OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY AS DIVINATION: 
THE CASE OF ISAIAH 14:28-32

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(Received 01/02/2013; Revised 24/04/2013)

ABSTRACT

Comparative studies of ancient Near Eastern prophecy in recent years have focussed on the distinction between inductive forms of divination, such as extispicy and astrology, which involve the so-called “scholarly” interpretation of natural phenomena and non-inductive, or mediumistic, forms of divination, usually associated with various forms of shamanism, including prophecy. Using Isaiah 14:28-32 as a test case, this article questions the epistemological distinction between inductive and intuitive divination in the ancient Near East on the basis of recent anthropological theory that claims a combination of inductive, intuitive, and interpretive techniques wherever divination is practiced.

INTRODUCTION

Divination as a system of knowledge and belief, which maintains a symbolic universe where things happening on earth are believed to be managed by superhuman agents, is well documented in ancient Mesopotamia and the Levant (cf. Nissinen 2010b:341). The need for such a system that assumes the influence of gods and spirits in human affairs springs, of course, from the psychological need to address uncertainties in life (cf. Winitzer 2010:177). The purpose of divination is to become conversant with superhuman knowledge by eliciting answers beyond the range of human understanding. It is based on the assumption that a necessary amount of information is available to diviners whose role it is to act as intermediaries between the human and superhuman worlds (cf. Grabbe 2000:18; Petersen 2000:39). Ever since Plato’s praise
of divinely inspired knowledge based on madness (μανία) as opposed to women-like mechanical divinatory techniques (τεχνική) in his Φαίδρος (244a-245a; 370 BCE), it has become customary to theorise two main classes of divination, namely mediumistic (non-rational, inspirational, natural) and inductive (rational, systematic, artificial) (cf. Cicero, de divinatione 1.1.1-3; 44 BCE).

Prophecy is usually seen as a sub-type of the mediumistic kind of divination, since the divine word is seen to be received intuitively, probably in an altered state of consciousness (cf. Nissinen 2010b:343). As in the case of dreams and visions, the emphasis is on inspiration and possession, whereas other forms of divination, such as extispicy and astrology, involve the careful observation and scholarly interpretation of physical objects. However, distinguishing between inductive and intuitive divination involves epistemological categories of occidental origin that are of limited value to contemporary ethnographic descriptions of mantic practice (cf. Myhre 2006:313-330; Graw 2009:92-93). Tedlock (2006:68), for example, has argued that divination is best viewed as an integrative way of knowing that runs along a cognitive continuum stretching from rationcination to intuition. This article will attempt to demonstrate how inductive, intuitive, and interpretive narrative techniques are combined in the oracle against Palestine in Isaiah 14:28-32. In this oracle, imagined or real mechanical divinatory procedures seem to combine with visualisations and bursts of intuition that may be compared to ethnographic descriptions of shamanistic rituals in various contexts (cf. Tedlock 2001:189; Grabbe 2010:117-124).

TOWARDS A THEORY OF PROPHECY AS DIVINATION

The relationship between prophecy and divination in the ancient Near East has been a topic of much debate in recent research. This interest is partly attributable to improved knowledge, particularly of the two major corpora of Mesopotamian prophetic documents associated with the archives of the Old Babylonian state of Mari from the eighteenth century BCE and those of the Neo-Assyrian empire in Nineveh from the seventh century BCE (cf. Nissenen 2010a:3-4). Increased awareness of these texts, as well as other scattered evidence of prophecy in various parts of Mesopotamia from the twenty-first to the second century BCE, has led to a growing awareness of the notion that the biblical text demonstrates Near Eastern cultural roots of prophecy in Israel and Judah in various ways. For example, the durative nature of neo-Assyrian prophecies,
which were gathered in compilations for reinterpretation, is indeed comparable, at least in some ways, to prophecy in the Old Testament as a literary construct with a long history of reinterpretation (cf. Van der Toorn 2000:74; Halton 2009:50-61). It has been demonstrated that the contact between scribes and prophets became increasingly closer from the late pre-exilic period (cf. Schaper 2005:324-342). As the ones transmitting the prophetic traditions, the scribes continually re-contextualised original proclamations and assumed the personae of the prophets. Naturally, as a result of continual scribal editing, especially during the Second Temple period, the prophets were increasingly described as motivated by the Torah while other forms of divination were condemned as irrational idolatry. Still, the divinatory function of prophecy in the political decision-making of ancient Judean kings when the kingdom still existed seems to have been remembered long after the institution of kingship collapsed in Jerusalem (Nissinen 2010a:17). Evidence from Mesopotamia suggests that kings from this region, in addition to making use of other forms of divination, also consulted prophets to be informed about the origin and legitimacy of their kingship (Stökl 2012:113-116). Therefore, regardless of the origin and dating of prophetic texts from the ancient Near East one can still draw comparisons, such as the fact that prophecy played a central role in the Herrschaftswissen of kings (Pongratz-Leisten 1999).

