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The Pulse

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icipated in a verbal intermediate activity, and completed a test of free recall. The results of the independent samples' t test were significant, with non-note-takers recalling more nonsense syllables on average than note-takers. Within the context of working memory theory, these results suggest that the cognitive effort involved in note-taking, the lack of review, and the novelty of the presented information collectively diminished the positive effects of note-taking on recall.

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The trauma of September 11, 2001, will remain a vivid memory for those old enough to remember hearing or seeing the events. What most people do not realize, however, is that the images and stories of those events are not the only results of the terrorist attacks. We as Americans view the attacks from the victim's point of view, but what about those on "the other side?" This paper discusses the effects the 9/11 attacks had on those with an Islamic or Middle Eastern background by analyzing how President Bush created an enemy of not only al-Qaeda, but also any person associated with their race, culture, and religion. This paper presents the harmful attitude the former President instilled in the nation at a time of crisis.

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FOREWORD

On behalf of the entire staff, we are proud to present the Spring 2013 edition of *The Pulse*. Submissions for this volume totaled a record-breaking sixty-one papers. Our editors worked long and hard during the review process and were impressed with the high caliber of the papers submitted for consideration. The excellence of the submissions was cause for passionate discussion as we made our final selections for this issue, but we are exceptionally grateful to have had such an outstanding group of papers from which to choose. Will Barnes' paper offers an excellent exegesis of Caravaggio's *The Sacrifice of Isaac* from within the Christian tradition. We are glad to be publishing a paper by Amy Freeman for a second time. Her paper on how the Hebraic concept of *avodah* is expressed afresh in *The Rule of St. Benedict* is an outstanding piece, matching the excellence of her previous contribution. Of particular relevance to students, among others, is Kassidy Knighten's piece on the effects of note-taking on memory and recall, a paper which falls under the category of social sciences and statistics. Katy Mason turns our attention to the topic of Islamophobia in the Bush era, presenting an insightful commentary on a still-relevant issue. Finally, David Wiseman's paper, meticulous in both its research and analysis, offers a new lens through which to read the book of Jeremiah.

We owe the success of this semester's submission recruitment to our excellent Public Relations staff, led by Lauren Krieg; and the double-blind evaluations would not have been possible without the faithful work of our Secretary, Katie Horton. Dale Price is responsible for more work on this publication than we can imagine, having formatted and digitized each paper with the help of the IT Staff. Finally, Vanessa Wyns, our artistic director, designed the beautiful cover art for this edition. We are, as always, thankful for the diligence, patience, and good humor of our editors, who have thrown themselves at this project with abandon. *The Pulse* is published under the auspices of Baylor's Honors College, whose Dean, Dr. Thomas Hibbs, has been and continues to be a great friend to our journal. Our greatest ally in this endeavor is our Faculty Sponsor, Dr. Jeff Hunt, whose support and guidance are invaluable.

However proud we may be of the work that *The Pulse's* staff has done this year, we cannot and will not forget that the groundwork for what we have accomplished was laid long before any of the current staff even arrived at Baylor. In many ways, the success of this journal is the legacy of Dr. Susan Colón, who passed away in June of 2012. Dr. Colón revived *The Pulse* after it had lain dormant for a number of years, and poured much of her time, energy, and enthusiasm into supporting and guiding the journal in its second expression. The continued existence and success of *The Pulse* testify not only to Dr. Colón's excellent leadership, but also to her desire to see the journal belong to the student body. She equipped the student leaders in her care to tend to *The Pulse* and to be good stewards of its mission. They, in turn, were able to do the same for their successors, and we hope to carry on that tradition. We owe much to Dr. Susan Colón, and we would like to dedicate this edition to her memory, with our gratitude.

Joy Freemyer
President

Wylie Wyman
Chief Editor

HONORING DR. SUSAN COLÓN

In this edition of *The Pulse*, we honor the memory of Dr. Susan Colón, whose many years of service as faculty sponsor greatly shaped the journal and made being part of its staff a joy and a pleasure. I did not personally have the privilege of knowing Dr. Colón very well, but in my interactions with her, her devotion to the Baylor community, her humble demeanor, and her attentiveness to everyone who surrounded her were apparent. The cover of this edition of *The Pulse* is my drawn rendition of Sir Edward John Poynter's painting *The Prodigal Returns*. This painting appeared on the cover of Dr. Colón's book *Victorian Parables*. I chose to reinterpret the cover of Dr. Colón's book because I wanted to honor both her and her work. Not only was she a dedicated faculty sponsor to *The Pulse*, she was also a distinguished scholar, engaging teacher, and devout Christian. I hope that when looking at the cover you are reminded of Dr. Colón and all of her work here at Baylor.

Vanessa Wyns
Artistic Specialist

This paper analyzes Caravaggio's Sacrifice of Isaac, arguing that Caravaggio's portrayal of the story deviates from the biblical narrative. Through an examination of the figures of the angel, Abraham, and Isaac, Caravaggio's problematic interpretation of Scripture is revealed. Comparison of representations of the same encounter in early Christian art along with Rembrandt's portrayal of the event further elucidates Caravaggio's disregard for Scriptural accuracy in favor of his naturalistic technique.

Caravaggio's *The Sacrifice of Isaac*

Will Barnes

The *Sacrifice of Isaac* by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573-1610) is indisputably striking, both technically and thematically.¹ Thought to have been completed in 1603 for Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the painting, an illustration of Genesis 22:1-19, highlights Caravaggio's naturalistic technique and superb attention to detail.² Mina Gregori, in her description of the painting, points out the skill with which he captures "the impetuous, twisting pose of Abraham" as well as the patriarch's "knotted cloak" and "aged, peasant's hands."³ The painting is admittedly impressive. The grim expression of the knife-wielding Abraham is balanced by the forceful rebuke of the angel. However, both figures are outweighed by the terrorized expression of the nude Isaac, who is both the most powerful and the most troubling feature of the painting. Caravaggio's representation of Isaac is certainly in contention with the biblical narrative. In the Genesis account, Isaac is not the unwilling victim of a vengeful father scolded by an angelic figure. In fact, quite the opposite is true, but for a painter who "recognized no other master than the model," it seems these inconsistencies are irrelevant.⁴ Caravaggio, a man who "had a troubled and quarrelsome nature," sought to paint his interpretation of the account, portraying his perception of these biblical characters with only nature as his guide.⁵ Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, the interpretation that he offers is vexing at best and heretical at worst. In his *Sacrifice of Isaac*, Caravaggio

reveals a very problematic interpretation of Scripture through an ambiguous use of traditional iconographical elements. The first part of this paper will look at how his depiction of the angel shows a very physical and hostile portrayal of the Divine. The second part of this paper will discuss how Abraham's reaction to the angel's rebuke reveals a distorted understanding of Abraham's character in Scripture. The third part of this paper will consider how Caravaggio's representation of Isaac as the unwilling participant robs the image of its Christological significance. Comparisons to Rembrandt's portrayal of the same event will also be made in an effort to highlight Caravaggio's deviations from the biblical account.

Caravaggio's depiction of the angel in this work reveals an earthly and menacing interpretation of the Divine. To adequately address this problem, it is important first to return to the biblical text from which it is taken. Genesis 22:11 states that, just as Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac, "the angel of the LORD called to him from heaven, and said, 'Abraham, Abraham!'"⁶ This verse highlights a subtle yet extremely important feature of Caravaggio's work. The angel in the painting is clearly standing next to Abraham and physically restraining him. He is not a voice calling from heaven but instead a very human-like figure on the earthly plain. This is most definitely a relationship "described in human rather than supernatural terms."⁷ In representing the intervening angel in this way, Caravaggio lessens the presence and power of the Divine. For the painter, the "angel of the LORD" is not a transcendent voice reaffirming Abraham's faith in God but rather a physical force that restrains the patriarch from killing his son.

This entirely physical representation of the angel by Caravaggio is very much in contrast with depictions of this same scene in early Christian art. In particular, two Roman sarcophagi from the fourth century include depictions of the sacrifice of Isaac. In both instances a single disembodied hand reaches down from above to instruct Abraham not to sacrifice his son. A similar representation is seen in the mosaic in the presbytery of San Vitale in Ravenna: a hand reaches down from the clouds just as Abraham is poised to kill Isaac. Such depictions preserve the sanctity of the Divine while at the same time displaying His power. These early artists, seeking to point the viewer toward Scripture, did not need to show the angel explicitly. For the viewer of the sarcophagi or the worshipper in San Vitale, the lone hand was enough to remind them of God's power. Gregory of Nyssa referred to this type of representa-

tion in early depictions of the sacrifice as a “divine voice,” an image that is certainly in contrast with Caravaggio’s pseudo-angelic restraint.⁸ These examples of early Christian art reflect an adherence to the text and a desire to preserve the mystery of God. By physically manifesting the angel in this way, the painter shows a clear disregard for traditional representation in favor of his naturalistic technique.

Additionally, it is important to consider the posture of the angel in Caravaggio’s *Isaac*. Upon looking at the painting, the angel’s right arm plays a prominent role in the action and it is here that the painter’s naturalistic technique is very apparent. The angel’s grip is forceful and restraining and most emphatically not a “divine voice.” The very fact that Caravaggio feels the need to represent the interruption in such a way reveals a distorted view of the scene. God’s voice alone was not enough to stop Abraham from sacrificing his son, and so the physicality of the angel’s grip enters in. Looking to another example of Caravaggio’s work, one can see that the action of the angel here is “similar to that of the executioner in the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*.”⁹ This work, most likely completed around the same time as *Isaac*, depicts a scene in which, amongst a crowd of people, an executioner is poised over St. Matthew, grasping his arm. Caravaggio’s excellent use of *chiaroscuro* highlights the executioner’s physical features and allows the viewer to see how similarly this outstretched arm is to that of the angel in *Isaac*. This resemblance is clearly problematic. By using like gestures, Caravaggio is connecting a biblical account of obedience and sacrifice to a scene described by Gregori as a “grave violent deed with no cathartic outlet.”¹⁰ This furthers the ambiguity of the angelic figure. The hand reaching from the heavens has now become the arm that doles out death. While physical strength is emphasized with this image, the divinity that was present in those early Christian images is now missing. This calls into question whether the angel even has the power to stop Abraham from performing the sacrifice. The “angel of the LORD” has been recast as the earthly executioner, a change that leaves the viewer uncertain of the strength of this divine figure.

Contrastingly, Rembrandt, in his work *Sacrifice of Isaac*, adheres to a more biblical and less brutal interpretation. Like Caravaggio, Rembrandt chooses to represent the “angel of the LORD” as a physical being rather than a hand reaching down from the clouds. However, unlike Caravaggio, Rembrandt places his angel clearly above Abraham so that he is forced to look upward at the angel rather than laterally

as Caravaggio's Abraham does. This physical hierarchy places the angel more clearly in a place of power over Abraham, assuring the viewer that the angel will stop the sacrifice. This comparison reveals how problematic Caravaggio's interpretation is. While at first his angel may seem like a welcome interruption in the sacrifice of Isaac, the viewer is later left wondering whether Caravaggio means to ascribe any divinity at all to the figure, excluding the "hint of wing at the edge of the canvas."¹¹ This overall ambiguity ascribed to the angel ultimately results in a weak and confusing interpretation of divine power in the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac.

In addition to the ambiguous angelic figure, the response of Abraham to the rebuke shows a distorted understanding of Abraham's character in Scripture. Caravaggio's composition draws the viewer's eye directly to the interaction between the angel and Abraham. As previously mentioned, this is not a calling from heaven but rather a physical restraint and Abraham's expression reflects this. Still grasping the knife and restraining Isaac, he looks laterally and maintains a look of "incomprehension, even indifference."¹² Here, the painter is rejecting the idea of a fearful Abraham, suggesting that his verbal response to the Divine is farther from "Here I am" and closer to "What do you want?" In doing so, the artist is entirely omitting a key point from this biblical scene: Abraham's obedience. Concerning the sacrifice of Isaac, St. Augustine in *The City of God* writes, "Abraham was tempted about the offering up of his well-beloved son Isaac, to prove his pious obedience" and that "when the divine commandment thundered, it was to be obeyed not disputed."¹³ Two important concepts can be drawn from Augustine's view of the sacrifice. The first is that the purpose of God asking Abraham to perform such an act was to show Abraham's obedience. That is the role that the account plays in the Old Testament, and it demonstrates how Abraham has gone from doubting God prior to the birth of Isaac to being willing to sacrifice his only son in order to submit to His will. The second key point is Augustine's clear insistence that God's command was obeyed without question.

