of Sargon II (Becking 1992: 25–31). Traces of Israelite exiles are found in the assigned areas. In the Habor region, Israelites worked at agricultural estates, often owned by the crown. In mainland Assyria they were incorporated into the Assyrian army, especially the cavalry. Vari-

ous documents reflect the Assyrian policy to mingle deportees from different ethnicities into a melting pot in order to preclude new rebellions. They also indicate that the exiled Israelites lived with certain degree of liberty, although they had no political power (Becking 1992: 61–93). No evidence for a return from exile exists, although texts like Nah 2 : 1–3 (ET 1 : 15–2 : 2) and Mic 5 : 5–6 hint at the dream of a return from exile.

2. Babylonian Exile. The HB/OT only narrates the beginning and the end of the Babylonian exile. The narrative of the first conquest of Jerusalem is to be found in 2 Kgs 24 : 13; 24 : 8–12 and in a fragment in a Babylonian Chronicle, that only mentions the conquest but not the deportation. A second conquest including the deportation of the elite is only mentioned in the Book of Kings (2 Kgs 25 : 1–7). Second Chronicles 36 : 20–23 and Ezra 1 suggest a return from exile in the direct aftermath of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon in 539. The external evidence, however, does not corroborate a theory of mass return in the 6th century. It hints at a series of waves of return that lasted for over a century (Becking 2006). The historical books in the HB/OT do not supply information on the fate of Judeans in exile or in Judah. Books like Daniel and 1 Esdras have used this gap to narrate stories that were of importance in the Hellenistic age.

From a historical and archaeological point of view, the following observations can be made. Babylonian assignment lists refer, amongst others, to *[Ia]-'ú-kinu/Ia-ku-ú-ki-nu* = **Yahu-kin*, his five sons and some other Judeans as regular receivers of portions of food on behalf of the Babylonian king. The book of Kings, in its present form, ends with a note on the release of the exiled king Jehoiachin from prison (2 Kgs 25 : 27–30). This release can be connected with an act of amnesty by the newly installed Babylonian king Evil-merodach on the occasion of the first New Year festival during his reign.

Recently, a group of cuneiform documents have become known that are of great importance. Some hundreds of transactions from *al Ya-hu-du*, "the city of Judah/Yehud," in Babylonia, from *al ša*^{D}*na-šar*, "the City-of-Nashar; Eagleton," most probably in the vicinity of Borsippa, and a few other villages indicate the presence of Judeans in the rural south of Babylonia where they were settled on newly reclaimed agricultural areas. Their presence does not end with the transfer of power to the Persians indicating that they remained in exile – or better – diaspora – in the Persian period. These documents reflect the politics of the Neo-Babylonians to bring deportees together in specific ethnic groups. These groups could live in relative wealth. The Murashu archives dating to the reign of Darius II (424–404) also show that about a century after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great, persons with a *yahwistic*-theophoric element in their names were – still – living in Mesopotamia.

All in all the written evidence – despite its limitations – makes clear that the idea of the Babylonian exile as a period of sorrow and grief, fuelled by Ps 137, is based on an exaggeration of the experience of the exiles.

The note in 2 Chr 36 : 21 – that the land lay desolate for seventy years – has given rise to the idea of the empty land. Barstad has deconstructed this view and unmasked it as a historical myth. The archaeological evidence shows that "the land was not empty." The archaeological data indicate a continuity of activities in the territory under consideration especially in the area of Bethel and Mizpah. The habitation of Jerusalem, however, dropped to a minimum. Blenkinsopp has argued that, in the "exilic" period, Bethel served as a religious center, while Mizpah functioned as the administrative center.

It is remarkable that the Gedalia-incident is set at Mizpah (Jer 40 : 7–41 : 15; 2 Kgs 25 : 22–26). The Babylonian appointed governor Gedaliah was assassinated as the result of a pro-Davidide conspiracy. In the aftermath of this incident, an important group of Judahites – including the prophet Jeremiah – decided to live in exile in Egypt. There exist only glimpses of evidence that could shed light on the early Egyptian diaspora. Jeremiah 44 narrates a conflict between the prophet Jeremiah and persons from the Yahwistic elite in Egypt on the desirability of the veneration of the "Queen of Heaven." It is far from certain, whether the "Yehudites" from Elephantine were descendants of this first group moving to Egypt.

The traditional image of the Exile has as its final feature the idea of a return from exile and the formation of a Jewish state soon after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great in 539 BCE. This idea is based on a naïve reading of the opening verses of the book of Ezra, a text that can no longer be construed as historically trustworthy. The Cyrus-cylinder is often seen as extra-biblical evidence for the historicity of the decree of Cyrus in Ezra 1. This inscription, however, reflects the worldview of the Marduk priests of the Esağila temple at Babylon. They present Cyrus as a "good prince" replacing the "bad prince" Nabonidus. The return of divine images and people related in Cyrus Cylinder 30–34 refers to measures taken on a local scale. It concerns divine images from cities surrounding Babylon, brought back to the shrines from where they were exiled by Nabonidus. This passage has nothing to do with Judeans, Jews, or Jerusalem. The famous Behistun-inscription of Darius relates in its various versions his rebellion and rise to power but does not contain historical data on the return to Jerusalem or the rebuilding of the temple.

The evidence in the biblical books of Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra, and Nehemiah has generally been understood as an indication that the temple for

YHWH in Jerusalem had been rebuilt in the final decades of the 6th century BCE, most probably around 515. This idea was challenged already in the 16th century CE by the Dutch scholar Scaliger. Recently Diana Edelman has convincingly argued that the second temple was not rebuilt before the middle of the 5th century BCE. In other words the Darius mentioned in these biblical texts should be construed as Darius II.

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Bob Becking

II. New Testament

Exile to Babylon was a defining moment in Israel's history, but it is only mentioned occasionally in the NT. Its importance is reflected in Matthew's Gospel, which divides Jesus' genealogy into three parts, each consisting of 14 generations: from Abraham to David, from David to the exile, and from the exile to the coming of the Messiah (Matt 1:11; 12; 17). A speech attributed to Stephen identifies exile as punishment for Israel's idolatry. The speech recounts how God delivered the people from slavery only to have them respond by worshiping a golden calf. As a judgment on false worship, the speech cites Amos 5:25–27, which warns about the exile that would come in the future. But where Amos tells of deportation beyond Damascus, Stephen identifies exile with Babylon (Acts 7:43).

English translations sometimes use the word "exile" for other types of dislocation. The Greek word παρεπίδημος identified people who were living outside their homeland. This occurred for various reasons and did not necessarily mean forced deportation. Abraham, for example, was said to have left his ancestral home in response to the word of God. He traveled to the land that God had promised him, but he did not own it. He was said to have resided there as a foreigner and an alien or exile on the earth (Heb 11:13; cf. Gen 23:4).

Social dislocation could be compared to being an alien or exile. The author of 1 Peter writes from Rome, but he identifies his location as Babylon, recalling the exile (1 Pet 5:13). His readers are said to be in "the dispersion," a term for Jews residing outside the traditional land of Israel. Although the readers probably had not relocated geographically, their social position had changed when they adopted Christian beliefs. The pattern differs from the ordinary practice of sending people into exile as captives, since Christians entered social exile (παροικία) when they were ransomed or set free from the futile beliefs of their ancestors (1:17). Yet their situation is comparable to that of aliens or exiles (παρεπίδημοι) because their faith sets them apart from others in Greco-Roman society, and they suffer harassment for their convictions (2:11–12; 4:3–4).

One case of actual exile is mentioned in the book of Revelation. The author, whose name is John, was on the island of Patmos because of the word of God (Rev 1:9). This probably meant that he was banished because of his Christian preaching. The specific sentence was apparently "relegation (*relegatio*) to an island." This form of punishment was imposed by the governor of the province. Relegation was often temporary and allowed a person to keep some personal property. It is less likely that John suffered "deportation (*deportatio*) to an island," since that sentence ordinarily had to be handed down by the emperor. Deportation was permanent and included the loss of property.

Persons banished to an island could move about but could not leave. Such exiles could associate with other people and had to find ways to support themselves, either through their own labor or through gifts given by friends and family. They were not ordinarily placed in chains or subjected to hard labor. The island of Patmos, where John was exiled, was located along routes of seaborne commerce. The residents celebrated typical Greek religious festivals and held athletic contests. There is nothing to suggest that the island was a penal colony.

John was probably exiled because the provincial authorities regarded Christianity as a form of superstition (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16.2). Calling it "superstition" placed it among the religious practices that were deemed subversive or dangerous. The punishment for promoting superstition was relegation to an island (Justinian, *Digesta* 48.19.30). The author of Revelation notes that some Christians were put to death because of their Christian witness (Rev 2:13; 6:9; 20:4). The most likely reason that John was exiled instead of being executed was that during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE the Romans lacked standard policies for dealing with Christians. A person judged guilty of a particular offense might be given the death sentence by one judge and relegation to an island by

another (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 8.14.12–15; 10.96.1–9).

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Craig R. Koester

III. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

Jewish notions of "exile" (Heb. *golah*) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods are as diverse as their literature, and yet several trends emerge when they are compared. Exile in the period is often reflected upon in relationship to the deuteronomic cycle of redemption (Sin-Exile-Repentance-Return); however, the manner in which exile is perceived differs between literature written in Palestine or the Diaspora.