However, there are distinct dangers when making use of comparative approaches. Nissenen (2010a:5) warns against goal-directed exploitations of ancient Near Eastern material that may lead to questionable claims. Biblical sources do not give the full picture of prophecy at any historical moment. What we do have in the Old Testament is dependent on the scribes of various ages who decided which prophecies were considered worth writing down. Biblical sources evidently cannot be used for historical reconstruction in the way that prophetic sources from Mesopotamia can be used for this purpose. Still, the unique nature of Old Testament prophecy does not preclude the possibility of its exploration in terms of anthropological models.

Grabbe (2010:117) correctly observes that Old Testament prophetic literature is usually studied as literature and theology while observations regarding the prophetic persona are of secondary interest. The uniqueness of Old Testament prophecy is commonly assumed and the idea of comparing the ancient Israelite prophet with other anthropological models, such as the spirit-medium or shaman, is met with a negative knee-jerk reaction. Yet, the potential value of anthropological investigations of shamanistic and related figures cannot be underestimated. Much can be gained by the
comparison of ethnographic descriptions of living figures with literary descriptions in the biblical text. Such comparisons may open up new possibilities for our understanding of the biblical picture and help us to break through our prejudices and assumptions. It needs to be remembered, however, that the idea of using anthropological models is not to impose a structure found in one cultural situation onto the biblical tradition, but rather to probe more deeply into the data of the Old Testament. No model necessarily occurs in real life and merely serves to interrogate reality, force us to read more closely, and hopefully notice forgotten details. Approaching ancient Israelite and Judahite prophecy as a form of divination comparable to contemporary shamanism, the goal of this paper is to question the common epistemological construal of ancient Israelite prophecy as a mediumistic form of divination that excluded inductive procedures.

In addition to polemics against mantic practices in the prophetic and wisdom literature (cf. Isa 19:3; 47:9-15; Jer 27:3f; 29:8f; Ez 21:26; Qoh 11:3-5), Deuteronomy 18:9-14 provides an extensive list of inductive divinatory techniques that were increasingly condemned by Priestly and Deuteronomic authors. These included necromancy (תָּשָׁל אָב, יִדְעָה, דָּרַשׁ אִלֶּה), aeromancy (מעסונת), sorcery (מכשף), augury (קסם), and omen observation (מנחש) (cf. Jeffers 1996:74-75; Hossfeld 2005:101-102). Schmidt (2002:245) argues that the language of Deuteronomy 18:9-14 supports the common notion that the Ämtergesetze contained in these verses constitutes a deuteronomistic composition. He (Schmidt 2002:254) suggests that the list comprises an ever expanding inventory of illicit ritual professions proscribed by the deuteronomistic redaction. In the deuteronomistic rhetorical polemic rituals that were not compatible with a specific strand of Yahwism were labelled “Canaanite” to be associated with pre-exilic antagonisms in the land, while acceptable practices, such as prophecy, were sanctioned as part of Israelite religion (Schmidt 2002:257-258). In view of the fact that divination is invariably brought into line with existing authority structures, Cryer (1994:327) has suggested that the deuteronomistic and Priestly strictures against certain forms of divination should not be understood as a blanket prohibition against the practice of divination, but rather as a means of restricting the practice to the central cult figures that were entitled to employ it. The plethora of references to all the main genres of divination known from Mesopotamia and the ancient Near East in the deuteronomistic and post-deuteronomistic literature suggests that these were not banned at an early stage as the biblical text would have us believe,
but that they were actually practiced by the people throughout the history of ancient Israel (Cryer 1994:326). In this way, ancient Israel was similar to any magic-using society studied by modern social anthropologists. Further, the so-called “technical” divination was not restricted to the priestly office as the texts in their present state attempt to suggest (Cryer 1994:325). Prophets, too, will certainly have made use of inductive mantic practices, as a considerable number of passages allow us to infer, including the oracle against Palestine recounted in Isaiah 14.