Caravaggio's depiction of Abraham is in clear contrast with Augustine's view, as reflected in the patriarch's facial expression. Caravaggio has not rendered a man submitting to the Divine but rather one who is disputing the angel's authority. However, it is not just his expression but the direction of his gaze as well that is troubling. The biblical account explains how after the angel instructs Abraham not to

sacrifice Isaac, "Abraham looked up and saw a ram caught in the thicket by its horns."¹⁴ Caravaggio, however, chooses to illustrate Abraham as still fixated on the angel who has just appeared and not yet noticed the ram. This choice adds ambiguity to the depiction of Abraham and makes the viewer question whether he will notice the ram at all. Here Caravaggio adds to the suspense of the painting by leaving the fate of Isaac uncertain, and, as a result, Abraham's obedience, as determined by the biblical text, is distorted.

Another element of Caravaggio's depiction of Abraham that deserves consideration is the knife that Abraham brandishes. Biblically, this is a symbol of the sacrifice, but Caravaggio uses it as an instrument to imbue his work with suspense and violence. This in turn casts Abraham as perturbed and disobedient rather than pious and merciful. Caravaggio depicts the moment before Abraham has put aside the knife, a choice that results in an ambiguous depiction that calls into question whether the knife will be put down at all. By choosing "to illustrate the most brutal moment in the story," the painter makes the sacrifice more about the knife poised to kill rather than the waiting ram that God has provided.¹⁵ This implicit violence suggests other sources for Caravaggio's work as well. Sergio Benedetti, in discussing classical and religious influences in Caravaggio's work, comments that a Roman sarcophagus representing the *Revenge of Orestes* had a significant impact on at least four of Caravaggio's works, including *Isaac*. He points out that the painter found influence in "the episode of Orestes slaying Aegisthus," which includes Orestes raising a knife above a helpless Aegisthus, and that in the case of this painting, "the raging action of the hero was adjusted to represent Abraham."¹⁶ Considering this influence helps to explain the problematic representation. Orestes, son of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, kills his mother's lover, Aegisthus, as well as his mother, in an act of revenge. In modeling the figure of Abraham after that of the knife-wielding Orestes on the sarcophagus, Caravaggio is casting Abraham as a vengeful killer rather than a merciful father. In doing so he deviates wildly from the biblical tradition, robbing Abraham of his obedience and piety once more.

An ambiguous depiction of the patriarch does not persist in all representations of the sacrifice of Isaac. The face of Rembrandt's Abraham reflects awe and relief at the presence of the angel and the interruption. Rather than hinting at disobedience, Abraham's face suggests a reverence for the angel and an understanding of his presence.

This is further reflected in Rembrandt's depiction of the knife. It is clear that this is not the sinister blade of Caravaggio but instead an instrument with a rounded tip that reflects the Jewish sacrificial rite of cutting across the throat of the sacrifice instead of stabbing it.¹⁷ Rather than interject unnecessary violence into his interpretation of the event, Rembrandt chooses to adhere to biblical tradition. This results in a portrayal of Abraham as one who is obedient to Jewish custom rather than the patriarch eager to kill his son to satisfy an angry deity. Of equal importance to the shape of the knife is its placement within the painting. Rembrandt depicts the moment in which the angel grasps Abraham's arm "with such violence that the knife falls from the old man's hand."¹⁸ The action of Abraham in this case clearly indicates his obedience: the angel has spoken and Isaac is spared. This is not so true in Caravaggio's depiction where Abraham continues to brandish the knife following the angel's admonishment. Comparison with Rembrandt's work reveals Caravaggio's interpretation to be overtly violent and opposed to the Genesis 22 narrative. By leaving the knife in Abraham's hand, his very obedience, the principle that the biblical account seeks to reinforce, is called into question. As can be seen, the portrayal of Abraham's response to the angel in Caravaggio's *Isaac* reveals a misunderstanding of Abraham's piety and obedience as reflected in the biblical tradition.

In addition to the troubling portrayal of Abraham, Caravaggio's interpretation of Isaac as an unwilling victim deprives the image of its traditionally Christological significance. Looking to the text, parallels between this event in Genesis and that of the crucifixion are hard to ignore. In the biblical account, God commands Abraham to take his only son, whom he loves, and offer him as a burnt offering on a mountain in Moriah.¹⁹ In response to God's command, "Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it on his son Isaac."²⁰ St. Augustine, commenting on the passage, notes, "Isaac also himself carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he was to be offered up, just as the Lord Himself carried His own cross."²¹ However, it is not Isaac who is sacrificed, but instead, as Genesis 22:13 states, the ram which the Lord provided. Isaac himself then is not a metaphorical representation of Christ. Rather, the whole scene serves as a prefiguring of the crucifixion, acting as "the prototype of Jesus' self-sacrifice on the cross."²² In contrast, Caravaggio's Isaac does not reflect this same Christological

significance. This is evidenced both by the physical positioning of the figure of Isaac within the painting as well as his facial expression which Caravaggio so graphically depicts.

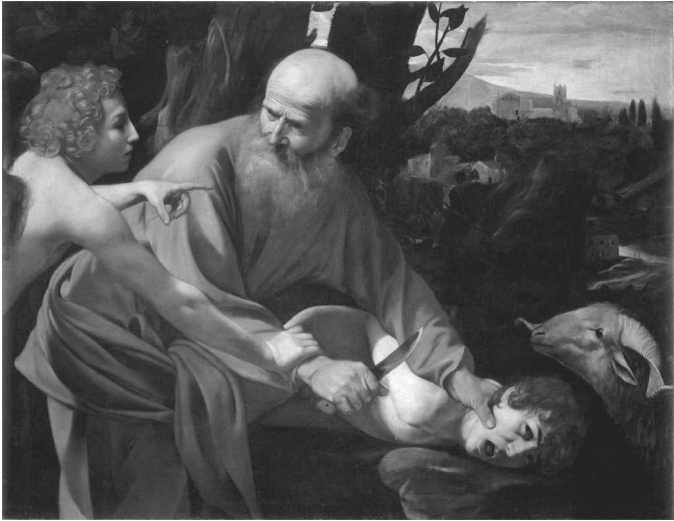
The violent and brutal nature of Caravaggio's technique is made most manifest in the physical placement of Isaac. Abraham, towering over his son in size, grips the back of Isaac's head forcefully and presses it against the altar. This restraint suggests unwillingness on Isaac's part. For the sacrifice to occur, he must not only be bound but also forcibly restrained. If Caravaggio wanted to depict Isaac as a willing participant, the physical submission would not be so overt. In contrast, the mosaic in San Vitale shows a fully clothed Isaac who, while his hands are bound (so as to adhere to the biblical account), kneels calmly on the altar as Abraham places one hand on his son's head and raises the knife with the other. Here, a submissive and willing Isaac is depicted, a representation that is certainly in contrast with Caravaggio's Isaac who is "pinned down, his father's weight holding him in place."²³ In Caravaggio's portrayal, the viewer is given the impression that, provided the opportunity, Isaac certainly would escape from his father. Unlike Augustine's reading of Genesis 22, this is not a prefiguring of Christ being led willingly to the cross. Instead, Isaac's physical positioning is a portrayal of Abraham's power over his helpless son, the result of Caravaggio's unsettling and unbiblical take on the narrative.

As the viewer's eyes are drawn down diagonally from the faces of Abraham and the angel to the face of Isaac, the physical positioning of the son reveals a less-than-biblical interpretation of the sacrifice. Suddenly, the realism and violence in which Caravaggio steeps his work is obvious. The mouth, open as if to let out a scream, is complemented by the eyes that stare out at the viewer, evoking sympathy for the apparently unwilling victim. Once again, Caravaggio is in contrast with those early representations of Isaac where "the child sometimes looks back at his father with an expression of fear or pity, but more often stoically downward."²⁴ Caravaggio's choice to depict Isaac bound and nude, pleading for help from the viewer, further reveals an interpretation of him as an unwilling victim rather than the precursor to Christ being led to the cross. This is an excellent example of the painter's non-traditional use of iconography. Here, Caravaggio takes a symbol once used to represent Christ's willingness and twists it to suit his own

purpose: to appeal emotionally to the viewer through Isaac's pitiable fate. Again, Caravaggio's account is in contrast with Rembrandt's. In this very different representation, the face of Isaac is entirely covered by Abraham's hand, giving the viewer "the feeling that Abraham does not wish to look upon the trusting eyes of his son."²⁵ In representing Isaac in this manner, Rembrandt reveals an understanding of Isaac not as a pitiable victim but as a willing participant, a facet of the biblical text that Caravaggio omits altogether. He admits little reverence into this work, preferring to illustrate "the most brutal moment," a sign of his naturalistic technique and his search for truth amongst the ugly. With this portrayal of Isaac, Caravaggio arrives at a truth distorted by his own desire for violence and brutality and not a truth supported by the biblical tradition. His physical placement of Isaac in the painting as well as the accompanying facial expressions help to distort the Christological significance of this work.

In his 1672 work *Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, Giovanni Pietro Bellori briefly describes Caravaggio's *Isaac* as that painting of Abraham "in which he holds the blade at the throat of his son, who cries out and falls."²⁶ The brevity of Bellori's description is surprising but appropriate. Caravaggio's account does not encompass the power of the Divine, the obedience of Abraham, or the prefiguring of Christ. Rather, the work is "a tragedy without a framework, without a logical development, without catharsis."²⁷ By interpreting the angel, Abraham, and Isaac in this way, Caravaggio points to no higher reality, choosing instead to imbue the iconography with uncertainty. His intention here is not to instruct, enlighten, or reference. Instead, he is bent on imitating nature, which he regarded as the best and most true source for art. He sought no greater inspiration and thought himself the "sole faithful imitator of nature."²⁸ Such a hubris explains why a work so technically impressive can be reduced to but a simple description of a son who cries out and falls. The image of a screaming Isaac whose eyes implore the viewer to save him from what is most likely a violent end leaves one shocked and confused. This purely naturalistic approach, which bathes the biblical narrative in ambiguity, offers no real answer as to whether the hand of the intervening angel or the knife of Abraham will end the cries of a helpless Isaac.

APPENDIX



The Sacrifice of Isaac, 1603 (oil on canvas), Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da (1571-1610) / Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy / Alinari / The Bridgeman Art Library



The Sacrifice of Abraham, 1635 (oil on canvas), Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606-69) / Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia / The Bridgeman Art Library

NOTES

- ¹ See Appendix.
- ² Cardinal Barberini would later become Pope Urban VIII. See Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 182.
- ³ Mina Gregori, "The Sacrifice of Isaac," 287.
- ⁴ Bellori, *Lives of the Modern Painters*, 179.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ All biblical references are from the New Oxford Standard Bible.
- ⁷ Gregori, "Sacrifice," 283.
- ⁸ Robin M. Jensen, "Early Christian Images and Exegesis," 80.
- ⁹ Gregori, "Sacrifice," 282.
- ¹⁰ Mina Gregori, "Caravaggio Today," 39.
- ¹¹ Karen A. H. Wacome, "Watching the Sacrifice of Isaac: Bakhtin, Dialogism, and Genesis 22:1-19," 155.
- ¹² Gregori, "Sacrifice," 282.
- ¹³ Augustine, *The City of God*, 554.
- ¹⁴ Gen. 22:11-13.
- ¹⁵ Gregori, "Sacrifice," 282.
- ¹⁶ Sergio Benedetti, "Classical and Religious Influences in Caravaggio's Painting," 212.
- ¹⁷ Franz Landsberger, *Rembrandt, the Jews, and the Bible*, 122.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.
- ¹⁹ Gen. 22:2.
- ²⁰ Gen. 22:6.
- ²¹ Augustine, *City of God*, 555.
- ²² Jensen, "Early Christian Images," 79.
- ²³ Wacome, "Watching the Sacrifice," 154.
- ²⁴ Jensen, "Early Christian Images," 78.
- ²⁵ Landsberger, *Rembrandt*, 124.
- ²⁶ Bellori, *Lives of the Modern Painters*, 182.
- ²⁷ Gregori, "Sacrifice," 282.
- ²⁸ Bellori, *Lives of the Modern Painters*, 184.

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The following paper examines how the concept of avodah, a Hebrew term for both work and worship, can be found in The Rule of St. Benedict. Like the concept of avodah, Benedict's understanding of work is closely tied to his understanding of the Christian as a servus Dei, a servant of God. The intimate relationship between prayer, manual labor, and deeds of mercy is expressed through the Latin term opus.

The Life of the *Servus Dei* in *The Rule of St. Benedict*

Amy Freeman

In his rule, St. Benedict conveys a connection between prayer and the ordinary works of daily life. This connection is similar to *avodah*, a Hebrew term for both work and worship. *Avodah* is closely tied to the identity of the faithful Jew as an *eved Adonai*, or servant of the Lord. Christianity inherited the rich understanding of *eved Adonai* and *avodah*, and these concepts can be seen in the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Although distinct activities make up the monk's day, St. Benedict understands the life of the monk to be a unified whole. Since the monk is a *servus Dei*, every part of his life should be offered up in service to God, and at the same time, every offering increases the charity in his heart. In this essay, I will first examine the meaning of *eved Adonai* and its significance in the Hebrew Scriptures. Second, I will examine the meaning of *avodah*, which is closely tied to *eved Adonai* through the root *avad*. Third, I will show how the concept of *eved Adonai* was passed down in medieval tradition as found in the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Finally, I will show how *The Rule of St. Benedict* conveys a connection between work and worship that is akin to *avodah*, using the term *opus*.