1. Exile in Pseudepigraphic and Apocryphal Literature. The theological viewpoint of so-called "pseudepigraphic" literature defies straightforward categorization as "post-exilic." In some of the literature, physical exile from the Land of Israel is not so much at issue as is Israel's relationship with God. Enochic literature and *Jubilees* were composed in Palestine and, therefore, perceptions of exile may be categorized along the lines of "continuing exile." Authors at times conceive of an ongoing condition that sees restoration from exile in terms of purity rather than repossession of the Land. They view their own time as a continuation of the exile which began with the Babylonian captivity and await real restoration in the end-time. This perspective is found in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17), *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85-90), *Testament of Levi* 16–17, and *Jub.* 1:7–23 (VanderKam: 127–44; Halpern-Amaru: 127–44). This continuing nature of the exile in Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism has been variously criticized and defended (Wright: 126–27, 203–4). In defense of its ongoing nature, appeals are made to numerous documents included in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature (Sir 36:5, 14–16; Tob 13:16–18; Bar 2:7–10; 2 Macc 1:10–2:18) as well as the DSS (Evans: 77–100). However, even with regard to the so-called pseudepigraphic literature care should be taken not to interpret exile monolithically as ongoing in the period (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 3, *T. Mos.* 3–4).

Particularly convincing is that exile is seen to continue in the present time of the authors of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Animal Apocalypse* and *Jubilees*. In the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (2nd cent. BCE) the exile occurs in the sixth week and in the following seventh week (93:9–10), the author's own time, return is not mentioned. Rather than a calamity that was resolved in the past, the author looks forward to the resolution of the present condition in the *eschaton*. In the *Animal Apocalypse* when biblical history is recounted there is a period described in 89:56 where Israel ("the house") and the temple ("the tower") are given over to the "lions" (= Babylonians) and other creatures. In what follows, no clear end to the exile is described; indeed, in 89:72–73 the temple exists with sacrifices in place, but it is unclean. Without a pivotal moment of restoration described, the ongoing exile woud seem only to have its conclusion in the end-period of time. Although exile is not explicitly mentioned in *Jubilees* (see "captivity" in 23:22), the theological significance of exile and return are subtly at play in 1:10–13. The notion is that transgressing God's decrees, holy times, and sanctuary are the root cause of exile. The deuteronomic order is written into *Jubilees*' covenental history so that the author's own time is part of it and restoration is set in the future (1:23). From *Jubilees*' "post-exilic" perspective it is lost purity that is to be restored rather than a return to the Land.

A number of works reflect concerns about exile and God's care for the Jewish people oppressed by foreigners (Dan 1–6; 1 Esther 3:1–5:6; Tobit; Judith). The apocryphal sections of Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah (Bel and the Dragon; LXX Esther, 1 Baruch) also cast light on the increased religious significance of the Jewish nation in exile. One view of Tobit is that the author provides carefully crafted instructions for how Jews should live in exile (Levine: 42–51). In Tobit, the author makes it clear that Israel brought the exile upon itself. In Tob 13–14 God is seen to respond to the present suffering of his people in exile and the two main characters, Tobit and Sarah, embody the history of Israel (Craghan: 134). In 1 Esdras restoration of the community is completed and a retelling of the return from exile is told at a later time to encourage the faithful. While several additions are made to Esther (LXX), the third addition of the prayer of Mordecai is particularly relevant. Here, Persian Jews are placed within the context of the salvation history of Israel. In an Aramaic version of Mordecai's Prayer, an explicit request is made to God for deliverance from captivity (Moore: 205–6). The Additions to Esther transform the story to one of God's concern for the Jewish people oppressed by foreigners. The additions to Jeremiah are mainly prayers related to exile.

Fourth Ezra and 2 Baruch differ from the documents above in that they were written after the destruction of the Second Temple. They are not so much concerned with a historical return to the Land as they are with locating restoration in the *eschaton*. They reassure their audiences of God's plan and reflect on the conditions that caused the present circumstance. Idolatry is the sin most often seen to have caused exile.

2. Exile in Qumran Literature. Any treatment of exile in Qumran literature needs to take into ac-

count the diversity of documents within the collection. On the one hand, some texts express a "sectarian" theology. On the other hand, another division of scrolls may be classed in the broader category of pseudepigraphic and apocryphal writings discussed above.

Within the narrower category of sectarian documents, the *Damascus Document* has played an especially important role with regard to exile. The Babylonian exile is formative for the *Damascus Document*'s understanding of how God deals with wicked Israel, and a fairly wide range of others works share this view (4Q169 3–4 IV, 1–4; 4Q244 12, 1–4; 4Q385; 4Q387 3 II, 1–13; 4Q390 1, 2–6; 4Q398 11–13). In one particular interpretation of the *Damascus Document*, especially columns I–VII (Murphy-O'Connor: 201–29), the sectarian group may be interpreted as returnees from Babylonian exile (Damascus = Babylon) who are appealing to the rest of Israel to convert/return to their view of orthodoxy before it is too late. This return from exile that has taken place relates to issues of legitimacy. The Teacher of Righteousness is seen to embody the proper interpretation of the law and he and his group are, therefore, the "true" Israel (i.e., the elect of the elect). The exile continues for the remainder of Israel who are described as having gone astray like a wayward heifer (CD I, 13). Michael Knibb similarly argues that the *Damascus Document* reflects an ongoing exile and that the author and his community are a Palestinian reform movement (Knibb: 99–117). A possible lack of consistency in the use of cryptograms (e.g., "Damascus", CD I, 4–11, VII, 9–15) and also overlapping theological paradigms to describe more than one situation confuse matters and lead to competing points of view (Abegg: 112–16; cf. Davies: 518).

In several texts, "exile" in Egypt is remembered (esp. 4Q158 14 I, 5–8) and even viewed as a model for future judgment. Martin Abegg suggests that a manuscript of *4QPseudo-Ezekiel* (4Q385 I, 1–II, 5) views exile to Egypt as a type of future judgment and that this notion is taken up more broadly in the Scrolls (4Q365 25, 2; 4Q379 12, 3–5; 11QT LIII, 16, LXI, 14; Abegg: 116). Somewhat similarly, a case may be made that 4Q462 (*4QNarrative*) uses Egypt as a label for later exile. Here, biblical history is recounted before reaching a point where Israel is given over to Egypt "a second time" (line 13). One interpretation of this fragment is that lines 2–8 recount the biblical past; in lines 9–13 the community's place in history is contrasted to that of apostate Jews who are taken captive to "Egypt" again; and lines 14–19 are concerned with future judgment of this apostate group (Wold: 285–90). Exactly how the author's own group relates to this exile remains unclear, due to the condition of the fragment, but they are presumably the remnant community.

For the Qumranites the wilderness is a place of exile; however, not so much as a place of punishment for sin, but rather an exile to prepare for the *eschaton* (1QS VIII, 12–14; IX, 18–20). Exile as judgment for the wicked stands in contrast to the righteous, elect community in a wilderness exile. This idea of exile is reflected in *Hodayot* XII, 8–9 where the adversaries of the Teacher are said to drive him away into his wilderness-exile. If 4Q177 (*Catena A*) is correlated with *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab XI, 2–8), it is made explicit that the followers of the Teacher are exiled. The *War Scroll* reflects on the wilderness-exile motif and also looks forward to a time when the Sons of Light will return, vis-à-vis the future battle, and dwell in Jerusalem again (1QM I, 2–3).

3. Exile in the LXX, Philo, and Josephus. In the LXX a choice is taken to translate exile in positive terms. While the straightforward translation of exile from the Hebrew (*golah*) would be φυγή, the trend is to render it instead as "settlement" or "colony" (ἀποικεσία; e.g., Esdras B 6:19). Philo is also cautious not to refer to the Diaspora in a negative light and chooses to represent exile as settlement or colonization. When Philo does refer to exile (φυγή) he lists it among severe punishments: "death, or exile, or lastly, a confiscation of all his property" (*Spec.* 4.23; cf. *Spec.* 3.181). Similarly, Josephus does not describe the Assyrian or Babylonian exiles or the Diaspora with the negative term φυγή (Feldman: 147).

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Benjamin Wold

B. Rabbinic Judaism

The rabbis did not often discuss exile, even though exile plays a prominent role in the HB, which holds that God exiled the Jews from the land of Israel because they disobeyed his commandments (see e.g., Lev 26 : 14–33; Deut 28; 2 Kgs 17 : 21–23; 2 Kgs 24–25; Jer).

The rabbinic collections accepted the Bible's theory that God had expelled the Jews from the Land as punishment for their sins, and they attempted to discover the specific sins which were responsible for the exile. Although the sages cannot agree on which particular sins led to the exile, the important fact for them is that the Jews' own actions, not some injustice or inaction by God, caused the exile. The rabbis underscore the Jews' responsibility for their being exiled by having God express displeasure with himself for having been forced to exile them (*bBer* 3a), with God even weeping at the Jews' suffering (*bSuk* 52b). In addition, they sought to soften the effects of exile by explaining that it did not signify the end of the Jews' special relationship with God. Thus the rabbis make clear that God's presence, the *Shekhinah*, accompanied the Jews into exile. Even as they accept that the exile results from the Jews' misdeeds, the rabbis identify positive results of the exile, for instance, explaining that going into exile allowed the Jews to bring converts to Judaism. Notably, rabbinic attitudes towards exile are consistent over time, with few differences occurring between the early (1st–3rd cent. CE) rabbinic documents and the later (3rd–6th cent. CE) collections. In addition, the Palestinian materials and the Babylonian collections do not differ in their approaches. Exile, it seems, was a biblical idea that the rabbis dealt with following the contours of the biblical narrative. This adherence to the Bible's scheme was the case whether the sages lived in exile in "Babylonia" or in the Land of Israel.