**PROPHECY AS DIVINATION: THE CASE OF ISAIAH 14:28-32**

Much research has been done on the theological and literary nature of the oracles against the nations in Isaiah. Identified as a נַֽעַר הָעֵמֶק (v. 28), the oracle against Palestine is to be regarded as a reinterpretation of a prophecy that over time became problematic in some way (Floyd 2005:422). Such reinterpretations served as the basis for making prophetic claims about Yahweh’s present involvement in human affairs. Further, the text seems to echo the voice of the final editor of the book, called the “Fourth Isaiah” by Croatto (2005:161), who affirms the liberation and return of the different Judean diasporas, while the nations, on the contrary, would receive the negative lot of the reversal of fortunes (cf. Hambourg 1981:158). This would place the oracle at the end of the oracy/literacy continuum. Also, the oracle includes most of the formal elements identified by Geyer (1986:143) as distinctive features of several oracles against the nations in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, namely, a superscription (14:28), destruction (14:29-30), lamentation (14:31), flight (14:31), and Yahweh (14:32).

The undifferentiated use of the term “oracle” to include the readings from omen books and extispicy reports, as well as “inspired prophecy” as described in the Old Testament, has blinded biblical scholars to the important witness of the latter type of material from the neo-Assyrian archives. This corpus provides an important parallel to the supposedly distinctive Israelite oracular tradition, closer than the Mari oracles on account of their proximity in time. However, the assumption that ancient Israelite and Judahite prophecy was of a purely non-inductive nature, to be contrasted with other forms of divination that constituted the “scholarly” interpretation of omens (cf. Nissinen 2000:108; 2010a:15; Wyatt 2007:485-486) seems questionable. The fact that oracular information was commonly gathered at sacred sites, metaphorically referred to as “trees” and “stones” in ancient Israel and Ugarit (cf. Wyatt 2007:498), does not
exclude the possibility that products made from trees, such as rods, were used inductively in the prophetic interpretation of omens and the practice of sorcery. In view of contemporary anthropological theory, it is to be expected that the practice of the oracle in ancient Israel and Judah included inductive, intuitive, and interpretive techniques, just as the extispicy reports of ancient Mesopotamia were not restricted to so-called “empirical” analyses of natural phenomena, but included intuitive interpretations based on the erudition and imagination of the diviner (cf. Frahm 2010:132; Noegel 2010:143).

The mediumistic and intuitive nature of Isaiah’s oracle against Palestine can hardly be questioned. In verse 29 the prophetic/ scribal imagination results in the cognitive construction of what seems to be a mythological flying serpent: “Do not rejoice, all you Palestinians, because the rod (שבט) of him that struck (נכה) you is broken – for out of the serpent’s (נחש) root a viper (צפע) will go forth, and his fruit will be a flying serpent (שרפ מעופף).” Owing to the fact that the flying serpent is listed with other deadly animals associated with the desert in Isaiah 30:6 some scholars have identified this snake as a real life creature (cf. Wiseman 1972:108-110; Woetzel 2006:241-250). However, this ophidian monster is most probably to be ascribed to what Trout (2011:142-144) has called the tragedy of the imagination – the fact that human beings are able to imagine creatures more dangerous than actually existed. In this respect one is reminded of the serpent-bird mentioned in the Balaam inscription, as well as the winged ophidian deities depicted in the iconography of ancient Egypt and Palestine (cf. Wilkinson 1841:45, 81; De Jong 2007:78). Of specific interest to the present argument, however, is the association of arboric and theriomorphic elements in the prophetic imagination (cf. Murison 1905:122; Fullerton 1926:87), which may point to an inductive use of batons in the practice of the oracle.