Before beginning the body of this essay, I must give a brief note on translation. I will be drawing mostly from the Latin text of *The Rule of St. Benedict* using my own translation of quoted passages and providing the original in endnotes. Occasionally, however, I will refer to a Middle English translation of the *Rule* for nuns whenever it helps to clarify the meaning of the Latin text. When quoting Scripture in English, I will use

the *King James Version* with Strong's concordance when I must reference the Hebrew. Elsewhere I use the *Douay-Rheims* because it is translated from the Latin *Vulgate*. Since St. Benedict and his monks would have read the Scriptures in Latin, the *Douay-Rheims* best conveys in English how they received the Scriptures. To reflect his received texts even more closely, I will sometimes quote verses of Scripture in Latin.

To begin, the identification of the Jew as an *eved Adonai* (עֶבֶד אֲדֹנָי), a servant of the Lord, is central to the Old Testament and therefore at the heart of Jewish spirituality.¹ For example, Abraham and Moses are called servants of the Lord by God in the Books of Genesis and Joshua. The author of Genesis records the Lord saying to Isaac, "I [am] with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my *servant* Abraham's sake."² In the first line of the Book of Joshua, Moses is also called an *eved*: "Now after the death of Moses the *servant* of the LORD, it came to pass that the LORD spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, 'Moses my *servant* is dead. . .'"³ Later Samuel, as instructed by the priest Eli, says, "Speak, Lord, for thy *servant* heareth."⁴ David, too, is called a servant of the Lord in Psalm 17:1.⁵ Additionally, in the Old Testament, not only specific patriarchs but also the whole people of Israel are identified as God's servant, as seen in this passage from Isaiah:

But thou, Israel, [art] my *servant*, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. [Thou] whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou [art] my *servant*; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away.⁶

The first Jacob, who was renamed Israel, was an *eved Adonai*; now, here, the whole of the Jewish people is identified as Israel and as God's servant. By extension, each individual of the Jewish people, not just its most important figures, is understood to be an *eved Adonai*. This is reflected later in the prayer of Simeon, a Jewish priest, in the Gospel of Luke: "Now thou dost dismiss thy *servant*, O Lord, according to thy word in peace..."⁷ as well as in the Virgin Mary's words, "Behold the *handmaid* of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word."⁸ Both individuals and the Jewish people as a whole are understood to be servants of the Lord.

The Jewish understanding of the faithful one as an *eved Adonai* is closely related to the term *avodah*, both linguistically and as a spiritual theme.⁹ The root of both terms is the Hebrew word *avad* (אָבַד), which means “to work (in any sense); by implication, to serve, till, (causatively) enslave, etc.”¹⁰ According to a search of the *King James Version* with Strong’s numbers, *avad* occurs 293 times in 263 verses, the first being Genesis 2:5: “there was not a man to *till* the ground.”¹¹ Here *avad* refers to the physical labor of working the land. It also refers to work in general, as in God’s command concerning the Sabbath day in Exodus 34:17: “Six days thou shalt *work*, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest.”¹² It also refers to service in general of one person to another, as in Hushai pledging his allegiance to Absolon, “And again, whom should I serve?”¹³ Finally, *avad* means service as in worship, such as when God instructs Moses in Exodus 3:12: “When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall *serve* God upon this mountain.”¹⁴ Also, in Joshua 24:14: “Now therefore fear the LORD, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put away the gods which your fathers *serv*ed on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt; and *serve* ye the LORD.”¹⁵ *Avad* is work or service, both in physical labor and in general servitude. It is also service to God in worship.

As the noun version of *avad*, then, *avodah* (עֲבוּדָה) has a multi-fold meaning. Following the three meanings of *avad*, *avodah* means “service” in the sense of work and labor, “service” in general, and “service” in the sense of worship. The word for work and the word for worship is the same in Hebrew. This understanding of *avodah* is naturally paired with *eved Adonai*, *eved* being the substantive form of *avad*. If the faithful Jew recognizes himself as a servant of the Lord, everything in his daily life is understood to be an offering to God. The essential unity of work and worship (*avodah*) naturally follows.

The understanding of the faithful as servants of the Lord was handed down to early Christians and eventually to the Benedictines through the books of the Old Testament, the teachings of Christ, the Epistles of the New Testament, the Psalms, and Mary. The Jewish men and women who became Christians maintained their understanding of themselves as servants of the Lord; early Christians inherited this tradition. It was handed down to the early medievals, including the Benedictines, through the Scriptures. The Latin version of the Old Testament clearly relates the theme of *servus Domini* or *servus Dei* (or, occasionally, *ancilla Domini*). Moreover, in the Gospels, Christ often uses

servant imagery or analogies to refer to both himself and his disciples. One may recall, for example, the parable of the servants and the talents, or Jesus's words in Mark 10: "And whosoever will be first among you, shall be the servant of all. For the Son of Man also is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life as redemption for many."¹⁶ As Christ has come to serve, so His disciples must be servants to God and to all men. Furthermore, he instructs his disciples to call themselves servants in Luke 17: "So you also, when you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which we ought to do."¹⁷ Paul picks up this theme in Philippians 2:5-8, and both he and the author of the Book of Jude refer to themselves as a *servus Dei* or a *servus Iesu Christi*.¹⁸

Two of the strongest influences on the Benedictine understanding of *servus Dei* come from the Psalms and the Virgin Mary. The Psalms were prayed often by early and medieval Christians. Moreover, the Benedictines and other monastics structured their lives around the praying of the Psalms in the Divine Office, with the Benedictines praying the entire Psalter every week.¹⁹ The psalmist often refers to himself as *servus tuus*, "thy servant," when addressing God. In Psalm 118:25, for instance, the psalmist says, *Servus tuus sum ego*, or "I am thy servant;" and, in Psalm 85:2, "Give joy to the soul of thy servant, for to thee, O Lord, I have lifted up my soul."²⁰ By praying the Psalms often, the Benedictines would have naturally understood themselves to be servants of God. In fact, the tradition of the Pope calling himself the "*servus servorum Dei*," or the servant of the servants of God, began with Pope St. Gregory the Great, who was a Benedictine.²¹

Another major influence on the medieval understanding of *servus Domini* is the Virgin Mary. In the Annunciation scene, Mary gives her *fiat*, saying, "Behold, the handmaid of the Lord [*ancilla Domini*]; be it done to me according to thy word."²² Similarly, in her *Magnificat*, Mary praises God for looking upon the lowliness of His handmaid.²³ In his rule, St. Benedict instructs the monks to pray *canticum de Aevangelio* at the hour of Vespers.²⁴ Because of the lack of articles in Latin, Benedict may be referring to a canticle, any one of the canticles from the books of the Gospel. In this case, the *Magnificat* would have certainly been an option and would have been prayed frequently. St. Benedict could also mean the *Magnificat* as the Gospel canticle to be prayed at Vespers. This idea is substantiated by the fact that later, in the Northern Prose Middle English version of the *Rule*, the *Magnificat* is referred to as "*þe cantikyl*

of þe gospel.”²⁵ Additionally, the *Magnificat* has long been prayed daily at the hour of Vespers in Catholic tradition, whether or not this tradition goes as far back as St. Benedict, born in the late fifth century.²⁶ The medieval Christian, including the Benedictine, would have been familiar with Mary’s *Magnificat* and would have sought to imitate the Mother of God in her humble service to the Lord.

In his rule, St. Benedict identifies the monk and the Abbot as *servi*, reminiscent of *ened Adonai*. A significant example can be seen in the chapter concerning the election of an Abbott:

And especially he should adhere to the rule at hand in all things, in order that when he will have ministered well he might hear from the Lord what the good servant heard, who paid out the wheat to his fellow servants in its time: Amen, I say to you, he says, he set him above all the goods [Matthew 24:47].²⁷

The good Abbott is likened to the “faithful and wise servant” in Matthew 24 “whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season” and was found doing so upon the master’s return.²⁸ Similarly, in the Prologue, St. Benedict exhorts all the monks: “Therefore indeed He must be obeyed at all times concerning His goods in us, in order that He not only should not like an angry father disinherit his sons...”²⁹ This injunction implies, inversely, that a faithful monk is a faithful son of God.³⁰ St. Benedict goes on to write that the monk must be obedient “in order that He should not like a dreadful master hand over to eternal punishment His worthless servants who refused to follow Him to glory.”³¹ St. Benedict is probably referring to the parable of the talents in Matthew 25:13-30. The monks should strive not only not to be wicked servants, but also to be one of the “good and faithful” servants described in Matthew.³² Every monk is identified as a *servus Dei*.

Through his emphasis on the necessity of offering good works to the Lord and through the imagery of the monastery as *scola servitii*, St. Benedict conveys the whole life of the *servus Dei* to be one of obedient service. In the first paragraph of the *Rule*, St. Benedict gives the theme of obedience: “Willingly [or gladly] follow and efficaciously fulfill the admonition of a faithful father so that through the labor of obedience you might return to him from whom you had withdrawn through the sloth of disobedience.”³³ His emphasis on obedience here and elsewhere

recalls to the reader the image of a *servus*. Also, through the expression *labor oboedientiae*, or the “labor of obedience,” St. Benedict conveys the idea that the whole life of the monk is one of work for God. Throughout the Prologue, St. Benedict stresses that Christians must do good works. He quotes Christ’s words in Matthew 7:24-25, “Every one therefore that heareth these my words, and doth them, shall be likened to a wise man that built his house upon a rock,” and comments on them: “Fulfilling these (words), the Lord expects that we ought to answer daily to his sacred admonitions with deeds.”³⁴ Moreover, a lover of God desires to do good works to follow the Lord, and by doing so he may reach eternal life. As St. Benedict writes:

What is sweeter to us, dearest brothers, than this voice of the Lord inviting us? Behold, the Lord in his tenderness shows to us the way of life. Therefore, our loins having been girded with faith and with the observance of good works, through the teaching of the Gospel let us proceed on His road, in order that we might merit to see him “who called us into his kingdom.” [1 Thess. 2:12] If we want to live in the *tabernaculum* [tabernacle, tent, dwelling place] of his kingdom, unless it is hastened thither with good works, it is not at all reached.³⁵

The life of the monk, then, is one of obediently doing good works. The translator of the *Northern Prose Version*, in a modified prologue, expresses this idea succinctly in a prayer: “Lord, we pray that we may serve Thee, that in Thy tabernacle we may dwell. Amen.”³⁶ Additionally, in one of the most memorable lines of the *Rule*, St. Benedict writes, “Therefore, a school of the Lord’s service must be established by us.”³⁷ In this “school,” the monk will learn to walk the way of the Gospel, the way of obedience. Here we glimpse the Benedictine unity of life: the monk is a *servus Dei*, his whole life one of obedient service.

With this understanding of unity of life, as well as by the use of the term *opus*, an understanding of *avodah* emerges. Just as *avodah* is the word for both work and worship, so prayer, manual labor, and deeds of mercy are all similarly described as *opus* or work. First, the word for manual work or labor is *manuum opus*, as seen in Chapter 48.³⁸ Second, deeds of mercy are also termed *opus*. In Chapter 4, entitled

Quae Sunt Instrumenta Bonorum Operum, or “What are the Instruments of Good Works,” St. Benedict gives a list of all the instruments with which the monk does good works.³⁹ These include the deeds of mercy: “to revive the poor, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to bury the dead. To assist those in tribulation, to console the sorrowful.”⁴⁰ In this list, among other deeds, St. Benedict also includes “to hear holy readings gladly, to incline frequently to prayer, to confess daily his past evils with tears and sighing.”⁴¹ Third, as seen in this same passage, prayer is a kind of *bonum opus*. Similarly, throughout the *Rule*, St. Benedict refers to the common prayer of the monks as the Divine Office (or rather the plural *Divini Officii* as St. Benedict terms them).⁴² Concerning the expression “Divine Office,” Fernand Cabrol notes that “this expression signifies etymologically a duty accomplished for God,” giving connotations of work.⁴³ Moreover, St. Benedict nine times calls the common prayer the *Opus Dei*, or the “Work of God.”⁴⁴ This is translated in the *Northern Prose Version* as “godys servise” or the “servise o god.”⁴⁵ Although the Divine Office is the highest form of the monk’s service towards God, as seen in its very names as well as its centrality in Benedictine life, it is understood to be an *opus* or work.⁴⁶ It, along with all the other works of the day, is an offering of service to God, a *labor oboedientiae*.