Sifra Aḥarei mot 13 : 19 notes that the Land was defiled because of the Israelites' sexual misconduct. *Sifra* Qedoshim 9 : 14 identifies judges who pervert justice as the cause of exile. *Sifrei Devarim* ʿEqev 43–44 argues that the Jews went into exile because they worshipped idols. *Sifrei Devarim* Shoftim 148 and 158 add to the list the sin of being overly satisfied with food and drink. *Sifrei Devarim* ʿEqev 43–44 notes that of the punishments God could mete out for violating his word, exile is the most severe. We see from these examples that exactly why the Jews went into exile is most often left vague and is stated in general terms. In addition, the reasons for the exile provided by the rabbis are the same reasons which the Bible enumerates.

These texts are clear, however, that exile is not the end of israel's relationship with God. Thus, even though the Jews are in exile, they are still obligated to follow God's commandments. Anticipating and planning for the people's return, God made the Land desolate, so that no one else would settle it (*Sifra* Beḥuqqotai 6 : 5). Indeed, while the Jews are in exile, the Land rests, so that when they return, it will be refreshed, allowing them to prosper on it (*Sifra* Beḥuqqotai 7 : 2). *Sifra* is the first rabbinic text to state that the years were intercalated so that the Jews in exile would have time to travel to Jerusalem for the festivals and return home, an idea which appears in later sources (*Sifra* Emor 9 : 1; *yShev* 10 : 1; *yRH* 3 : 1; *yNed* 3 : 8). Finally, *SifBem* states that the *Shekhinah* goes into exile with the Jews, meaning that God does not abandon those Jews who live outside the Land. This idea is taken up in many later texts as well (*SifBem* Behaʿalotekha 84; *MekhY* Bo 14; *WayR* 32 : 8; *bMeg* 29a; *yTaan* 1 : 1).

The later rabbinic texts agree that God exiled the nation because of its sins, but hold that God bemoans the fact that he had to do it (*bBer* 3a). Talmud Bavli Shabbat (*bShab* 33a) states that exile "came into the world" because the Jews ignored the commandments concerning idolatry, incest, and the Sabbatical and Jubilee years (cf. *bSan* 94a). We also learn that exile results from neglecting one's studies or forgetting Torah (*bYom* 38b). A mere lack of knowlege also leads to exile (*bSan* 92a). In *yYom* 1 : 1 the Jews were sent into exile under the Babylonians because of idolatry, licentiousness, and bloodshed; they were sent into exile under the Romans because they "loved money but hated one another." Informing on the Jews to the ruling power also brings about exile (*bGit* 56a). It is notable that Johanan ben Zakkai points to a specific, although otherwise unknown, individual, Bar Qamtsa, who informed on the Jews. This text names the only "specific" misdeed which caused the exile. Rav notes that males lose their livelihood when they have to leave their homes, but females are able to fufill their tasks no matter where they live, so that exile is more difficult for men than for women (*bSan* 28a). As in the early texts, however, exile is also depicted as a positive part of God's plan for the People Israel. By experiencing exile, the Jews were able to atone for their sins; however, the rabbis are unclear about the exact amount of a person's sins for which exile effects atonement (*bSan* 37b–38a; *bBer* 56a). Finally, we learn that God exiled Israel, so that she could make converts throughout the world (*bPes* 87b).

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Gary Porton

C. Medieval Judaism

The promise of the inheritance of the land of Canaan to the Israelites entered the world of the Bible already intertwined with the idea of exile. Already

Abraham is informed that his offspring will have to leave Canaan and will be slaves in a land not their own (Egypt; Gen 15:13). Before the entry into the land, Moses announces to the Israelites in the desert that the inheritance of the land is conditional and if they do not observe the Torah and its commandments they will lose their land and go into exile. The centrality of this concept is emphasized by the repetition of the warning, which includes a series of terrifying punishments, twice in pericopes that are called "punishment" or "rebuke" (*tokheḥah*; Lev 26:14–43; Deut 28:15–68) as well as in the Song of Moses (Deut 32).

The nature and content of the Jewish attitudes to exile in the Middle Ages are essentially connected to the fact the Jewish people at this time was totally deprived of its sovereignty and religious symbols. One can expect therefore that various aspects of the exilic conception in Medieval Jewish literature would be profoundly influenced by the Jews' collective experiences under the rule of foreign nations and religions. The Jews turned to the Torah, the rebukes of the prophets before and after the destruction of the first temple, and the books of Lamentations and Psalms in order to try to learn from them the significance of the present state of the people and to derive comfort from them. Furthermore, we are not talking about merely confronting a sad reality. Exile is a fundamental component of the polemics between Judaism and the two daughter religions that sought to replace her, Christianity and Islam.

In light of this historical situation, defining exile becomes complex; it includes the loss of the land of Israel, the loss of sovereignty, the destruction of the temple, the subjugation of the kingdoms, persecutions, and degradation. In contrast to the term Diaspora, Exile does not describe a geographical situation or demographic dispersal, and for this reason it also applies to Jews who live in the Land of Israel under these conditions. "Exile" is the state of religious-national existence of the Jewish collective wherever they may be until the time of "redemption."

The continuing state of "exile" presented an acute religious-existential problem for Jews in the Middle Ages. The responses that Jews gave to Gentiles and to themselves to account for the paradoxical situation of a chosen people in exile were a decisive factor in defining this term, which they found so troubling. The term is referred to across the whole range of Jewish literature in all its genres. This situation gave birth to ideologies that were a source for interpretations and references to specific biblical passages and verses. It seems that one would be hard-pressed to find another biblical topic whose medieval exegesis is so deeply influenced by existential pressures and changing historical circumstances. Indeed, the exegesis of various aspects of exile could serve as a classic example of eisegesis.

The idea of exile as punishment and atonement for various sins of the Jewish people is found in the HB and continues into the Middle Ages with various nuances. Specific persecutions would also generally be interpreted throughout the period as punishment for a variety of sins. A famous exception to the rule was Solomon ibn Verga, who looked for real immediate causes for anti-Jewish persecutions, though without neutralizing divine involvement (Ibn Verga: 7:63).

Judah ha-Levi's approach is original, attributing the continuation of the exile to the fact that the Jewish people were not longing for Zion. The redemption would be the result of an activist initiative on the part of the Jewish people to return to the land of Israel; this is the way he explains the words of the psalmist: "You will rise up and have compassion on Zion… for your servants hold its stones dear and have pity on its dust." (Ps 102:13–14/MT 14–15; *Kuzari* 5.27).

Psalm 44 was seen throughout the Middle Ages as reflecting the state of the Jews in exile: the humiliations, the pressures to convert, the fidelity to the covenant, even to the point of death.

> You have made us like sheep for slaughter, and have scattered us among the nations.
> You have sold your people for a trifle, demanding no high price for them.
> You have made us the taunt of our neighbors, the derision and scorn of those around us.
> You have made us a byword among the nations, a laughingstock among the peoples. …
> All this has come upon us, yet we have not forgotten you, or been false to your covenant. […]
> yet you have broken us in the haunt of jackals, and covered us with deep darkness.
> If we had forgotten the name of our God, or spread out our hands to a strange god,
> would not God discover this? For he knows the secrets of the heart (Ps 44:11–14, 17-21).

Again and again these verses appear in *piyyutim* which turn to God in supplication to remember the covenant and end the exile. The difficulty is twofold: the burdens of exile (conversionary pressures, persecutions, blood-libels, humiliation, rapacious taxation) and its length. The *payyetanim*, especially the Ashkenazim, repeat in different variations the motif of the covenant, its preservation by the Jewish people, who remained faithful to it, while God has abandoned them.

The theme of exile figures prominently in the biblical commentaries of Joseph Qara (Northern France, 11th–12th cent.). Qara strays from his characteristic *peshat* interpretation and explains various verses as referring to the exilic condition in his time and locale, even when it is obvious that there is no connection between the text and this topic. This approach can be understood as deriving from the

powerful polemical tension caused by the Christian arguments, which he describes as follows:

> They insult him… the steps of your messiah are delayed… this message of theirs burns on my heart like a torch… but I am supported by the words of comfort spoken by the ancient prophets. (Grossman: 281)

And Qara explains the fact that to every prophecy of rebuke, destruction, and punishment the prophets attached prophecies of comfort as a convincing refutation to the claim that the exile and its troubles are proof of the annulment of the election of the Jewish people.

Theological pressure forced the Jews to explain the verse "The scepter shall not depart from Judah" (Gen 49 : 10) as referring to the exilarchs in Babylonia, who ascribed themselves to the Davidic dynasty. Another claim was that the promise of sovereignty is perpetuated by the Ten Tribes, the remnants of the Kingdom of Israel, who are found in a distant, hidden place, are preserving an independent kingdom with a military force and are destined to return in the end of days. Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, the Jewish courtier in Muslim Cordoba (mid-10th cent.), in his letter to the king of the Khazars, apologizes for his curiosity and many questions.