Translators and interpreters of the oracle against Palestine have been intrigued by the prominence of the botanical imagery in verse 29 that seems to compete with the repeated references to poisonous snakes and the flying serpent. Apparently in an attempt to relieve the text of this stylistic difficulty, the Septuagint renders the “root of the serpent” (שרש נחש) with “seed of the serpent” (σπέρματος ὄυεων). Although it may be argued that the original metaphor in “root” had died out and became a pure synonym for source or origin, the reference to “fruit” militates against such an interpretation by suggesting that the botanical metaphor is carried out to the end (cf. Fullerton 1926:87). Rod, root, and fruit evidently belong together. The combination of
botanical and ophidian imagery need not surprise, especially in view of the numerous iconographic representations of ancient Near Eastern deities holding snakes instead of staves or sceptres (cf. Keel 1997:82, 242, 287, etc.). Also, biblical tales recounting the supposed metamorphosis of prophetic staves into serpents, such as in Exodus 4:4, testifies to a conceptual link between the rod as ritual object and the revered ophidia in the minds of the ancient Israelites. The question remains, however, whether the prophet made inductive use of a rod in this oracle that can best be described as the ritual curse of an adversary.

There is no scarcity of material and textual evidence for the practice of sympathetic magic in the ancient Near East (cf. Goff 1956; Jeffers 1996). The ritual destruction of enemies based on the principle of analogy was common practice. So, for example, Gideon and his mob would destroy clay pots ritually and symbolically representing the enemy before undertaking their military campaign (cf. Jdg 7:19; cf. Seow 1999:232). Sometimes the utterance of an oracle against an enemy could be accompanied by symbolical or divinatory acts associated with an attempt to gain victory (cf. Hayes 1968:83). In 2 Kings 13:14-19 the prophet Elisha cooperates with king Joash in the performance of omen-producing activities against Aram. With the prophet’s hands resting on his, the king shot an arrow through an open window in the direction of Aram. With the arrow in flight, Elisha pronounced an oracle of victory over Aram. Similarly, it is likely that the prophet made use of an actual staff in the inductive, ritual defeat of the enemy in the oracle under discussion. Although the reference to the broken staff may be interpreted as a metaphor for some calamity that struck an external enemy of the Philistines, the possibility that the prophet wielded a real staff in his cursing of Palestine cannot be excluded. Various textual references suggest that rods, especially furnished from fruit-bearing trees, were favourite objects in the practice of the oracle. Thus, for example, the story of Aaron’s budding almond staff, although evidently invented to support Levite authority, serves as an example of how the ancient Israelites may have used rods to obtain oracular information (cf. Num 17:23-26).

As a symbol of life and representing various deities in the ancient Near East, trees were commonly used in the practice of divination (cf. Jeffers 1996:181; Giovino 2007:129-136). Rooted in the soil and reaching into the sky they were regarded as the link between heaven, earth, and the underworld (cf. Jeffers 1996:181). The notion that diviners consulted the tree numina in ancient Israel is suggested by such names as אלון.
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“oak of the teacher” (Gen 12:6) and “oak of the diviners (Judg 9:37).” However, Hosea 4:12 serves as the locus classicus of dendromancy and rhabdomancy in the Old Testament: “My people ask counsel from (שאלו) their trees (עץ) and their rods (מקל) declare to them.” The exact methods of tree and rod divination remain a mystery. It would seem as though simple events and phenomena, such as rustling of leaves in the wind (2 Sam 5:24ff), or even the shadow of trees (Judg 4:4f) may have offered natural means by which the divine will would have been determined. Interestingly, the budding of twigs were interpreted as an ill-portending omen in ancient Israel (cf. Num 17:23; Isa 27:6; Ezek 7:10; Ps 92:8). Of special interest in this regard is Ezekiel 7:10-11, where the prophet uses a botanical analogy whose meaning was lost within a few centuries of the oracle’s delivery: “The rod (מטה) blossomed (ציץ), insolence budded (פרח), violence (חמס) rose (קום) into a rod of wickedness (רשע”). Unable to make sense of the image of violence rising up into a rod of wickedness, the Septuagint renders the phrase: καὶ σσντρίψει στήριγμα ἀνόμοσ, “And he will shatter the support of the lawless.” Block (1997:255) has suggested a link between this passage and the story of Aaron’s budding staff in Numbers 17:23, which is strengthened by the parallel use of the verbs ציץ and פרח in both texts. Failing to note how the Israelites dreaded the Aaronic staff (cf. Num 17:27-28), he regards the connection between these texts as obscured by the fact that in Numbers the budding of the staff merely served as a sign of Aaron’s election.