It may be helpful to clarify here to what the Latin term *opus* or work refers, both to distinguish it from some modern conceptions of work as well as to deepen the connection to *avodah*. The work of *opus* is not referring to a Kantian-like fulfillment of duty, nor is it the equivalent of tooth-gritting work or toilsome labor, although accomplishing an *opus* may well involve a great deal of effort on earth. *Opus* is “not just work that one does,” but is intimately connected to the purpose of one’s life.⁴⁷ It can in its plurality of meanings refer to the work of the Lord, such as in Genesis 2:2 (“and on the seventh day God ended his work [*opus*] which he had made: and he rested on the seventh day from all the work [*opus*] which he had done”), in Psalm 43:2 (“...our fathers have declared to us the work [*opus*] thou hast wrought in their days...”), and Philippians 1:6 (“he who hath begun a good work [*opus*] in you will perfect it unto the day of Christ Jesus”).⁴⁸ It can also refer to the work of the Church, such as in Psalm 89 (“Look upon thy servants and upon their works [*opus*] . . . the work [*opus*] of our hands do thou direct”) and in 1 Timothy 1:1 (“If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth good work [*opus*]”), an entire dedication such as a musical *opus*, or a synthetic gathering.⁴⁹ *Opus* can also be used in a liturgical context, as I

have previously shown in *The Rule of St. Benedict*. It is impossible for the medieval listener to hear the word *opus* without thinking of both work and worship; in this way, it is very similar to the Hebrew term *avodah*.

Although he does not discuss it explicitly, St. Benedict expresses the idea that every good work serves to increase charity in the heart of the monk. At the end of the Prologue, St. Benedict describes the *dominici scola servitii*, the “school of the Lord’s service,” and encourages the brothers not to shrink from the road ahead. Instead, he exhorts, “truly by progress in the monastic way of life and in faith, with hearts expanded by the unutterable sweetness of love, the way of God’s commands is hastened...”⁵⁰ Progress in monastic life is connected to an increase of charity. As the monk presses forward in good deeds, his heart will be growing in love. Although St. Benedict does not discuss this idea in depth, one can see the idea of good works enkindling charity in the *Rule of St. Benedict*.

The *Rule of St. Benedict* conveys a distinction-in-unity in the activities of daily life. Work and worship are not simply equated; prayer is distinct from manual labor and deeds of mercy, and a hierarchy of importance is maintained. At the same time, there remains an essential unity of life which is akin to the Jewish concept of *avodah*. Prayer, manual labor, and deeds of mercy are all termed *opus*, work. And since St. Benedict understands the Christian to be a *servus Dei*, everything in daily life can be an offering of service. Offered to the Lord, it is worship. If the monk is a *servus Dei*, then every part of life can be an offering of loving service to God, in turn enkindling love.

NOTES

¹ Hebrew characters taken from “Work and Worship.” *Eved* can also be transliterated as *ebed*, as it is in Strong’s dictionary.

² Genesis 26:24, *King James Version*, Blue Letter Bible, “Dictionary and Word Search for *ebed* (Strong’s 5650).” Emphasis added.

³ Joshua 1:1, *Ibid*. Emphasis added.

⁴ 1 Samuel 3:10, *Ibid*. Emphasis added.

⁵ “[To the chief Musician] , [A Psalm] of David, the *servant* of the LORD, who spake unto the LORD the words of this song” Psalm 18:1, *Ibid*. Emphasis added.

⁶ Isaiah 41:8-9, Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁷ Luke 2:29, *Douay-Rheims*. Emphasis added.

⁸ Luke 1:38, Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁹ These words are all grouped together in “Work and Worship,” adapted from Edith Samuel’s *Your Jewish Lexicon*, 92-93.

¹⁰ Strong transliterates this word as *abad* (“SH5647”) and Dave Huber as *avad* (“Avodah Word Study”); Strong, “SH5647,” in *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Hebrew Bible*.

¹¹ Blue Letter Bible, “Dictionary and Word Search for `abad (Strong’s 5647);” Genesis 2:5, *King James Version*, Blue Letter Bible, “Dictionary and Word Search for `abad (Strong’s 5647).” Emphasis added.

¹² Exodus 34:21, Ibid. Emphasis added. Thanks to Dave Huber (“Avodah Word Study”) for pointing to this passage.

¹³ 2 Samuel 16:19, Ibid. Thanks to Dave Huber (“Avodah Word Study”) for pointing to this passage.

¹⁴ Exodus 3:12, Ibid. Emphasis added. Thanks to Dave Huber (“Avodah Word Study”) for pointing to this passage.

¹⁵ Joshua 24:14, *King James Version*, Blue Letter Bible, “Dictionary and Word Search for `abad (Strong’s 5647).” Emphasis added. Thanks to Dave Huber (“Avodah Word Study”) for pointing to this passage.

¹⁶ See Matthew 25 or Luke 19; Mark 10:43-45, *Douay-Rheims*.

¹⁷ Luke 17:10, *Douay-Rheims*; *cum feceritis omnia quae praecepta sunt vobis dicite servi inutilis sumus quod debuimus facere fecimus*, Vulgate.

¹⁸ See opening lines of Romans, Philippians, Titus, and Jude.

¹⁹ St. Benedict instructs the monks to pray eight hours total: seven day hours (Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline) and one night hour (Vigils) (See Benedict, *Rule of St. Benedict*, 16). Each hour contained three or four psalms (13, 16). While St. Benedict sets up a structure for ordering the psalms, he stresses that others might change this ordering, but in any case all 150 psalms must be prayed every week (16.23-25).

²⁰ Psalm 118:25, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata: Editio Quinta*; Psalm 118:25, *Douay-Rheims*; *Laetifica animam servi tui quia ad te animam meam levo* (Psalm 85:4, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata: Editio Quinta*).

²¹ Meehan, “*Servus servorum Dei*,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

²² Luke 1:38, *Douay-Rheims*. See also *Biblia Sacra Vulgata: Editio Quinta*.

²³ See Luke 1:46-55.

²⁴ Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, hereafter *Rule*, 17.8.

²⁵The Northern Prose Version, hereafter Northern Prose Version, in *Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, 17.22. Emphasis added.

²⁶Henry, “Magnificat,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*; Venarde, in the introduction to *The Rule of St. Benedict*, viii. Venarde also notes that “...the traditional date is 480.”

²⁷*Et praecipue ut presentem regulam in omnibus conserbet, ut dum bene ministraverit audiat a Domino quod servus bonus qui erogavit triticum conservis suis in tempore suo; Amen, dico vobis, ait, super omnia bona constituit eum* [Matt. 24:47] (Benedict, *Rule*, 64.20-22). Scripture reference is noted by Bruce L. Venarde.

²⁸Matthew 25:45, *Douay-Rheims*.

²⁹*Ita enim ei omni tempore de bonis suis in nobis parendum est, ut non solum iratus pater suos non aliquando filios exheredet* (Ibid., Prologue, ln.6).

³⁰St. Benedict also understands the Christian to be an adopted son or daughter of God, as is emphasized in parts of Scripture such as Galatians 4:7: *itaque iam non es servus filius (Vulgate)*, “Therefore, he is not a servant, but a son” (*Douay-Rheims*). Although coming after St. Benedict, Aquinas’s commentary on Galatians can help connect these two points in this portion of the *Rule*: “Then when he says, Therefore, now he is not a servant, but a son, he mentions the fruit of this gift [of the Holy Spirit]. First, as to removing all evil, from which we are freed through adoption by the Holy Spirit. This is freedom from bondage. With respect to this he says: Therefore, i.e., because the Spirit cries ‘Father’ in us, now, from the time of grace, he, i.e., each one of us who believes in Christ, is not a servant, i.e., serving in fear—‘I will not now call you servants but friends’ (Jn 15:15); ‘You have not received the spirit of bondage again in fear: but you have received the spirit of adoption of sons’ (Rom 8:15)—but a son: ‘For the Spirit himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God’ (Rom 8:16). For although we be in the condition of servants (because it is said in Luke (17:10): ‘When you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants’), we are not ill-disposed servants, i.e., serving in fear—for such a servant is deserving of torture and chains—but we are good and faithful servants, serving out of love. For that reason we obtain freedom through the Son: ‘If, therefore, the son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed’ (Jn 8:36).

³¹ *ut nequissimos servos perpetuam tradat ad poenam qui eum sequi noluerint ad gloriam* (Ibid., Prologue, 6-7).

³² “His lord said to him: Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord” (Matthew 25:21, *Douay-Rheims*).

³³ According to the *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Stelton), *desidia* can be translated “sloth,” as it is in the Northern Prose Middle English version: “þhe slewth of inobedience” (Northern Prose Version, in *Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet*, Prologue, 6); ... *admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe et efficaciter comple ut ad eum per oboedientiae laborem redeas a quo per inoboedientiae desidiam recesseras* (Benedict, *Rule*, Prologue, 1b-2).

³⁴ *Douay-Rheims*. In the *Rule*: *Qui audit verba mea haec et facit ea, similabo eum viro sapient qui aedificavit domum suam super petram; venerunt flumina flaverunt venti, et inþigerunt in domum illam et non cecidit, quia fundata erat super petram* (Ibid., 33-34); *Haec complens Dominus exspectat nos cottidiae is suis sanctis monitis factis nos respondere debere* (Ibid., Prologue, 35).

³⁵ *Quid dulcius nobis ab hac voce Domini invitantis nos, fraters carissimi? Ecce pietate sua demonstrat nobis Dominus viam vitae. Succinctis ergo fide vel observantia bonorum actuum lumbis nostris, per ducatum evangelii pergamus itinera eius, ut mereamur eum qui nos vocavit in regnum suum videre* [1 Thess. 2:12]. *In cuius regni tabernaculo si volumus habitare, nisi illuc bonis actibus curritur minime pervenitur* (*Rule*, Prologue, ln.21). Scripture reference noted by Bruce L. Venarde.

³⁶ “Lauerd, we prai þe þat we may serve sua [you], in þi tabernakil þat we may wne. Amen.” (Northern Prose Version, Prologue, 2.2-4).

³⁷ *Constituenda est ergo nobis dominici scola servitii* (*Rule*, Prologue, 45).

³⁸ Ibid., 48.1.

³⁹ Ibid., Ch.4, title.

⁴⁰ *Pauperes recreare, numdum vestire, infirmum visitare, mortuum sepelire. In tribulation subvenire, dolentem consolari* (Ibid., 4.14-19).

⁴¹ *Lectiones sanctas liventer audire, orationi frequenter incumbere, mala sunt praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cottidiae in orationi Deo confiteri* (Ibid., 4.55-57).

⁴² For more about the Divine Office, see “Divine Office” by Fernand Cabrol in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. During St. Benedict’s time, monasteries were allowed some freedom concerning how the Divine Office was to be prayed. St. Benedict spends much of the *Rule* setting forth the form of the Divine Office.

⁴³ Cabrol, “Divine Office,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*..

⁴⁴ See Chapter 22, for example. . . . *et ut parati sint monachi semper et, facto signo, absque mora surgentes, festinent invicem se praevenire ad opus Dei cum omni tamen gravitate et modestia* (Benedict, *Rule*, 22.4). Or another, the memorable exhortation, *Ergo nihil operi Dei praeponatur* (Ch.43, ln.3).

⁴⁵ See Northern Prose Version, 22.25; see

Northern Prose Version, 43.2, 7-8.

⁴⁶ Cabrol, “Divine Office,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Just as “Divine Office” refers to a special kind of duty accomplished for God, so *opus Dei* refers to a special kind of work or service which is of God. This common prayer is termed *the* divine office and *the* work of God, signifying that it is the highest form of service to God. This is substantiated by the fact that the life of the monks was structured around the praying of the Divine Office.

⁴⁷ With special thanks to Dr. David Lyle Jeffrey for his explanation on *opus* as well as all his guidance throughout the work on my senior thesis.

⁴⁸ Genesis 2:2, *Douay-Rheims; complevitque Deus die septimo opus suum quod fecerat et requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat*, Vulgate; Psalm 43:1, *Douay-Rheims; patres nostri narraverunt nobis opus quod operatus es in diebus*, Vulgate, Philippians 1:2, *Douay-Rheims; qui coepit in vobis opus bonum perficiet usque in diem Christi Iesu*, Vulgate.

⁴⁹ Psalm 89:16-17, *Douay-Rheims; et respice in servos tuos et in opera tua. . . . et opus manuum nostrarum dirige*, Vulgate.

⁵⁰ *Processu vero conversationis et fidei, dilatato corde inaenarrabili dilectionis dulcedine curritur via mandatorum Dei* (Benedict, *Rule*, Prologue, 49).