> They [the Muslims] say to us every day "Every nation has sovereignty and you have no remnant in the land." And when they heard of my lord the king and his many soldiers they were astonished, and because of this we raise our heads… and the kingdom of my lord is for us a source of pride. (Dinur: 1.2.36)

Spanish Jewry lost at least half of its population in the persecutions of 1391. Some communities were wiped out entirely. A large proportion of those who survived converted to Christianity, creating the difficult social-religious situation of the Conversos (Marranos), who had an idiosyncratic religious identity. Additional persecutions and waves of conversions, the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, the expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the forced conversion of Portuguese Jewry in 1497 led the leadership of this Jewry to critical introspection. They sought the reason for their fate in the Bible. Verses that describe the fate of Israel in exile were applied to the fate of Spanish Jewry and the Conversos.

In Italy, Samuel Usque (mid-16th cent.), a former Portuguese converso, wrote his historiographical book, *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, which surveys in chronological order the persecutions of the Jewish people in exile. He applies various verses which refer to exile to specific tragic events, and thus connects the history of the entire exile to the Bible. Moses predicts in the *tokheḥah* (passage of rebuke) that in the exile the Jewish people would "serve other gods, of wood and stone, which neither you nor your ancestors have known" (Deut 28 : 64). Usque, like his 15th-century predecessors, saw this prophecy as being fulfilled in the Conversos of Iberia. The verses "Among those nations you shall find no ease… In the morning you shall say, 'If only it were evening!' and at evening you shall say, 'If only it were morning!' – because of the dread that your heart shall feel" (Deut 28 : 65–67) were fulfilled in the lives of Conversos who lived in the terrifying shadow of the Inquisition. "Your sons and daughters shall be given to another people" (Deut 28 : 32) was fulfilled in the kidnapping of Jewish children in 1493 and their exile to the São Tomé Islands (Usque: 202). Previously, R. Isaac Abarbanel had explained "surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you" (Ezek 20 : 33) as referring to the Conversos who would not want to leave the countries that would persecute them but would be forced to do so because of the persecutions of the Inquisition (Abarbanel: 520–21).

On the threshold of the modern age, R. Manasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam (1604–1657) approached Oliver Cromwell with a request to allow the return of the Jews to England, from which they had been expelled in 1290. Along with the utilitarian arguments he includes an argument based on the idea that the dispersion of the Jews in exile is a punishment (see Deut 28 : 64: "The LORD will scatter you among all peoples, from one end of the earth to the other"). From here he argued that as a necessary condition for the redemption, which is mentioned immediately afterward, the Jews have to reach the ends of the earth, including England (Manasseh ben Israel: 79).

Alongside the dominant approach of "Because of our sins we are exiled" (from the Festival liturgy) we also find the argument that there is a positive purpose to the exile, in the mission of the Jewish people to be a model and example for the nations. In the Kabbalah, especially in Lurianic Kabbalah, the exile is explained as a means of repairing, in mystical terms, the damaged realm of the divine (cf. Scholem).

A separate and unique chapter concerns the ideology and exegesis of the early Karaites, especially the Mourners of Zion, who practiced in Jerusalem a life of self-flagellation and mourning over the destruction of the Temple and believed that aliyah (immigration) to Jerusalem was a way to hasten the redemption. They believed that the Rabbanites and their followers were responsible for the perpetuation of the exile through their distortions of the commandments of the Torah according to their caprices and economic needs, and who adopted the customs of the Gentiles and were comfortable with their lives in exile. A significant portion of their critique was written as exegesis to various prophecies. Thus, Daniel al-Qumisi bases his critique of the practices of the exilarchs and rabbinic society – whom he calls "men of the exile" – on the prophecies of Hosea and others.

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D. Modern Judaism

The beginning of the Zionist movement during the late 19th century brought about a tectonic shift in Jewish conceptions of Diaspora and Exile. During the centuries of diasporic living, the promise of returning to the land of Israel had been merely a dream to most people. Although there were isolated cases of Jewish individuals and even groups moving to Palestine throughout the centuries, the vast majority of Jews lived in the Diaspora, as had their parents and grandparents.

The Zionist movement, officially founded in Basel, Switzerland in 1897, had as its central political demand the return of the Jewish people to its land and the creation of an independent Jewish state. Its central philosophical demand was the Jewish return to history.

Both of these demands were contested. While the Zionists claimed the mantle of centuries of yearning to return to the land of Israel, Orthodox Jewish anti-Zionists retorted that the return to Israel, and especially the establishment of a political state, was dependent on the coming of the Messiah (Teitelbaum, Ravitzky). Other modern Jews, such as many Reform Jews and many secular Jews, rejected the notion of "Exile" altogether; they championed the alternative term "Diaspora" to describe the presence of the Jews as a minority in many scattered places.

Within the Zionist movement, there were a range of different attitudes towards the new relation of Israel and Exile. On the religious, messianist end of the Zionist spectrum, Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook articulated the most insistent form of the argument that there was an imminent and mystical connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel (Kook).

There were also those, such as Aḥad Ha-ʿAm, the *nom de plume* of the Zionist activist and polemicist Asher Ginzberg, whose picture of the Zionist establishment in Palestine was that it would be the cultural center of the Jewish people, who would still mainly live in the Diaspora. Mordecai Kaplan, the American rabbi, thinker and the founder of the Reconstructionist movement in Judaism, also espoused this opinion.

On the other end of the spectrum were those – both religious and secular – who espoused the ideology of "negating the diaspora." This faction claimed that there was no future for Jews outside of Israel.

One instance of this debate was an exchange of letters between Chaim Weizmann, the first president of the State of Israel, and Simon Rawidowicz, a Zionist activist and an academician who taught at Brandeis University, near Boston. Weizmann ridiculed the idea of establishing a Jewish university in the United States, since he believed that there would be no Jews to speak of in the Diaspora in a few decades. In another telling exchange, Rawidowicz challenged the choice of the name "Israel" as the name of the coming Jewish state. Writing to David Ben-Gurion, Rawidowicz argued that "Israel" meant all Jews, whether living in Palestine or in the Diaspora (Rawidowicz).

The "return to history" premise has also been challenged. The counterargument is made that almost 2,000 years in Diaspora is itself history, and that the notion of "return to history" is premised on a distinctly Christian notion of history as signifying those living in "grace" (Raz-Krokotzkin 1999: 253). More importantly, "exile," it is claimed, does not depend on geography but is rather a "specific stance in relation to the existing order, a stance which exists within the given world, but at a critical distance from it" (Raz-Krokotzkin 1993: 27).

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IV. Christianity

The phenomenon of exile has manifested itself throughout church history in a variety of forms: As the banishment of individuals, congregations, groups, or institutions, or as self-chosen departure in reaction to new circumstances perceived as intolerable. It is clearly to be distinguished from pilgrimages and instances of voluntary emigration or of temporary homelessness. The Babylonian exile is alluded to in a figurative sense e.g., in Luther's tractate *De captivitate babylonica* (1520) or in the depiction of the Avignon papacy (1309–77). Besides having constituted a form of punishment inflicted upon a number of theologians of the early church, exile also played a central role in the moral discourse surrounding martyrdom. Tertullian (*De fuga in persecutione*) demanded fearless confession. For Clement of Alexandria, persecution was a fate to be endured, but not actively sought after (*Strom.* 4; 10). In a similar way, Origen required that one not put oneself in danger deliberately (*Cels.* 1.65), for even Jesus withdrew after the beheading of John the Baptist (*Comm. in Matt.* ad 10 : 23). Athanasius of Alexandria defended his exile in 357 against accusations that he had abandoned his congregation out of concern for his own fate (*Fug.* 11), invoking the appointment of cities as sanctuaries in Exod 21 : 13 and the instruction to flee in Matt 10 : 23 (cf. Matt 24 : 15–22). As Athanasius pointed out, the incarnate Christ also fled persecution by going to Egypt and then to Nazareth, and sought refuge from the crowd (Matt 2 : 13) during his public ministry (*Fug.* 12; John 8: 59; Luke 4 : 28–30). Athanasius compared fleeing prophets with martyrs (*Fug.* 17; 1 Kgs 13 : 2; 18 : 17; 22 : 15.; Acts 15 : 11). He interpreted the success of his own attempt to flee as a legitimating sign of divine assistance.

Augustine's comparison of David's flight from his son Absalom with the suffering of Christ (*Enarrat. Ps.* 31) suggests an interpretation of exile as individual martyrdom. Augustine also believed one should not put Christ to the test by asking for his help in a martyrdom one could have avoided (*Faust.* 22.36; *C. litt. Petil.* 2.19). Examples Augustine also mentioned were Jesus' flight to Egypt and Paul's flight from Damascus (Acts 9 : 23–25). Paul did not behave like a hired hand (John 10 : 11–13), however, but was to be judged on the basis of his intention to preserve himself because he was needed in his church (Phil 1 : 24), whereas the hired hand prized his own well-being above that of his herd (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 46.7).