At first the association of blooming twigs with the notion of doom may seem to defy logic. However, it starts to make sense when one considers the fact that traditionally summertime represented the period of Death’s (موت) reign in ancient Palestine (cf. Seow 1999:224). While in other geographical regions summer may be a season of growth and abundance, in ancient Israel it was conceptually linked with drought and tropical illnesses (cf. Keel 1997:79). Thus, a basket of summer fruit (כלוב קיץ) can be interpreted by the prophetic imagination as a symbol for destruction (קץ, Am 8:2). The almond tree, as the tree that usually blossoms earliest in spring, served as an icon for the ascendance of Death and was therefore a favourite choice when it came to the furnishing of ritual instruments for the practice of black magic. Thus, the Judean prophets in covenant with Death are referred to with the label “men of the almond magic” (לוץ) in Isaiah 28:22 (cf. Godbey 1923:97). Also, when Jeremiah has a vision of an almond staff (מקל שקד), we are to interpret it as an object used in the practice of noxious magic (cf. Sauer 1966:56-61). Despite the deuteronomistic
condemnation of the practice of sorcery and divination, it would be naïve to assume that the esteemed prophets of ancient Israel did not make use of rods taken from fruit-bearing trees themselves in the ritual destruction of enemies. Although archaeological evidence for the ritual use of rods in ancient Syria-Palestine is limited to sceptres and sceptre-heads representing animal deities or plants associated with various deities made from durable material such as ivory and bronze (cf. Joines 1968:246; Van der Toorn 1989:83-94; Lemaire 1981:236-239), the broken rod referred to in Isaiah 14:29 need not be regarded as a mere metaphor. It seems reasonable to conclude, against the background of the cosmology described in the Old Testament, that the prophet wielded an actual rod that he intuitively associated with the destructive forces of summer, such as famine (רעב) and burning smoke ( עשן; cf. Hayes 1968:88). This latter image accords with the prophet’s invocation of the aerial poisonous snake proceeding from the rod to strike Palestine. From a psychological perspective the oracle describes a typical progression in which the prophet, or scribe assuming the person of the prophet and using Palestine as a Deckname for an imagined personal enemy in a later context, integrates his shadow into a higher, divine self in a process of apotheosis, thereby believing himself capable of magically and ritually destroying his adversary (cf. Stephen 1996:84). Graw (2009:92-109) recently emphasised the need to focus on the agency of the diviner rather than merely describing the techniques employed in the ritual process. This proves to be of particular importance to an appreciation of prophecy as divination in Isaiah’s oracle against Palestine, as well as in other biblical accounts, such as Zechariah 11:10-11, for example, where Zechariah cutting, or breaking (גדע) his staff is interpreted by the people as a “word of Yahweh” himself.

CONCLUSION

Drawing on material from various cultures, Tedlock (2006:62-77) has demonstrated that the practical mastery implied by the divinatory arts usually combines mechanical procedures with sudden bursts of intuition. When considering the oracle against Palestine in Isaiah 14:28-32 as it has been transmitted, the text hints at a combination of inductive, intuitive, and interpretive actions on the part of the prophet. Rather than merely imagining a blossoming rod and intuitively relating it to mythological images of death, the prophet, in all probability, inductively utilised such a baton in the practice of the oracle against Palestine. In this way, the text focuses attention on the
agency of the prophet in the practice of an inductive form of divination.

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