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While numerous studies have shown the effectiveness of note-taking either in conjunction with review or as a generative activity, little research has explored the benefits of note-taking's encoding function, as opposed to using no memory aid. In this experiment, 40 undergraduate students recruited from Baylor University were randomly assigned to two groups, note-takers and non-note-takers. Participants watched a slideshow presentation featuring a series of 15 nonsense syllables, participated in a verbal intermediate activity, and completed a test of free recall. The results of the independent samples' t test were significant, with non-note-takers recalling more nonsense syllables on average than note-takers. Within the context of working memory theory, these results suggest that the cognitive effort involved in note-taking, the lack of review, and the novelty of the presented information collectively diminished the positive effects of note-taking on recall.

Effects of Note-taking on Recall of Nonsense Syllables through Working Memory

Kassidy Knighten

Introduction

The effect of note-taking on recall is a long-standing question in the study of memory, and the mechanism behind when and why note-taking works as a memory aid has been the subject of extensive research. No research has shown whether the act of note-taking, compared to non-note-taking, is beneficial for remembering information when subjects are given no opportunity to review the information and when subjects have no background knowledge of the presented material. In order to address this gap in the current literature, this study seeks to determine how the effects of note-taking on recall fit into current working memory theory.

The current theory on working memory needs to be explained before separate models explaining the relationship between note-taking and working memory can be introduced. Working memory, originally called short-term memory, is defined as the faculty by which information is temporarily stored and manipulated.¹ The research of Alan Baddeley, the originator of the most contemporary, widely accepted working memory model in psychology to date, has provided a thorough cognitive perspective from which to understand working memory. In Baddeley's most recent model, there are four subsystems of working memory: the phonological loop (PL), the visuospatial sketchpad (VSSP), the central executive, and the episodic buffer. The PL and VSSP are the processing subsystems of working memory. The PL processes and stores auditory and verbal information, such as spoken words or music. The VSSP processes and stores spatial information, such as an object's location in relation to another object, and visual information, which includes details such as the shapes and colors of objects. These separate capacities allow for greater recall of different kinds of information (processed by two separate subsystems) presented simultaneously. Different information that is processed by the same subsystem can cause interference and reduce accurate recall. In the context of the current experiment, the intent of the investigators is that the intermediate activity will cause interference by engaging the same subsystem with different information, keeping both note-takers and non-note-takers from holding nonsense syllables within their PL. Text, one of the most common mediums through which information is presented to note-takers, does not fall strictly into the PL or the VSSP because it is a form of information that engages both processing mechanisms. As a result, text must first be processed as visual information and then re-encoded by the PL for storage.²

The central executive is the consolidation and management faculty for the PL and VSSP, connecting them both to long-term memory and regularly updating and managing the information presently stored in working memory. It is also responsible for controlling the episodic buffer. The episodic buffer is responsible for coordination between the PL and VSSP. It temporarily stores and integrates information from different sources within the PL, the VSSP, and from background knowledge already stored within long-term memory.³

Each of these four subsystems has a limited capacity, but they are all independent of one another. From a neurological perspective, the association of each subsystem with different areas of the brain further suggests that each of these subsystems functions independently. The subsystems' individual capacities allow two separate faculties to activate simultaneously during memory tasks without adverse effects on performance. This evidence supports a theory of functional separation of the subsystems.⁴

Two particular cognitive theories of memory that make accommodations for note-taking and follow some of the fundamental assumptions of Baddeley's model include the Cognitive Theory of Multimedia Learning (CTML) and the Cognitive Load Theory (CLT). In the CTML, all of the subsystems' limited capacities and the differentiation between the PL and the VSSP are equally emphasized. External stimuli are processed through the auditory/verbal pathway or the visual pathway, equal to Baddeley's PL and the VSSP, respectively.⁵ Information is allocated to each pathway according to the sensory system used (visual or auditory) and the method of the information's presentation (pictorial or verbal). The CTML also states that the pathways have a limited capacity for simultaneously processing different kinds of information.⁶ One distinction between Baddeley's model of the PL and VSSP and the pathways in the CTML is that information is allocated to the PL and VSSP according to the method of the information's presentation and does not take into account the sensory system used.⁷ Therefore, this distinction makes the CTML a more pertinent model in the context of note-taking and memory than Baddeley's working memory model because it takes into account the sensory system used in processing the information. Note-taking situations differ both in the method of the information's presentation and in the sensory system used by the note-taker to intake the information, so the CTML accounts for more differences across note-taking situations than Baddeley's model alone.

In contrast to the CTML paradigm, CLT places more emphasis on the subsystems' limited capacity than on the separate processing systems involved. In the CLT, information is not split up between subsystems for processing; it is separated according to the cognitive load placed on memory from the interaction between previously learned information and the cognitive weight caused by helpful or damaging cognitive

processes. The total cognitive load between these processes can exceed the load capacity of working memory and cause cognitive overload. The lack of separation between the subsystems of working memory in CLT means that their capacities for information are not separated, resulting in an inconsistency between the CLT and Baddeley's model.⁸

Research has also suggested a second breakdown of working memory that emphasizes the faculty of storage alongside the faculty of processing. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether or not processing and storage, while both part of working memory, affect one another when used together. Some sources have found that using both faculties together is detrimental to performance on tasks, suggesting that the processing and storage faculties share a load capacity.⁹ Other research shows that no significant detriment is caused by the simultaneous use of both faculties, alternately suggesting that the processing and storage capacities are separate.¹⁰ Further research into the effects that the processing and storage faculties have on one another will make clear whether the CLT, the CTML, or some integration of the two is a more accurate model of working memory as it pertains to note-taking. The current experiment integrates both the CLT and the CTML, using the CTML to explain the information processes used while the nonsense words are being presented on-screen and the CLT to account for cognitive load placed on participants during the intermediate activity.

Note-taking as a memory aid requires significant cognitive effort, which utilizes the processing faculty of working memory. The cognitive demand placed upon the central executive while a note-taker encodes the material by choosing, recording, organizing, and understanding pertinent information is greater than the cognitive effort involved in both reading, learning, though less than the amount of cognitive effort required for creative writing, which research has shown to be among the activities demanding the greatest cognitive effort. Further, note-taking alone (i.e., encoding) yields the poorest performance on tests of recall when compared to note-taking plus review (encoding plus storage) and studying from borrowed notes after absence from a lecture (external storage).¹¹ Note-taking appears to be most effective as a memory aid when followed by a review of the notes, though some literature has found that performance on tests of recall is higher for those who review lecture notes or a peer's notes rather than writing and reviewing their own. This evidence supports the external storage function of note-taking, which states that note-taking is useful as a means of compiling

information for later review, as opposed to the encoding function of note-taking, which states that the act of note-taking itself is beneficial for recalling information.¹²

Other research suggests that note-taking is effective as a memory aid because of its use as a generative activity, which is an activity that makes connections between previously learned material and new information. In experiments where newly presented information was closely related to information that participants had already learned, note-takers performed better on tests of recall than those who did not take notes.¹³ In Wetzels's study, note-taking was conducted during either a presentation of novel information or a presentation of information related to previously-learned material.¹⁴ They found that note-taking as a generative activity required less cognitive effort than did note-taking as a method of learning unfamiliar material.¹⁵ This is further evidence against the efficacy of the encoding function of note-taking, as note-taking on its own takes significant cognitive effort and, unless review of notes is permitted or the information presented is connected to previously learned material, does not significantly improve recall.¹⁶

As a generative activity, note-taking's greatest limitation is interference, which occurs when similar information is presented from different sources. For example, when an individual has difficulty recalling the details of a particular news story as a result of watching several different news stories on several different news mediums, she has experienced the effect of interference. In studies where interference occurred, those who did not take notes during the presentation of information performed better on certain kinds of tasks than note-takers. For instance, non-note-takers performed better on tasks of verbatim recognition, recollection of examples, recall of technical symbols and facts, articulating vague summaries and making connections between ideas.¹⁷ As such, interference diminished the generative effects of note-taking and left participants to rely primarily on the encoding function of note-taking.

Within the context of the current experiment, the generative effects of note-taking and the external storage function of note-taking should be negated by the novelty of the presented information, the participants' lack of opportunity to review their notes before taking a test of recall, and the interference caused by the intermediate activity. The cognitive effort involved in note-taking, in addition to the cognitive load placed on participants during the interlude activity, should limit the amount of information note-takers can remember in comparison

to non-note-takers. The interlude activity is verbal, which will cause interference with the nonsense syllables because both verbal information and text information are held within the PL.¹⁸ It is hypothesized that, if students use note-taking as a memory aid, then their ability to recall information will be less effective than if they use no memory aid.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample was used to gather 40 participants for this experiment. Undergraduate students from Baylor University (23 women, 17 men, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.1$ years, age range: 18 to 27 years) were recruited in the Baylor Sciences Building as they arrived or as they completed their classes for the day. Participants were asked to provide their classification (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior) and current college grade point average (GPA), with the exception of freshman, who provided their high school GPA for lack of a college GPA (freshman = 5, sophomore = 8, junior = 17, seniors = 9; GPA range: 2.43-4.00). Three participants declined to disclose their GPA.

Materials and Procedure

Participants ($n = 40$) were broken into two groups, 20 assigned to a note-taking (experimental) group and 20 assigned to the non-note-taking (control) group. Participants were randomly assigned to these two groups using a coin toss ($t = \text{note-taking}$, $h = \text{control}$). The number of participants recruited at any one time for the study ranged from one to six people. The randomizing coin toss was performed once per trial, and the outcome of the coin toss was applied to all the participants recruited for that particular trial.

Participants in both groups viewed a slideshow presentation in which 15 nonsense syllables were individually displayed for 4 seconds each. Prior to the slideshow, the note-taking group was instructed to take notes on the nonsense syllables. The non-note-taking group was instructed only to watch the presentation. The order of the words remained constant from trial to trial. The nonsense syllable list was bor-

rowed from a cognitive psychology lab at Indiana University with the permission of Dr. Robert Goldstone, Director of the Cognitive Science Program.¹⁹

At the end of the presentation, those in the note-taking group handed in their notes and were not permitted to review them. An interlude activity was then administered to both groups; participants were instructed to count out loud backwards from 500 in intervals of three for one minute. The purpose of this activity was to keep the participants from repeatedly reciting the syllables in their heads by occupying their attention with a cognitively demanding task. After the interlude activity, participants were instructed to write down as many of the syllables from the presentation as they could recall. Nonsense syllables did not have to be recalled in the same order in which they were presented. Upon completion, participants returned their test sheets, and the number of correctly remembered syllables was recorded. Subjects were compensated with two cookies after completion of the trial.

Results

All participants' recall scores were graded based on the number of correctly recalled nonsense syllables. An independent samples t test was conducted, $\alpha = 0.05$, to evaluate the hypothesis that note-takers' recall is worse than the recall of non-note-takers. The test was significant, $t(38) = 3.109, p = .004$, and supported the hypothesis. Participants in the note-taking group recalled fewer words ($Ang. = 4.3, SD = 1.94$) on average than participants in the control group ($Ang. = 6.3, SD = 2.32$). Figure 1 shows these results. Cohen's d , a measure that illustrates whether the difference in performance between note-takers and non-note takers is large or meaningful, showed a high effect size, $d = 0.98$ on a scale of .00 to 1.00.

In addition, an independent samples t test was conducted on the grade point averages (GPA) of all the participants to determine whether or not the GPA of individual subjects had any significant effects on the number of correctly recalled nonsense syllables. The test was not significant, $t(35) = -0.39, p = .70$. This lack of statistical significance suggests that the randomization of the participants effectively adjusted for any potential confounding due to GPA and that GPA had no significant effect upon recall abilities.

	Avg Score (SD)	Avg GPA (SD)
Note-Takers	4.3 (1.94)	3.42 (.42)
Non-Note-Takers	6.3 (2.32)	3.47 (.37)

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Scores of Note-Takers and Non-Note-Takers

	<i>p</i> -value of <i>t</i> test	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Note-Taking Variable	.004	.98
GPA Variable	.70	—

Table 2: Effects of Note-Taking Versus GPA on Recall

Discussion

The body of literature and the results of this experiment support the hypothesis that the recall of students who use note-taking as a memory aid will be less effective than the recall of students who do not. As such, the current experiment tested whether or not the encoding function of note-taking improved recall above and beyond the use of no memory aid. When the effects of review and background knowledge of the material were controlled, participants who took notes remembered two words fewer on average than those who did not take notes. These findings are evidence against the encoding function of note-taking and suggest that the primary benefits of note-taking come from its generative effects and review.

While no research was found in which note-taking without review was compared to a no-note-taking condition, these findings are consistent with research in which note-taking without review was compared to note-taking with review and reviewing the notes of others.²⁰ In the literature in which note-takers performed better on tests of recall than non-note-takers, the note-takers were given time to review the notes they had taken or, in the case of studies on note-taking's generative effects, note-takers only performed better than non-note-takers on some tasks, such as problem solving, but not on others, such as verbatim recall of facts.²¹ This suggests that note-taking is beneficial only for certain kinds of information, and that note-taking does not operate effectively as an encoding mechanism for memory.