It is difficult to reconstruct a discourse of exile among medieval victims of persecution such as Cathars and Waldensians, since many sources have been lost or destroyed. Confessional migration resulting from the Reformation, particularly after the Interim (1548) und with even greater intensity after the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), led to a surge in theological reflection over the exile of groups and individuals. This reflection can be observed among numerous confessions and groups during the 16th and 17th centuries, regardless of whether or not they were protected by the Peace of Augsburg, e.g., among Anabaptist groups, but also among Irish Catholics in the 1640s or French Huguenots, particularly after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes (1685), as well as among Lutherans fleeing recatholicization measures in Bavaria or Austria, such as the Salzburg exiles, who derived their self-understanding from Joseph Schaitberger's (1658–1733) *Exulanten lied* ("Anthem of the Exiles") and *Evangelischer Sendbrief*. It was also common to interpret one's fate by recurring to the Early Church, as the Marian Exiles did when reviving arguments of Tertullian and Athanasius in their moral discourse. Luther had interpreted Matt 10 : 23 as legitimate flight for reasons of faith (WA 19 [1897]:634 = Luther's Works 46 : 105). But it was particularly the Lutheran *Exules (Christi)* – predominantly Gnesio-Lutherans and advocates of a theology of the small flock (1 Kgs 19 : 18) who found entry into prominent Lutheran conceptions of the theology of history such as the Magdeburg Centuries – who downright cultivated an interpretation of exile as martyrdom.

Heavily influenced by his own and others' experiences of exile, Calvin's theology depreciates earthly life with regard to the heavenly home by invoking 2 Cor 5 : 6 (1539: 431) and it looks upon exile in a Reformed country away from one's Catholic homeland as a foretaste of the coming journey towards the heavenly home (1863-1900: 8 : 409). A true Christian is capable of becoming a refugee and casting off all things that do not lead him directly to God. God accompanies his people while in exile (Ezek 11) and divine providence guides exile experiences such as those of Abraham or David (1863-1900: 32 : 567). In a conflict in which one's own faith is at stake, flight is the best solution, yet the most important counsel is not flight, but confession (1863-1900: 6 : 576, 609). Calvin thus combines the injunction to flee in Matt 10 : 23 with the duty to proclaim the gospel. In the modern period, exile has often been prompted by political events with consequences for one's religious confession, leading believing Christians to flee from revolutionary upheaval or totalitarian rule. In *The Cost of Discipleship* (1937, *Nachfolge*), Dietrich Bonhoeffer answered the question regarding the legitimacy of flight by interpreting Matt 10 : 23 eschatologically with Mark 13 : 14 and Luke 21 : 12, but also by calling for steadfastness in persecution. To this very day,

Christian women and men in many countries continue to be subjected to acts of repression or even life-threatening persecution, confronting them with the dilemma of whether or not to flee their homeland.

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Vera von der Osten-Sacken

V. Islam

While exile in the sense of expulsion from a person's own country is not a prominent feature in Islam, in the form of the Prophet Muḥammad's migration, *hijra*, from his native Mecca to Medina it is fundamental to Islam as a social and political reality. This event set a pattern for conduct and religious attitude, and its importance is marked by it being taken as the start of the Islamic calendar.

In the years following his first public proclamations of his teachings about the one God, Muḥammad and his followers experienced rejection and persecution at the hands of the polytheistic Meccans. In what was known as the first *hijra*, some of the poorest and weakest sought refuge in Abyssinia, whose Christian king was thought would give them protection. Muḥammad himself was exposed to the risk of attack when his uncle died in 619, and he was compelled to look outside Mecca for help. A few years later he was invited by some converts to their town towards the north, and he and over a hundred followers migrated to what came to be called Medina (*madīnat al-nabī*, "town of the Prophet"). There he was accepted as a spiritual and communal leader and was able to put his principles into practice in society. This *hijra* in September 622, marking a change in fortunes for the Muslims, was later taken as marking year 1 of the Muslim calendar.

The term *hijra* denotes abandoning, deserting, or departing. For the first Muslims, the *hijra* from Mecca to Medina, like the earlier *hijra* to Abyssinia, was a true exile because it was an expulsion and flight, and it meant abandoning homes, possessions, and livelihoods. But the initial loss was followed in a few years by tremendous gains, as first the tribes within and around Medina accepted Muḥammad, and then Mecca capitulated, and finally most of Arabia accepted Islam. Indeed, before many of them were dead, Islamic rule stretched over much of the Middle East and North Africa. Exile was quickly followed by restoration in a process that was attributed to divine intention and oversight. There was no tragic end, and temporary suffering was followed by reward and gain.

This divinely planned pattern perhaps accounts for the versions in the Qurʾān of such stories about prophets as Adam and his expulsion from paradise, and the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt under Moses. While the first human and his wife are excluded from the garden, they are not left completely bereft but are forgiven because "his Lord relented towards him, and promised him guidance" (S 2 : 35–38); and while the Israelites are allowed to leave Egypt by Pharaoh, this is portrayed primarily as an act of salvation by God and a demonstration of divine power as the unbelieving Pharaoh who challenges God is drowned in the sea (e.g., S 7 : 136–8; 23 : 45–8; 26 : 63–6). There is no reference in the Qurʾān to the deportation into exile in Babylon.

The action of departing from a place or people where wrong and wickedness prevail, in a repetition of Muḥammad's *hijra* from Mecca (as this event came to be interpreted), provides a model that has been followed repeatedly in Islamic history. In the first few generations, the puritanical Kharijites, who condemned bad actions as evidence of bad faith, distanced themselves from other Muslims whom they often attacked as non-believers and killed. In recent times, groups such as *Takfīr wa-al-hijra*, "Condemnation and abandonment," have shown similar intolerant attitudes, while traces are more than evident in the rhetoric of al-Qaeda, who have separated themselves physically and mentally from others who do not accept their ways of thinking.

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David Thomas

VI. Other Religions

Biblical notions of exile rarely occur in other religions, although several hold exile-like experiences within their histories. For instance, in the 10th-century CE, a group of Zoroastrians left Muslim-dominated Iran for India where they became known as Parsis. One exception is the Rastafari movement, which places the biblical notion of exile at the center of its belief and practice. A seminal reader on Rastafari is entitled *Chanting Down Babylon* (1998),

echoing a song performed by Bob Marley and the Wailers, "Chant Down Babylon." A lament used by the Rastafari begins:

> By the rivers of Babylon, where we sat down
> And dearly wept, when we remember Zion.
> The wicked carry us away, captivity,
> Require from us a song…. (Thelwell: 181)

The concepts of "exile" and "captivity," as expressed in the Bible (e.g., 2 Kgs 25), are central to the Rastafari representation of reality, as shown in these echoes of Ps 137. Most Rastafari are descendants of slaves brought to the Caribbean by European powers. Rastafari reenact this trauma through seeing themselves as having been brought from the holy land into exile, captivity, and continued slavery in Babylon. Jamaica and the West become Babylon, shot through with impurity and evil. As Babylon worked against the chosen people of God, so the West subjugates and "downpresses" the Rastafari now (Edmonds: 23–25). For Rastafari see themselves as the chosen people, pure because of their love of God, identifying themselves with the ancient Hebrews. Texts such as Lam 4:8 are cited to argue that the ancient Israelites were in fact black (Owens: 39). They therefore believe that the Bible was written for them (Owens: 42) and, additionally, that a king and savior has been given to them, namely Haile Selassie I (Wint). The fall of Babylon as recounted in Rev 18 is seen as proof that there will be liberation from "downpression."

From this self-identification with the Hebrew people in exile, a radical Rastafari critique of the political, educational, social, and economic systems of governing institutions in the Caribbean and the West has developed. The task of the Rastafari is to chant down Babylon, and to embody an ethic and way of being that stands in contradistinction to its values. Identification with the Hebrew people and exile becomes a way of redeeming rage about the iniquity of slavery and colonialism (Beckford 2001). The Rastafari movement is now present in America, Europe, and Africa.

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Elizabeth J. Harris

VII. Literature

Those first Jews who were exiled in Babylon turned their hesitation to sing into a song (Ps 137). In so doing they created literature that would eventually become Scripture, the writing of a people far from home. But then "All literature carries exile within it," according to Robert Bolaño: if all of us are outside Eden, he asks, "Is it possible that all of us are wandering strange lands?" (Bolaño: 49). If so, literature is a condition of exile: little able to lead readers back home. It is, however, a means of survival. As Edmond Jabès, a Jewish poet exiled from Egypt since 1956, writes: "I left a land not mine for another, not mine either. I took refuge in a word of ink with the book for space" (Jabès: 107).

Scripture, however, offers its readers more than space and refuge, it transforms exile into a discipline: penance prior to repatriation, as it were. Thus in the Christian tradition, the exile is a pilgrim, a traveler in this world en route to the next. In both "The Wanderer" and "The Seafarer," preserved in the 10th-century *Exeter Book*, for example, solitary exiles remember past glories and present hardships while looking forward to their eventual rest with God. "The Wife's Complaint," a third such elegy from the same Old English collection, may well be an allegory in which the lamenting woman represents the bride awaiting Christ (Matt 25:1–13 and Rev 19:7–9).