Within the context of current working memory theory, CLT could explain why note-takers performed more poorly on tests of recall than non-note-takers. The cognitive effort required during note-taking in conjunction with the intermediate activity in the experiment may have resulted in the cognitive overload of note-takers' working memory.²² According to Baddeley's model, the nonsense syllables in the present experiment were processed through the PL without any use of the VSSP, so participants could not derive any of the benefits of the separated information capacities of the two subsystems.²³ Instead, it is possible that there may have been some interference between the presented material and the intermediate activity because both were tasks that would be processed through the PL.²⁴

Some research conducted on the effects of note-taking tested delayed recall, waiting as long as one week to perform follow-up tests of recall, while the results of the current experiment could have been affected by the short period of time (2 minutes) that elapsed between the presentation of the information and the test of recall.²⁵ In other cases, the complexity of the information required that a long period of time (between a half hour and an hour) be spent in presentation, such as a lecture situation or material for a reading/listening comprehension test.²⁶ Information presented in the current experiment was basic and only required 1 minute of presentation time, which may have influenced the outcome of the study.

There were threats to both the internal and external validity of this experiment. The list of nonsense syllables used, while they came from a credible academic source, were not previously published or used in psychological research. As such, the homogeneity of the syllables' difficulty is unknown and may have affected the results of the experiment. The potential lack of external validity of this experiment is also noteworthy because there are few note-taking situations in which some review does not occur or in which there is no context from which the note-taker can draw background information. Despite this, the results of this experiment make the place of the encoding function of note-taking clearer in the context of current working memory models, suggesting that an integration between the CLT and the CTML may account for these results better than either theory individually. These results also suggest that students who take notes during class and neglect to review them later may have the poorest recall, presumably because they cannot

listen as attentively to the lecture as non-note-takers and because they do not incur the benefits of note-taking as an external storage function of memory. Poor sampling procedure could also have affected the results of this experiment, as participants were only recruited from one building on Baylor University's campus and were not randomly selected. Some of the effects of this sampling procedure were accounted for by the randomization of students into two groups.

Future research should consider the effects of note-taking as it pertains to recall of full words, as opposed to the syllables used in the current experiment. Replication of this experiment with the use of real words would provide additional support to the hypothesis that note-takers perform worse than non-note-takers on tests of recall, and would strengthen the external validity of the experiment. Modifying the current research design such that information is presented over longer periods of time could test whether or not longer presentation time positively or negatively affects the effectiveness of the note-taking's encoding function.

FIGURES

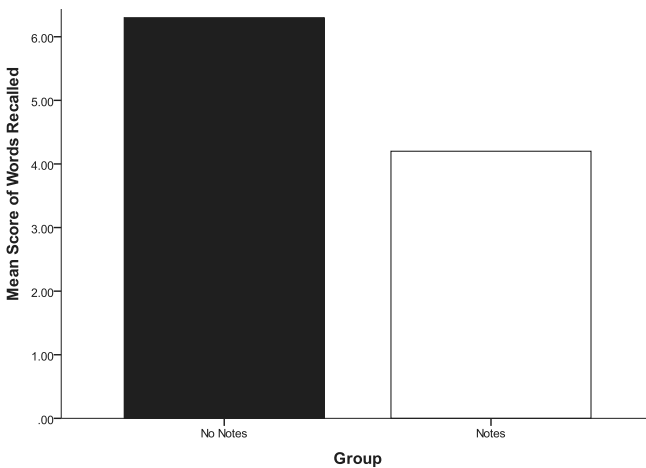


Figure 1. Mean difference values for the number of nonsense syllables correctly recalled in the non-note-taking (control) group and the note-taking (experimental) group.

NOTES

- ¹ A. Baddeley, "Working Memory," 4-15.
- ² A. Schüler, K. Scheiter, and E. Van Genuchten, "The Role of Working Memory in Multimedia Instruction," 389-392.
- ³ Baddeley, "Working Memory," 4-15; Schüler, Scheiter, and Van Genuchten, "The Role of Working Memory in Multimedia Instruction," 389-392.
- ⁴ Schüler, Scheiter, and Van Genuchten, "The Role of Working Memory in Multimedia Instruction," 389-392.
- ⁵ Baddeley, "Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies," 4-15; R. E. Mayer, "Cognitive Theory of Multimedia Learning," 31-48.
- ⁶ Mayer, "Cognitive Theory of Multimedia Learning," 31-48.
- ⁷ Baddeley, "Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies," 4-15; R. Rummer et al., "Working memory interference during processing texts and pictures," 164-176; A. Schüler, K. Scheiter, and P. Gerjets, "Verbal descriptions of spatial information can interfere with picture processing," 682-699.
- ⁸ Baddeley, "Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies," 4-15; Schüler, Scheiter, and Gerjets, "Verbal descriptions of spatial information can interfere with picture processing," 682-699.
- ⁹ C. Jarrold et al., "How does processing affect storage in working memory tasks?" 688-705.
- ¹⁰ L. Gabales, "Are the limits in processing and storage capacity common?" 323-325; K. Oberauer et al., "Dissociating retention and access in working memory," 18-33.
- ¹¹ K. A. Kiewra and N. F. DuBois, "Note-Taking Functions and Techniques," 240.
- ¹² J. F. Carter and N. H. Van Matre, "Note Taking Versus Note Having," 900; Kiewra and DuBois, "Note-Taking Functions and Techniques," 240; L. J. Knight and S. J. McKelvie, "Effects of attendance, note-taking, and review on memory for a lecture," 54.
- ¹³ R. J. Peper and R. E. Mayer, "Note Taking as a Generative Activity," 514; F. J. Di Vesta and G. S. Gray, "Listening and Note Taking," 278; S. A. Wetzels et al., "The Influence of prior knowledge on the retrieval-directed function of note taking in prior knowledge activation," 274-275.

- ¹⁴Wetzels et al., “The Influence of prior knowledge on the retrieval-directed function of note taking in prior knowledge activation,” 274-275.
- ¹⁵Wetzels et al., “The Influence of prior knowledge on the retrieval-directed function of note taking in prior knowledge activation,” 274-275.
- ¹⁶Kiewra and DuBois, “Note-Taking Functions and Techniques,” 240; Peper and Mayer, “Note Taking as a Generative Activity,” 514; Piolat, Olive, and Kellogg, “Cognitive Effort during Note Taking,” 291; Di Vesta and Gray, “Listening and Note Taking,” 278.
- ¹⁷R. J. Peper & R. E. Mayer, “Generative Effects of Note-Taking During Science Lectures,” 34-35; Peper and Mayer, “Note Taking as a Generative Activity,” 514.
- ¹⁸Baddeley, “Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies,” 4-15; Peper & Mayer, “Generative Effects of Note-Taking During Science Lectures,” 34-35; Peper and Mayer, “Note Taking as a Generative Activity,” 514.
- ¹⁹Personal communication, October 23, 2012.
- ²⁰Kiewra and DuBois, “Note-Taking Functions and Techniques,” 240.
- ²¹Carter and Van Matre, “Note Taking Versus Note Having,” 900; Kiewra and DuBois, “Note-Taking Functions and Techniques,” 240; Knight and McKelvie, “Effects of attendance, note-taking, and review on memory for a lecture,” 54; Peper and Mayer, “Note Taking as a Generative Activity,” 514; Di Vesta and Gray, “Listening and Note Taking,” 278.
- ²²Schüler, Scheiter, and Van Genuchten, “The Role of Working Memory in Multimedia Instruction,” 389-392.
- ²³Baddeley, “Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies,” 4-15.
- ²⁴Baddeley, “Working Memory: Theories, Models and Controversies,” 4-15; Schüler, Scheiter, and Van Genuchten, “The Role of Working Memory in Multimedia Instruction,” 389-392.
- ²⁵Knight and McKelvie, “Effects of attendance, note-taking, and review on memory for a lecture,” 54.
- ²⁶Peper & Mayer, “Generative Effects of Note-Taking During Science Lectures,” 34-35; Di Vesta and Gray, “Listening and Note Taking,” 278; Carter and Van Matre, “Note Taking

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The trauma of September 11, 2001, will remain a vivid memory for those old enough to remember hearing or seeing the events. What most people do not realize, however, is that the images and stories of those events are not the only results of the terrorist attacks. We as Americans view the attacks from the victim's point of view, but what about those on "the other side?" This paper discusses the effects the 9/11 attacks had on those with an Islamic or Middle Eastern background by analyzing how President Bush created an enemy of not only al-Qaeda, but also any person associated with their race, culture, and religion. This paper presents the harmful attitude the former President instilled in the nation at a time of crisis.

Islamophobia in the Post-Bush Era

Kathryn Mason

The images of 9/11 are burned vividly into the minds of many Americans. These attacks, perpetrated by al-Qaeda, a militant Islamist organization, linked images of terror to Islam for many Americans. Additionally, stereotypical images of Arabs and Muslims had pervaded popular culture for years before 9/11, an example being the characterization of Arabs and Muslims as violent terrorists in the 1998 movie *The Siege*. Public figures easily capitalized on the fear and stereotypes. Since 9/11, the Bush administration has exploited Islamophobia in American foreign policy rhetoric to legitimize foreign policy decisions and influence the American public to support government actions. Bush, using “words and expressions—‘us,’ ‘them,’ ‘they,’ ‘evil,’ ‘those people,’ ‘demons,’ and ‘wanted: dead or alive’—to characterize people of Arab/Middle Eastern descent,” created a Muslim enemy.¹ The Bush administration used Islamophobia and the Muslim enemy image in its rhetoric in an effort to mobilize the country for war.

Islamophobia after 9/11

Islamophobia, a term meaning “the dread, hatred, and hostility towards Islam and Muslims perpetrated by a series of closed views that imply and attribute negative and derogatory stereotypes and beliefs to Muslims,” was coined in the 1990s.² After 9/11, the presence of Islamophobia in the United States became even more apparent.

Islamophobia in the United States post-9/11 manifested itself in several ways against a very general group of people—anyone who could be mistaken for Muslim or Middle Eastern. Negative attitudes harbored against Muslims are one manifestation of Islamophobia. A study from 2004 showed that almost half of Americans supported the restriction of the civil liberties of Muslim Americans.³ According to polls, over sixty percent of Americans have some prejudice against Muslims, while twenty percent admit they have a large amount of prejudice. Nearly fifty percent of Americans believe American Muslims are not loyal to the United States, and twenty-five percent would rather not have a Muslim as a neighbor.⁴ As these statistics show, negative perceptions of Muslims were widespread in the United States in the years after 2001.

Another form Islamophobia takes in the United States is violence. In the aftermath of 9/11, violence against Muslims grew exponentially, as evidenced by a report released by the FBI in 2002, disclosing that there were 481 hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims in 2001, a 1600 percent increase from the year prior.⁵ In Arizona, Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh, was shot to death outside his gas station from a passing pickup truck. In Seattle, Patrick Cunningham allegedly shot at worshippers and attempted to torch a mosque; while in Utah, James Herrick purportedly set fire to a Pakistani restaurant. Other incidents include a firebomb thrown at a convenience store owned by a U.S. citizen of Indian descent, a Muslim student who was beaten and assailed with eggs at Arizona State University, and the beating of Mustapha Zemkour, a Chicago taxi driver.⁶ These instances of violence against people perceived to be Muslim illuminate the acute fear and hatred of Muslims by some individuals in the United States. Coupled with the negative attitude towards Muslims held by many Americans, the number of hate crimes related to Islamophobia indicates that after September 11, many

Americans bought into the stereotype from popular culture of Muslims as evil and violent. For countless individuals the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon provided evidence that the stereotype was true. The political elites, to advance their own agendas, would soon exploit the Islamophobia existing in the American public after September 11.

Islamophobia in Policies of the Federal Government after 9/11

In the aftermath of 9/11, the federal government rounded up individuals appearing to be of Middle Eastern descent or speaking a foreign language in a dragnet.⁷ During the weeks after the attacks, the U.S. government detained approximately one thousand people; about half were held on immigration charges while about ten percent were charged with minor offenses.⁸ Continuing the racial profiling, the Justice Department interviewed 5000 men, most of whom were Arab or Muslim, who entered the United States on nonimmigrant visas after January 1, 2001. Then in March 2002, the U.S. Attorney General sought to interview 3000 more Arab or Muslim non-citizens. Around the same time, federal law enforcement raided the homes and offices of Arabs and Muslims, looking for connections to terrorists.⁹ Thousands of Arab and Muslim individuals, both citizen and alien, were targeted because of their race and religion. The federal government identified an entire minority group, spread all across the country, for questioning. According to Akram and Johnson, federal law enforcement asked the following questions of Arabs and Muslims:

How do you feel about what happened last week in New York?
 Does it make you sad?
 Does it make you happy?
 Does it make you angry?
 How do you feel about being American?
 How do you feel about being an Arab?
 Why is it that America is considered the enemy?¹⁰

These questions imply that Arabs and Muslims are more prone to disloyalty to the United States than other religions and ethnicities. They suggest that simply because an individual has a characteristic in

common with the perpetrators of 9/11, he or she might support their actions. The fact that law enforcement agencies began detaining and questioning individuals about possible involvement or connection with the horrific events of 9/11 based solely on that person's race and/or religion speaks volumes about the widespread Islamophobia within the U.S. government.