Pilgrimage itself is an enactment of this sacred story. In Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1400), for example, the journey from Southwark to Canterbury Cathedral anticipates the pilgrims' passage from this world to the next; in the *Divine Comedy* (1321), Dante exits hell on Easter Sunday, having followed the footsteps of Christ according to tradition and 1 Pet 3:18–22. And Christian in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress: From This World to That Which is to Come* (1678) keeps the hellish Valley of Tophet (2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31; 19:6) behind him as he heads to the Celestial City on Mount Zion itself.

By the 19th century, the travails of everyman were transformed into the coming-of-age tale or *Bildungsroman*. The eponymous heroine in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), for example, undergoes several rites of passage before reaching her final home:

> All my heart is yours, sir: it belongs to you; and with you it would remain, were fate to exile me from your presence forever. (Brontë: 468–69)

Jane's life with Mr. Rochester is nevertheless a foretaste of a blissful eternity; Catherine Earnshaw's passion for Heathcliffe in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), however, is precisely what causes her to be banished from heaven into exile at Thrushcross Grange below. Believing herself similarly banished – "Why – do they shut me out of Heaven?" (Dickinson: 248), Emily Dickinson "sent her whole Calvinist vocabulary into exile," notes Richard Wil-

bur, "telling it not to come back until it would subserve her own sense of things" (Wilbur: 9).

In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), W. E. B. du Bois identifies the African American experience of ongoing political marginalization as an exile; in Zora Neale Hurston's *The First One* (1927), a retelling of the story of Ham (Gen 9:20–27), this exile offers freedom from the constrictive culture of whites. "I was an exile long before I went away," explains James Baldwin (Baldwin/Mead: 220), whose *Go Tell it on the Mountain* (1953) is a partly fictionalized account of his formative years that draws widely from Revelation and the theological themes of original sin, banishment, and fall. Enduring "the pangs of separation of loved ones on the auction block," writes James Weldon Johnson, "the Negro seized upon Christianity, the religion of compensation in the life to come" (Callahan: 65). In "We are Stolen and Sold to Georgia," a slave song remembered by William Wells Brown, this hope is expressed through the biblical theme of jubilee (Brown: 51). To the beleaguered Celie in Alice Walker's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Color Purple* (1982), it is all that makes it possible to endure: "This life be over soon… Heaven last all ways" (Walker: 42).

Colonialism further complicates the experience of exile. For Rudyard Kipling in "Christmas in India" (1886), exile simply spells separation from the symbols of home:

> And at Home they're making merry 'neath the white and scarlet berry – what part have India's exiles in their mirth? (Kipling: 57)

But in Paul Scott's Booker Prize-winning *Staying On* (1977), a British couple remaining in India after the Independence find themselves living in exile in the only home they have known. And the young Israeli soldier clearing Palestinians from their settlements in S. Yizhar's 1949 *Khirbet Khizeh* is shocked to recognize that the catastrophe once experienced by his own people is now being inflicted on others by his own hand:

> Something struck me like lightening. All at once everything seemed to mean something different, more precisely: exile. This was exile. This was what exile was like. This was what exile looked like. (Yizhar: 104)

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Mark Brummitt

VIII. Music

Introduction. The musical reception of the biblical notion of exile is far-reaching and difficult to circumscribe since there is not only a musical reception of biblical narratives of exile but also much music concerned with (biblical) exile in a more metaphorical way where existential and psychological phenomena like alienation, loss of freedom, temptations, despair, remorse, as well as moral or religious struggle have been identified with a biblically inspired notion of exile. The basic human condition after the fall has been seen as an exile from Paradise. Within the Christian frame of mind the idea of pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*) or "spiritual journey" has accordingly been seen as an image of a religiously committed existence determined by a divine imperative and connected to such ideas of human existence as an exile from where one must strive to come back home to God.

An impressive summary of the thematic complex of exile is found in Peter Abelard's Vesper hymn *O quanta qualia* (How mighty are the Sabbaths), in particular str. 4 with the lines

> *Nostrum est interim*
> *mentes erigere*
> *Et totis patriam*
> *votis appetere*,
> *Et ad Jerusalem*
> *a Babylonia*
> *post longa regredi*
> *tandem Exilsilia*.
>
> But ours, with minds uplifted
> Unto the heights of God,
> With our whole heart's desiring,
> To take the homeward road,
> And the long exile over,
> Captive in Babylon,
> Again unto Jerusalem,
> To win at last return. (Waddel: 174–77)

From the 20th century, in a different genre, R. Vaughan Williams' opera *The Pilgrims Progress*, first performed in 1951, based on John Bunyan's allegorical work from 1678, represents a modern approach to the Christian pilgrimage theme developed within the composer's experiences inspired by biblical discourses on the exilic existence of man.

Possibly, Monteverdi's opera *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria* (Venice, 1639–40, libretto by Giacomo Badoaro), although it is non-biblical, based on the last part of Homer's *Odyssey*, and its action is kept within an entirely secular horizon, may have associated to biblically colored ideas of existential exile in its time, where Christian allegorizations played

a significant role as seen in a widely diffused mythological handbook by Natale Conti (1567), with numerous later editions also in the 17th century.

In the following, the discussion of the musical reception of the biblical notion of exile will be divided according to different biblical scriptures and topics: (1) The Babylonian exile; (2) Exile in the book of Psalms; (3) Isaiah and other HB/OT texts; (4) Exile in the NT. Finally, also (5) Exile as a *topos* in Romantic music.

1. The Babylonian Exile. Among musical settings that take up the fate of the Hebrews during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the oratorio *Nabucodnosor* (1706) by Attilio Ariosti (libretto R. M. Rossi), Reinhard Keiser's opera *Nebucadnezar. Der gestürzte und der erhöhte Nebucadnezar, König zu Babylon, unter dem grossem Propheten Daniel*, first performed at the Hamburg *Theater am Gänsemarkt* (1704; libretto by C. F. Hunold) and Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Nabucco*, libretto by Temistocle Solera, first performed at La Scala in Milan 1842 are important contributions.

In Verdi's opera the biblical history of the defeat of the Hebrew people, the destruction of Jerusalem and the tribulations and hopes in exile, and the prophecies of doom relating to these events, constitute the framework for a romantic plot, where quotations from the book of Jeremiah, although not set musically, introduce each of the four sections in the libretto. The choir of the Hebrew slaves "Va, pensiero, sull'ali dorate" (Go my thought on golden wings) is a musical highlight and very popular (3rd part, scene 2), echoing Ps 137 *By the rivers of Babylon*, a psalm text closely connected with the experience and memory of the Babylonian exile. In the opera, King Nebuchadnezzar is depicted not only as the arrogant adversary of God, who is responsible for the sufferings of the Hebrews, but also, and in line with elements in Christian interpretation history, as the penitent king, who ends by acknowledging the power of God, and as a result paves the way for the liberation of the oppressed and their return to the native land. The application of the biblical plot in Verdi's opera may be seen in the context of a political situation affected by the Austrian occupation of Italy, where the history of the Hebrews could serve as a point of identification for the audience.

The oratorio *Israel in Babylon*, a Handel pasticcio from 1765, compiled by Edward Toms, is a musical representation covering events at the end of the Babylonian exile under the reign of Darius. Here the edict of the Persian king Cyrus allowing the Hebrews to return to Jerusalem (quoted in Ezra 1 : 2–4 and 2 Chr 36 : 23), constitutes an important ingredient of the plot. This narrative is also taken up in Rossini's opera *Ciro in Babilonia* (1812) and further by Ludwig Spohr in his oratorio *Der Fall Babylons* (1842) with libretto by Edward Taylor.

The narratives in the book of Daniel also relate to the Babylonian exile. This musical reception is primarily treated under "Belshazzar V. Music" and "Daniel (Book and Person) VIII. Music," whereas the book of Esther concerns the exilic experience during the Persian regime and the development of strategies of survival represented by the figure of Esther. For the musical reception of Esther, see "Esther VII. Music."

Among musical settings of texts relating to the Babylonian exile, the recurrent and stylistically very varied compositions based on verses from the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, or *Threni*, that formed part of the so-called *Tenebrae* ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church at Matins in the *triduum sacrum*, i.e., the last three days of Holy Week, are especially interesting. In these compositions, the memory of and emotional and existential response to the exile in Lamentations reflecting mourning and suffering, but also confidence in God, became subject to a Christian re-contextualization that related them to basic experiences and insights evoked by the Passion of Christ concerning man's conditions and perspectives of life. The many musical settings of texts from Lamentations by prominent composers, Carlo Gesualdo, William Byrd, Palestrina, Orlande de Lassus, Couperin, and others, represent a notable contribution to the representation of religious emotions in Western European culture (see further "Lamentations, Book of VI. Music").

2. Exile in the Book of Psalms. From the point of view of music history, the book of Psalms, understood as Psalms of David (see also "David VIII. Music") have, due to their prominent status in Jewish devotions as well as in Christian liturgies and devotions, formed an important basis for musical mediations of the theme of exile, since this text corpus contains significant reflections on the historical experiences of exile within the people of Israel. One prominent psalm in this context, already mentioned, is Ps 137, "By the rivers of Babylon" (in the Vg. Ps 136 *Super flumina Babylonis*), which has been the object of notable musical interpretations through Western history, thus for instance in 16th-century Latin motets for four voices by Palestrina (1584) and Orlande de Lassus (1585) as well as, in a polychoral Baroque style, by Heinrich Schütz, in his *Psalmen Davids* (1619) no. 16, *An den Wassern zu Babel saßen wir und weineten*. Also, in the Romantic epoch, in Antonin Dvorak's *Biblické písně* ("Biblical Songs") – textually based on the sixteenth Bible of Kralice (1579–93,1613), no 7 (1898). In modern popular music, *Rivers of Babylon* (a textual paraphrase by Brent Dowe) was performed by the Rasta (Jamaican reggae) trio The Melodians in 1970, and by the vocal group Boney M in 1978, the recording of which, in both cases obtained extraordinary sales figures.

The theme of exile is also brought up in relation to the Egyptian exile and the Exodus, so for instance in Ps 114, "When Israel went out of Egypt"

(in the Vg. Ps 113, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*), which has been set in impressive works by for instance Vivaldi, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Bruckner. The context is also touched upon in Ps 136, "O give Thanks unto the Lord for he is good," in particular in vv. 10–16, also set magnificently twice in the polychoral style by Heinrich Schütz, in *Psalmen Davids* (1619), no. 11 and no. 23 (*Danket dem Herren, denn er ist freundlich*). A figurative application of the exile motif is displayed in Ps 119, "Happy are those whose way is blameless, who walk in the law of the LORD," where the ideas of the stranger, and of sojourn and peregrination in foreign regions, function as images of fallen man's homelessness in the world, cf. v. 19 "I live as an alien in the land…," or v. 54 "Your statutes have been my songs wherever I make my home." This imagery is closely connected to the idea of the "path" or "way," to be found also in several other psalms, pointing to the task of being constantly "en route" towards a spiritual goal beyond the coordinates of the present world, an attitude that is also reflected in the NT, for instance in Heb 11 : 13–16 and 13 : 14.

A remarkable musical interpretation of Ps 119 is displayed in Schütz' *Schwanengesang* from 1671, a varied setting of the entire text of the psalm (*Wohl denen, die ohne Wandel leben*). This text with its exile motif has been reinterpreted by the Protestant hymn writer Paul Gerhardt in his *Ich bin ein Gast auf Erden*, published in the composer J. G. Ebeling's edition of Gerhardt's *Geistliche Andachten* (1666) with settings in the cantional style. The hymn is a prominent application of the spiritual idea of pilgrimage and wandering, widely diffused in Christian hymn traditions and spiritual literature, pointing to a basic understanding of man's relation to the world: that of being in the world, but not of the world.

In Ps 39, "I said, I will guard my ways" (Vg. Ps 38, *Dixi, custodiam*), v. 12b reads, "For I am your passing guest, an alien, like all my forebears." Apart from the liturgical and devotional uses of the Psalm within the various Christian denominations, which have occasioned settings of different sorts, like for instance the anthem *Behold thou hast made my days* by the English early 17th-century composer Orlando Gibbons (based on the Book of Common Prayer), vv. 13–14 of the Vg. Ps 38 (= vv. 12–13 of the English Ps 39) constitute the textual basis of the first movement of Strawinsky's *Symphonie de Psaumes* ("Symphony of Psalms"; 1930) for mixed choir and orchestra.

The context of exile and pilgrimage can also be traced in the so-called songs of pilgrimage, which include the psalms that bear the title "Song of degrees" (Canticum Graduum), i.e., Pss 120–34 (Vg. Pss 119–33). These texts with their idea of "going up" to the temple of Jerusalem, expressing joy and confidence in God, have historically been perceived as hymns that were related to the return from the Babylonian exile, and they were also connected with the journey to Jerusalem at the pilgrim festivals prescribed in the HB/OT (cf. Exod 23 : 14–19; Deut 16 : 1–17). In Christian reception history these psalms became the point of departure for figurative or allegorical interpretations where the pilgrimage was transformed into an image of human life determined by an inner spiritual move from estranged existence, figured as "exile" or "Babylon," toward the goal of redemption in Christ, for which "Jerusalem" is applied as a symbol. This scheme has been developed in a variety of ways in Christian thought, notably by St Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, in particular with respect to the understanding of salvation history, and is reflected in devotional and liturgical practises. The musical interpretations of the Songs of degrees cover a long range of interpretations through the ages. Among these the setting of Ps 120 "In my Distress I cried unto the Lord" based on the Vg. version, Ps 119 *Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, with its theme of the sojourner in vv. 5–6, in a motet for eight voices by William Byrd (d. 1623) stands out.

Among important settings of the Songs of degrees are also Schütz' settings of Ps 121 from the Luther Bible, *Ich hebe meine Augen auf zu den Bergen* in his *Psalmen Davids* (1619) and in *Symphoniae Sacrae III* (1650), also set in the modern era as no. 9 of Dvorak's already mentioned Biblical Songs, as well as in a setting from 1943 for mixed choir by Zoltán Kodály. Ps 122 "I was glad" (Vg. Ps 121, *Laetatus sum*) appears in noteworthy settings in Monteverdi's *Vespro della beata Vergine* (1610) for six voices, by Schütz in *Psalmen Davids*, no. 5 *Ich freue mich des, das mir geredt ist*, and in Henry Purcell's *Coronation Anthem* in English (1685).

Psalm 126 "When the Lord restored the fortunes of Zion" (Vg. Ps 125, *In convertendo Dominus*), with a focus on the joy of being saved and the days of sorrow in the exile, has been taken up by 17th-century composers like J. H. Schein in his collection *Fontana d'Israel, Israelis Brünlein* (1623), and in Schütz' *Psalmen Davids* no. 21 as well as in his *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648), no.10, all settings centering in particular on vv. 5–6, "May those who sow in tears reap with shouts of joy, etc.," set in Luther's German version. This is also the case in Brahms' *Ein deutsches Requiem* (1865–68), where the same verses are interpreted in the opening section, and form part of a text constellation where the pilgrim or exile motif is articulated further, for instance through the expression of the pilgrim's longing for a dwelling place in God on the basis of Ps 84, "How lovely is your dwelling place, O LORD of hosts" in Part IV and by the application of Heb 13 : 14, " For here we have no lasting city…" in Part VI.

Ps 127, "Unless the Lord" (Vg. Ps 126, *Nisi Dominus*) was set by Monteverdi for 10 voices in his Ma-

rian Vespers, by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (c. 1670), and by Handel in a dramatic setting from 1707, all based on the Vg version. In Western music history, however, especially Ps 130 (also categorized as the sixth penitential psalm), "Out of the depths I cry to you, O Lord" (Vg. Ps 129, *De profundis clamavi ad te*) has given rise to prolific musical production since the Early Modern epoch including works like for instance Orlande de Lassus' *Psalmi poenitentiales Davidis* ("The Penitential Psalms"; 1584), and, based on the Luther Bible, also no. 4 in Schütz' *Psalmen Davids*, J. S. Bach's cantata no. 131 (1707–08), as well as Arnold Schoenberg's dodecaphonic setting for mixed *a capella* choir from 1950 of the Hebrew text.

3. Isaiah and other Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Texts. In the book of Isaiah, the Babylonian exile is an important point of departure for prophetic messages and proclamations that have a prominent position in the history of musical receptions of the Bible. In a Christian context, the so-called "second Exodus," chapter 40, and the Songs of the Lord's Servant (chs. 52–53) were assigned a figurative meaning pointing to the salvation fulfilled in Christ, including the Nativity and the Passion. Handel's oratorio *Messiah* (libretto Charles Jennens), first performed in 1742, is perhaps the most well-known interpretation of these texts (see also "Messiah"). From the German Baroque context Schütz' motet "Tröstet, tröstet mein Volk" from *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648), and Dietrich Buxtehude's (d. 1707) cantata *Fürwahr er trug unsere Krankheit* ("Truthfully, he bore our illness") represent important German Baroque contributions.

In both works the idea of exile is not thematized as such by the composers, it is rather present as a background for the musical representation of the Christian salvation message (see further, "Isaiah (Book and Person) VIII. Music").

The theme of exile is present also in a number of other sections of the Bible that have occasioned significant musical interpretations. Especially important in this context are the major narratives of Genesis, such as the narrative of the Fall and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, the account of Cain and Abel, where the fratricide is punished with the anathematizing of the malefactor, leading to his fate of being a "fugitive and vagabond" on earth. The musical reception of these narratives are mainly dealt with in "Adam (Person) IX. Music," "Adam and Eve, Story of VII. Music" and "Cain and Abel, Story of VIII. Music," and also in "Fall of Humankind VIII. Music."

The Jacob and Joseph narratives, the latter including the exile in Egypt, are relevant in this context too, as well as the Exodus, including the Moses narrative in the book of Exodus, see also "Jacob (Patriarch) VIII. Music," "Joseph (Son of Jacob) VIII. Music" and "Exodus, Book of VI. Music," as well as "Exodus, The VIII. Music," and "Moses X. Music."

Also, the narrative of Tobias from the apocryphal book of Tobit, developed on the background of the Assyrian exile in 7th century in Ninive, has attracted the attention of composers from various epochs. The plot of the book, drawing attention to the fears and sorrows of a life in exile and attesting to the virtue of the observance of Mosaic law, to divine providence and God's saving intervention has inspired several vocal compositions, so Matthias Weckmann's *Dialogo von Tobias und Raguel* (1665), as well as oratorios in the 18th century, most impressively Joseph Haydn's *Il ritorno di Tobia* (1774/74) (see "Tobit [Book and Person] Music").