Racial profiling also characterized immigration policy post-9/11. In 2002, a new National Security Entry-Exit Registration System was announced. It imposed additional regulations, like fingerprinting, photographing, and supplementary registration requirements, on certain non-citizens, such as nationals of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Syria and any other individuals determined by the federal government to be national security threats.¹¹ Based on race, religion, and nationality, men and women were subjected to additional requirements to enter the United States.

Bush's Speeches after 9/11

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush administration created a "good versus evil and us versus them" mentality with the rhetoric used in the president's speeches.¹² Debra Merskin, an associate professor at the School of Journalism and Communication at the University of Oregon, did a textual analysis of six speeches given by President Bush after September 11, 2001. Merskin looks at the president's speeches within the framework of Spillmann and Spillmann's model of enemy image construction. This model theorizes that feelings and reactions, such as fear, aversion, aggression, and hate, may be described as a syndrome. They describe the following six characteristics. The first characteristic is negative anticipation, or thinking that all acts of the enemy are meant to harm us. The second characteristic is the idea that the enemy is to blame for the current negative situation. The identification of the enemy with evil is the third characteristic. With this idea comes the idea that the enemy is the opposite of us and wants to destroy our values. The fourth trait, zero-sum thinking, is the concept that if something is good for the enemy, then it is bad for us. The fifth characteristic includes the stereotyping and de-individualization the enemy. The sixth and final trait is the refusal to empathize with the enemy.¹³ These characteristics are the framework in which Merskin analyzes President Bush's rhetoric.

The Address to the Nation

First, Merskin evaluates the president's address to the nation on September 11, 2001, just hours after the terrorist attacks. Merskin finds many of the characteristics of enemy image construction in this very brief address. In several instances, President Bush clearly identifies the enemy with evil. In this address, he uses the word 'evil' four separate times. In one instance, he characterizes the acts of terror as depraved, calling them "evil, despicable acts."¹⁴ In another occurrence, he characterizes the perpetrators as evil, saying, "Today our Nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature."¹⁵ Using this rhetoric, he identifies the enemy with evil, an essential characteristic of the enemy image. He also exhibits zero-sum thinking, stereotyping, and de-individualization in this address.¹⁶ President Bush states, "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."¹⁷ In essence, he declares that an individual or group is either with "us" or with "them." He de-individualizes the enemy by creating a single category; if an individual is in the same group as the enemy, then that individual is an enemy as well.

Remarks after Meeting with the National Security Team

In addition, Merskin scrutinizes the rhetoric in the remarks of President Bush during a photo opportunity with his national security team. Again, he identifies the enemy as evil. The president proclaims, "Freedom and democracy are under attack."¹⁸ By declaring the values and ideals held in highest regard by Americans under attack by the enemy, he once again characterizes the enemy as evil. In this address, President Bush also uses animalistic stereotyping to de-individualize the enemy.¹⁹ He refers to an enemy who "hides in shadows and has no regard for human life. This is an enemy who preys on innocent and unsuspecting people, then runs for cover. But it won't be able to run for cover forever. This is an enemy that tries to hide, but it won't be able to hide forever. This is an enemy that thinks its harbors are safe, but they won't be safe forever."²⁰ He describes the enemy in animalistic terms like "prey," and he draws a vivid picture of an animal burrowing for cover, effectively dehumanizing the enemy. One thing Merskin does not address is the president's choice of pronouns. He uses the pronoun "it"

in this address to refer to the enemy, further dehumanizing his subject, which makes it all the harder for people to empathize with the alleged enemy.

Remarks at the National Day of Prayer Service

Merskin examines a third example of rhetoric, President Bush's speech on September 14, 2001, at the prayer service in Washington. In this speech, as in the previous speeches, he identifies the enemy with evil. He states that the United States was the target of terrorists because of the freedoms Americans enjoy. He declares that the United States has a responsibility "to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil."²¹ President Bush clearly defines the terrorists as an evil force the United States must eradicate from the world.

Remarks upon Arrival at the White House on September 16

President Bush's remarks to the nation upon his arrival at the White House on September 16, 2001 are the fourth illustration of the president's rhetoric that Merskin evaluates. "At this point," Merskin says, "terms such as 'evildoers,' 'evil folks,' and 'barbarism' had entered the vernacular."²² President Bush refers several times to the acts of terrorism as a new kind of evil. He also asserts that the terrorists "hate what America stands for."²³ While he sets the terrorists up as "evil" people who hate the values of the United States and want to destroy them, Bush creates an image of the United States as "good," using the word "faith" six times.²⁴ He also continues his use of animalistic stereotypes in these remarks.²⁵ He describes the terrorists as "burrowing into our society" and says "they hide in caves." He assures the American people that his administration will work "to hunt down, to find, to smoke out of their holes the terrorist organization that is the prime suspect."²⁶ His frequent reference to the enemy in animalistic terms continues the process of dehumanizing and de-individualizing the enemy to the American public.

The Address to the Joint Meeting of Congress

As her fifth example of rhetoric, Merskin analyzes President Bush's September 20, 2001, address to the joint meeting of Congress. Merskin asserts that "Bush identified four questions he felt Americans

were asking: (a) Who attacked our country?, (b) Why do they hate us?, (c) How will we fight this war?, and (d) What is expected of us?²⁷ In each of these questions, President Bush exhibits the characteristics of enemy image construction. In his answer to the first question, he demonstrates negative anticipation. He connects the perpetrators of 9/11 to the American Embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya and the bombings of the USS Cole in October 2000. He states the terrorists' directives are to kill Christians, Jews, and all Americans. The president implies that with all of their actions the terrorists intend to harm and destroy the United States. He continues to use animalistic terms to describe the terrorists. Merskin points out that President Bush uses zero-sum thinking when he issues an ultimatum to the Taliban to hand over the terrorists or share in their fate, an example of de-individualization and refusal to show empathy as well.²⁸ In answering the second question, President Bush continues his identification of the terrorists with evil. He maintains his assertion that the terrorists hate the United States for its freedoms and want to destroy the American way of life. He equates the terrorists with enemy images of evil from history, including references to fascism, totalitarianism, and Nazism. He goes on to answer the third question, how the United States will fight and win the war. Merskin indicates the persistent use of words which characterize the enemy as barbaric and animalistic. The example she gives is the president's statement that the United States "will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest."²⁹ President Bush also speaks of the civilized world coming to the United States' assistance, which not only characterizes the terrorists as barbaric and uncivilized, but also creates an "us" versus "them" worldview. He applies this worldview when he gives the world an ultimatum: "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists."³⁰ Finally, President Bush speaks of what is expected of Americans. In this section of his speech, he claims the United States will "lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future."³¹ The imagery of darkness brings the concept of evil back to the listener's mind, furthering the identification of the enemy with evil.

The State of the Union Address

Finally, Merskin looks at President Bush's January 29, 2002 State of the Union address. Merskin alleges the enemy image was completely constructed by the time of this address.³² Bush persists in his rhetoric, reinforcing the Muslim enemy image his administration has created. He continues to equate the enemy with malevolence, going even farther to name Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as an axis of evil. He places these countries in direct contrast to the civilized world, furthering his identification of the Muslim enemy with evil.³³ He maintains the imagery of the United States as good, assuring the public that "we can overcome evil with greater good."³⁴ By this point, the rhetoric of the Bush administration clearly portrays the United States and its allies as "good" and unmistakably identifies the enemy as a wicked, barbaric, Muslim adversary out to destroy the United States and all that it stands for.

Throughout these speeches, the president engaged in the creation of an enemy image. While creating this image, President Bush did intentionally differentiate between the peaceful religion of Islam and extremists who are "traitors to their own faith," between all Muslims and Arabs and the select few who are a part of terrorist organizations.³⁵ Be that as it may, with all of the images of evil, "us" versus "them" attitudes, and the identification of the terrorists as Arab Muslims, it was not simply a faceless image of evil; the image created is one of a malevolent Muslim enemy, or more precisely an image of anyone who looks Arab or Muslim as an enemy. Bush tapped into the fear of Americans and the popular culture stereotypes of Muslims and Arabs to harness Islamophobia and construct an image of an enemy that he would later capitalize on to convince Americans that an invasion of Iraq was necessary to protect the United States.

Islamophobia and the Push for War in Iraq

In the lead-up to the war in Iraq, the Bush administration used a Muslim enemy to mobilize the public for war. Scott A. Bonn, an assistant professor of sociology at Drew University, argues, "The Iraq war

was legitimized by an elite-engineered moral panic precipitated by the G. W. Bush administration and fueled by the US news media which exploited pre-existing negative stereotypes of Arabs/Muslims and influenced public opinion on support for the invasion of Iraq.²³⁶ To manipulate the American public into backing an invasion of Iraq, President Bush used the stereotypes of Muslims and Arabs that existed in popular culture prior to September 11 and the framing of Saddam Hussein and Iraq as evil that was established by George H. W. Bush's administration. He also capitalized on the enemy image he constructed during his speeches immediately following the attacks of September 11.

The Bush administration, drawing on the Muslim enemy image, linked Iraq and Saddam Hussein to al-Qaeda, constructing a terrorism connection. In February 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell made a presentation to the United Nations outlining the reasons the U.S. saw Iraq as a threat to its national security. Powell charged that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was an al-Qaeda associate and had come to Baghdad in early 2002, where his terrorist organization joined him. Cole's interpretation of this allegation is that "Powell implied that the Baath regime actively allowed the terrorist to operate in Iraq."²³⁷ Cheney would soon pick up this account of the connection between terrorism and Iraq. The Muslim enemy image previously created by the Bush administration lent credence to this claim.

Islamophobia after the Invasion of Iraq

After the invasion, to justify continuing the war in Iraq, the Bush administration began "engaging more in fear mongering," continuing the pattern of identifying a Muslim enemy and employing harsh rhetoric intended to persuade the American public to support an increasingly unpopular war.³⁸

For an example of the fear mongering of the Bush administration, Cole looks at the speech Vice President Cheney made in March 2007 to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. As Cole claims, Cheney's speech is worth quoting at length:

We are the prime targets of a terror movement that is global in nature, and yes, global in its ambitions. The leaders of this movement speak openly and spe-

cifically of building a totalitarian empire covering the Middle East, extending into Europe and reaching across to the islands of Indonesia, one that would impose a narrow, radical vision of Islam...Their creed is extreme and backward looking, yet their methods are modern and sophisticated...

...They wage war by stealth and murder, disregarding the rules of warfare and rejoicing in the death of the innocent.

...The terrorists value death the same way you and I value life. Civilized, decent societies will never fully understand the mindset that drives men to strap on bombs or fly airplanes into building...

...Their aim is to acquire the means to match that hatred and to use chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons to impose their will by unspeakable violence or blackmail.

...The only option for our security and survival is to go on the offensive...until the enemy is destroyed.³⁹

In his speech, Cheney places the terrorists in direct contrast with civilized, decent society, categorizing them as the “evil other” that should be feared. He begins to lay a foundation of fear when he says the United States is the chief target of a global terrorist movement. While Cheney is accurate in describing al-Qaeda as worldwide, it would be more accurate to call it an organization, rather than a movement. Calling the terrorists a movement gives image of the terrorists as widespread with a popular base and an end goal that is actively supported by many people. This three-word phrase, “global terrorist movement,” generates a feeling of fear within the minds of those who hear it. He also cites the terrorists’ goal as creating a radical Islamic empire that contains the entire Middle East, parts of Europe, and extends all the way to Southeast Asia, fostering the feeling of fear among his audience members. Adding to this fear is Cheney’s claim that the terrorists are trying to acquire chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons they will use to impose their empire. He alludes to suicide bombings and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, to enhance his listeners’ fear. Cheney creates the impression of imminent danger, a threat against which the United States has only one option — to go on the offensive. He creates

a world in which “al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups...make the entire Muslim world hostage to U.S. anxieties, such that any Muslim state is at risk of a unilateral, preemptive U.S. attack to deter the shadowy terrorist networks that Cheney perceived as potentially enormously powerful.”⁴⁰ Cheney markets a fear of Muslim terrorists that can easily extend to a fear of Muslims in general because of the excessive rhetoric that builds upon existing stereotypes and Islamophobia.