4. Exile in the New Testament. Also settings of NT texts have contributed to the biblical notion of exile, for instance the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15 : 11–32) set by Charpentier in his dramatic motet or oratorio *Filius prodigus* (1680) and by Benjamin Britten in his *The Prodigal son: Third Parable for Church Performance* (first perf. 1968; libretto by William Plomer). In both cases the exile theme forms part of a narrative structure that may be viewed as a re-appropriation of the HB/OT approaches to the topic.

As already stated, from the point of view of Christian faith, the negative experience of sin implies a distancing of the Christian from the fallen world closely related to the eschatological dimension of the NT conception of salvation. Seen in this perspective, the numerous musical interpretations of various aspects of the incarnation or the passion of Jesus reflect the participation of Christ in and his overcoming of the exiled human existence. This includes musical representations of the figure of Christ, for instance, as homeless, marginalized, isolated, despised, a feature pointing not only to the conditions of salvation, but also to the consequences in relation to the world of following Christ in faith (see "Passion of Jesus V. Music").

5. Exile as a *topos* in Romantic Music. In the Romantic era the experience of exile became a current theme, significantly coming to the fore in music. A prominent example is Franz Schubert. In a number of his songs (Lieder) an awareness of alienation and homelessness breaks through. Among the motifs carrying this existential insight is the figure of the wanderer, who, put at a distance to society and social relations, moves through the world in search for a goal where meaning and fulfilment will be attained. Not least, in his song cycle *Die Winterreise* (1827) to poems by Wilhelm Müller, the wanderer motif and the idea of the journey as an image of human existence is applied in a way that seems to articulate a skepticism or nihilism as the wanderer in the end is left behind as a perpetual vagrant.

Although these poetical texts are framed within a romantic literary context of their own, they may be interpreted as a transplantation of a basically biblical idea of exile and its adjacent motifs into a

modern situation where the hope of salvation has become an illusion. That Christian religious imagination constitutes an important background for Schubert's musico-poetical achievement, seems, for instance, to be confirmed by the observation that the composer, in the poem *Das Wirtshaus* from *Winterreise* (no. 21 in the cycle) describing a cemetery as an inn where the wanderer in vain hopes to find rest, has used a melody for the vocal part that resembles the *Kyrie* from the Roman-Catholic *Requiem Mass*, thus indicating a comprehensive biblically informed context of meaning behind the music (Georgiades).

The idea of exile has been taken up in various other biblically related musical contexts in the 19th century: Richard Wagner's opera *Der fliegende Holländer* ("The Flying Dutchman," first perf. 1843), inspired (through H. Heine) by the legend of the Dutch mariner who was condemned to wandering about the seas until the day of judgment. Wagner himself considered in *Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde* (1851) the flying Dutchman as a mythical figure representing a fundamental character of human nature, a capacity it shares, according to Wagner, with the figure of Ulysses, and in the Christian context with the figure of Ahasverus, all pointing to the existential unrest and the longing for deliverance from this situation, see further "Ahasuerus V. Music".

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IX. Film

The idea of exile conjures associations including, but not limited to, displacement from one's home, alienation from one's identity and sense of place in the world, as well as loss of community or even basic connection to others. Moreover, within the biblical tradition that depicts a divine being who has promised a homeland and protection for a select people, exile raises questions about the reasons for loss of divine favor.

War films provide an obvious cinematic outlet for exploring the theme of exile. Movies such as *Schindler's List* (dir. Steven Spielberg, 1993) or *Hotel Rwanda* (dir. Terry George, 2004) serve as ready examples with their images of persons forced out of their homes and into ghettoes, refugee camps, death camps, or even the titular hotel. However, other film genres provide more compelling and insightful examinations of exile as a phenomenon or a state of being.

A film that captures the realities of exile to great effect, *The Road* (dir. John Hillcoat, 2009), adapts Cormac McCarthy's 2006 novel of the same name. Set in a post-apocalyptic world of unknown cause, a father and son struggle to survive in a bleak landscape literally crumbling and dying around them. In an environment with no food, no shelter beyond the temporary, and only occasional encounters with other survivors who must be constantly assessed for harmful intent, the road (or the exilic experience) becomes the only reality. Indeed, the transitory nature of all things, including one's identity, comes across most clearly in the fact that no one in the movie carries one of the most fundamental signs of human stability – a name, a marker of one's self.

The story examines the effect of such total displacement on the human psyche and draws an intriguing contrast between the father and his son. The man (Viggo Mortensen) remembers, in warm visual images, a time before when the sun shone, the trees bore leaves, his home with its street number and furnishings seemed secure, and he lived happily with his beautiful wife. Having known something other than exile, he bears the full burden of an unimaginable loss. For him, nothing of civilization remains. In his anger-fueled determina-

tion to protect himself and his son, he demonstrates an inability to form relationships or even relate civilly with any survivors encountered on the way. Only the boy represents anything meaningful to him because he comes from a place other than the current atmosphere of deprivation and pain. Indeed, the man discloses at the outset, "All I know is the child is my warrant. And if he is not the word of God, then God never spoke."

In contrast, his son knows only the present reality. Without memories of some ideal time before exile, he can still hold out a possibility of generating authentic connections and finds rapport with others along the way including a blind man, a desperate thief, and (ultimately, after his father's death) another family. He does not undergo the same sense of displacement, loss, and disconnection as his father because his identity developed on the road and the road *is* a home to him. More significantly, his embrace of the transitory nature of things allows him to experience loss differently. When leaving his father's body behind, he tells the dead man, "I'll talk to you every day, and I won't forget no matter what."

Many other films use "the road" to generate fearful prospects lurking in places not one's own. For instance, *Babel* (dir. Alejandro G. Iñárritu, 2006) and *Lost in Translation* (dir. Sofia Coppola, 2003) spin stories of persons confronting problems seemingly related to being away from their cultural commonplaces. In theory, 'home' might represent the ideal of a stable place that generates a secure sense of self and a web of established relationships. Yet, in these films, 'exile' signifies not so much removal from a given location, but rather the experience of living in a deeply alienated state. Exile becomes the revelatory key to understanding deficits and losses already present and to evoking an identity appropriate to the ever-changing nature of one's physical location and psychological state.

The father in *The Road* sums up this understanding as he dies. "If I were God," he intones, "I would have made the world just so, and no different. And so I have you. I have you." The relationship he develops with his son could not have emerged in any other context and so it is, for him, only in exile that he could experience the truest mark of his existence.

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Sandie Gravett

See also →Diaspora; →Exodus, The; →Ingathering of the Exiles

Existentialism

Many commentators on existentialism have noted the complex relationship between existentialism and religion. Jean-Paul Sartre acknowledged that there was a Catholic version of existentialism and several prominent thinkers identified as "existentialist" in the 1940s and 1950s were also avowedly "religious," including Gabriel Marcel (named by Sartre), Martin Buber, Rudolf Bultmann, Nikolai Berdyaev, and Paul Tillich. Nevertheless, Sartre argued that his own atheist version was more consistent (Sartre: 16–22). Yet the presence of powerful religious motives in existentialism's 19th-century forerunners, Kierkegaard and Dostoevsky (not to mention more remote figures such as Pascal and Luther), makes the question of this relationship unavoidable for any serious reflection on existentialism's origin, meaning, and fate in the context of the history of ideas. "Religion" is clearly not synonymous with "the Bible," but there is no doubt that the Bible – or a certain reading of a number of key biblical texts – played a key role in it.

That existentialist thought was essentially "biblical" was claimed by Lev Shestov (1866–1938, Fr.: Léon Chestov), an early existential thinker. Shestov's own book on *Kierkegaard and Existential Philosophy* (1936) was itself a milestone in the development of pre-Sartrean existentialism in France, not least with regard to the image of Kierkegaard it conveyed to the French scene. As with much else that Shestov wrote, it is arguable that the book tells us more about Shestov than about its supposed subject matter, but in any case it highlights how the Bible could be seen as playing a decisive role in the formation of existentialist thought. It was significant for Shestov's own understanding of this relationship that he first came across Kierkegaard in 1928 through meetings with Buber, Husserl, and Heidegger, and, fatefully, he began reading Kierkegaard more or less simultaneously with reading *Being and Time*. In both Kierkegaard and Heidegger he saw the clear influence of biblical thought, mediated in the case of Heidegger by such Kierkegaardian texts as *The Concept of Anxiety*. He rapidly reached the view that "Heidegger's whole book consists only of putting [Kierkegaard's] ideas into a Husserlian framework," and that these Kierkegaardian ideas were, in fact, biblical. *Being and Time*, far from being a genuine work of phenomenology, was, he asserted in a letter,

> … the attempt, under the flag of phenomenology, to smuggle something non-philosophical into the territory of philosophy, that is, the biblical account of the fall and of original sin. (Baranova-Shestova: 17)

We shall return to Heidegger and to the role of the Bible in the genesis of his early philosophy, but let us first focus on those biblical elements in Kierkegaard that Shestov saw as definitive for his bequest to the philosophy of existence. As the comment on Heidegger suggests, the Fall was a key issue. According to Shestov, Hegel epitomized the attitude of speculative philosophers through the ages, namely, that, in terms of the Genesis narrative, the