Cole also looks at a second sampling of Bush administration rhetoric, President Bush’s remarks to the American Legion on March 6, 2007. The president cautions, “The extremists are fighting to take control of Iraq so they can establish it as a base from which to overthrow moderate governments in the region and plan new attacks on the American people. If we fail in Iraq, the enemy will follow us home.”⁴¹ His carefully chosen vocabulary and sentence constructions brand the nationalistic struggle of Iraqi Sunni Arabs as international terrorism that seeks to oust the “moderate” regime the United States installed in Iraq and carry out terrorist attacks against the United States. President Bush’s words create an image of the Muslim villain who wants to attack the United States, not a minority group struggling for an identity in a state where they are no longer in control.⁴²

The Bush administration, in the face of waning public support for the Iraq War, continued to speak of the Muslim enemy, coupling it with even harsher rhetoric and fear mongering, in order to justify keeping troops in Iraq. The Bush administration, through speeches and remarks made to the media, linked the Iraq War and the nationalist insurgency the military was fighting there, to the larger “War on Terror” and terrorist attacks of September 11.

Effects of Islamophobia during the Bush Era

The sometimes harsh rhetoric of the Bush administration did not gain the United States any friends; in fact, it greatly damaged the United States’ image in the Muslim world and virtually the world over. According to the Pew Global Attitudes database, in 2002 25 percent of Jordanians had a favorable view of the United States; in 2008, that percentage was 19 percent. In Kuwait in 2003, there was a 63 percent approval of the United States; by 2007, it was only 46 percent. Even in Turkey, an important NATO ally of the United States, positive views

decreased from 30 percent in 2002 to 9 percent in 2007.⁴³ The United States could not afford to lose its good relations with these predominantly Muslim countries, yet the Bush administration sacrificed the image of the United States in these countries to use fear-mongering rhetoric to garner support for its war efforts from the American public.

In addition to the alienation of Muslims around the world by the administration's rhetoric, Muslims and Arabs in the United States were disaffected by the policies of the administration in the post-9/11 era. Evidence of this disillusionment can be found in a comparison of the election results of 2000 and 2004. In the 2000 election, 72 percent of Muslim Americans voted for George W. Bush in part because he argued against racial profiling and using secret evidence in deportation hearings. In the 2004 election, four national Muslim organizations endorsed his candidacy; yet, just four years later, approximately 93 percent of Muslims voted for the Democratic candidate, Sen. John Kerry, running against Bush.⁴⁴ The administration's policies, such as racial profiling, the detention of individuals for questioning based on their race and religion, and the Patriot Act, led American Muslims to vote against the president that they had overwhelmingly supported just four years before.

Conclusion

While, in the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush administration used Islamophobia in its rhetoric to mobilize the country for two wars, Islamophobia is not a legitimate justification for political or military actions. The construction of a Muslim/Arab enemy and the vilification of Islam does not win the United States any friends. As evidenced by Pew Foundation research, the Bush administration's rhetoric actually hurt the United States' image in many predominantly Muslim countries. Likewise, there has been an improvement in the image of the United States in countries such as Turkey and Jordan since the Obama administration came into power and backed away from the oftentimes harsh, Islamophobic language used by the Bush administration.⁴⁵

NOTES

- ¹ Debra Merskin, "The Construction of Arabs as Enemies: Post-September 11 Discourse of George W. Bush," *Mass Communication and Society* 7:2 (2004): 157.
- ² Ibrahim Kalin, "Islamophobia and the Limits of Multiculturalism," in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, edited by John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4-20, 8.
- ³ Margaret Chon and Donna E. Arzt, "Walking While Muslim," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 62:2 (Spring 2005): 243.
- ⁴ John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, "Muslim True/False: What You Think You Know About Them is Likely Wrong—And That's Dangerous," *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 2008, accessed October 14, 2012, <<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-esposito2apr02,0,5220274.story>>.
- ⁵ Chon and Arzt, "Walking while Muslim," 243.
- ⁶ Richard A Serrano, "Assaults Against Muslims, Arabs Escalating," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 2001, <<http://articles.latimes.com/2001/sep/28/news/mn-50955>>.
- ⁷ Chon and Arzt, "Walking While Muslim," 241.
- ⁸ Susan M. Akram and Kevin R. Johnson, "Race, Civil Rights and Immigration Law after September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims," *NYU Annual Survey of American Law* 58 (2002): 331.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 334-35.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 335.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 342.
- ¹² Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 158.
- ¹³ Kurt R. Spillmann and Kati Spillmann, "Some Sociological and Psychological Aspects of 'Images of the Enemy,'" in *Enemy Images in American History*, edited by R. Fiebig-von Has and U. Lehmkuhl, (Providence, RI: Berghahn, 1997), 50-51.
- ¹⁴ George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2001* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 2:1099-1100, 1099.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 167.
- ¹⁷ Bush, "Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks," 1100.

¹⁸ George W. Bush, "Remarks Following a Meeting with the National Security Team," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2001* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 2:1100-1, 1100.

¹⁹ Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 167.

²⁰ Bush, "Remarks Following a Meeting with the National Security Team," 1100.

²¹ George W. Bush, "Remarks at the National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2001* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 2:1108-9, 1108.

²² Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 168.

²³ George W. Bush, "Remarks on Arrival at the White House and an Exchange with Reporters," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2001* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 2:1114-7, 1116.

²⁴ Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 168.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Bush, "Remarks on Arrival at the White House and an Exchange with Reporters," 1116.

²⁷ Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 169.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ George W. Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2001* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 2:1140-44, 1142.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. 1144.

³² Merskin, "Construction of Arabs as Enemies," 171.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ George W. Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2002* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2002), 1:129-36, 135.

³⁵ Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of Congress," 1141.

³⁶ Scott A. Bonn, "The Social Construction of Iraqi Folk Devils: Post-9/11 Framing by the G.W. Bush Administration and the US News Media," in *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and Moral Panic in the West*, edited by George Morgan and Scott Poynting (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), 83-99, 83.

³⁷ Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 133.

³⁸ Juan Cole, "Islamophobia and American Foreign Policy Rhetoric: The Bush Years and After," in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, edited by John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 127-142, 128.

³⁹ Dick Cheney, "Vice President's Remarks at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee 2007 Policy Conference," (March 12, 2007), quoted in Cole, "Islamophobia," 131-32.

⁴⁰ Cole, "Islamophobia," 133.

⁴¹ George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2007* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2007), 1:237-243, 239.

⁴² Cole, "Islamophobia," 131.

⁴³ Pew Research Global Attitudes Project.

⁴⁴ Jim Lobe, "The Arab American News - U.S. Muslims Could Be Critical Voting Bloc," n.d. <<http://www.arab-americannews.com/news/index.php?mod=article&cat=Election&article=6034>>.

⁴⁵ According to the Pew Global Attitudes database, the percentage of Jordanians with a favorable view of the United States rose from 19 percent in 2008 to 21 percent in 2010. In Turkey, positive views increased from 9 percent in 2007 to 17 percent in 2010.

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Though Jeremiah 31 was once interpreted almost exclusively through the lens of Hebrews, recent exegesis has placed increasing importance on the distinct contexts that prevailed at the time of the prophecy's writing. Using these considerations as a foundation, this paper attempts a more nuanced interpretation of the "new covenant" in Jeremiah 31:31-37 as addressed to the postexilic Israelites. Such an approach not only allows for greater thematic and symbolic harmony between the prose and poetry subunits of the excerpt, but also reveals the ultimate continuity of God's promises to his chosen people.

Achieving Balance: The Interaction of Prose and Poetry in Jeremiah 31:31-37

David Wiseman

"The author of this canticle [Jer. 31:35-36] does not construe reality as disenchanting, but as a meaningful whole in which God is a divine actor."¹ Because of its importance in Christian theology, Jeremiah 31 is among the most often discussed chapters in the corpus of biblical prophecy. Although a few commentators continue to read Jeremiah 31:31-37 in light of early Christian interpretation, these commentators are now in the minority.² Bruggemann goes so far as to state that Hebrews offers a misreading of Jeremiah 31.³ Rather than attempting to read the words of Jeremiah in the context of the early church, Bruggemann et al. read all of Jeremiah's oracles strictly in light of the Book of Jeremiah's theological, literary, and sociopolitical context.

This new emphasis on understanding the book of Jeremiah with a greater regard for its native context naturally encourages the reader to pay greater attention to the relationships and interaction between units within Jeremiah and, further, to derive meaning from those relationships. Rather than look at the isolated canto of Jeremiah 31:31-34a cited in New Testament theology, the exegete will find it necessary to interpret the canto on the basis of its connection to the subsequent poetry. Though Jeremiah 31:31-37 may not have been written as a single unit, the evidence suggests that the units in this passage have been placed

together purposefully. This paper will demonstrate that the poetic lines of Jeremiah 31:34b-37 are intended to augment the theological implications of the “New Covenant” described in Jeremiah 31:31-34a. The discussion of this passage will begin with a brief examination of the New Covenant oracle in order to establish the background against which verses 35-37 are set. Once the background has been established, the discussion will proceed to seek a working text of the poetic lines under examination by comparison of the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. This paper will then discuss versification and poetic elements of the passage on the basis of the text followed by a contextual analysis of the meaning of the poetry in Jeremiah 31:31-37 with particular attention given to its poetic structure. I will conclude, finally, that the new reading of Jeremiah 31:31-37 is thematically consonant with the interpretation given in the Book of Hebrews.

The Prose: Contents and Theme of Jeremiah 31:31-34a

While some commentators are inclined to treat Jeremiah 31:31-34a independently from 34b-37, at least as many commentators treat the two as inter-dependent subunits.⁴ Both of these units are clearly related to God’s continued relationship with the people of Israel after the exile, which creates a thematic connection throughout all seven verses.

Scholarly criticism of Jeremiah 31:31-34 has identified only three significant textual questions. First, in verse 31 the Masoretic Text contains the phrase, “and the house of Judah,” which is absent in the Septuagint.⁵ Although Becking states that neither tradition can be considered superior to the other, we can reasonably say that the Septuagint reading is original on the principle of *lectio brevior*, and the addition of “and Judah” may be meant to clarify that the “house of Israel” described here is not limited to the northern kingdom.⁶ Second, in verse 32 the Masoretic Text reads *ba’alti*, “I was a husband to,” and the Septuagint reads *eimeleisa*, “I abominated.” This difference is complicated by the fact that, while the Syriac version reads *ʿsitha* in agreement with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, which reads *dominatus sum*, agrees with the Masoretic reading and is clearly derived from the idea of rulership associated with the Hebrew verb. Becking suggests that the Septuagint altered the wording of this verse in order to avoid associating the God of Israel with Baal.⁷ The editors of the BHS, on the other hand, posit that *ba’alti* was mis-

taken for *ga'alti*, but this interpretation is strained, both by the lack of any existing Hebrew texts with the reading *ga'alti* and by the compelling simplicity of Septuagint translators wanting to avoid associating YHWH with Baal. Regardless, the Masoretic reading is frequently preferred on the basis that "I was a husband to them" is a pun on the name of Baal, whose worship made the New Covenant necessary:

Covenant breaking in the form of apostasy is likened to adultery, making the separation irreparable in human terms (Jer 3:1; Deut 24:1-4). The Sinai/Horeb covenant had been brought to an end. . . Only a powerful act of divine mercy could make them God and people for each other again.⁸

The third significant variant in this passage is found in verse 33, wherein a minority of Masoretic manuscripts read *b'ney*, "children," rather than *beyth*, "house." Although some commentators find the minority reading compelling, the fact that the reading "children" is only found in a minority of Masoretic manuscripts, and that "house" agrees with the terminology used in verse 31, make this the more likely reading.⁹

More important than textual difficulties, the themes of Jeremiah 31:31-34a reveal its relationship to what follows. From the very beginning, this oracle introduces a theme of disjuncture with the past. The introduction "Behold, days are coming," indicates that the events described in this oracle are temporally distant from the perspective of the prophet.¹⁰ The title "New covenant," by virtue of being distinct from the current covenant, likewise distances the events of the oracle from the prophet's immediate situation.¹¹ Allen points out that the New Covenant oracle repeatedly demonstrates discontinuity with the past for the purpose of maintaining the continuity of the relationship between God and Israel.¹² It is important to note, though, that this purpose is not explicitly stated in 31-34a. The question remains, is this New Covenant an eschatological "pious hope," or does it represent a sociopolitical answer to an immediate problem?¹³ The introductory language "the days are coming" is likely related to the eschatological formula, "the end of days," which would indicate that the New Covenant is not, in fact, a program for social change. Bruggemann notes that God is the only actor in this covenant, reinforcing the idea that Jeremiah is not writing about social organization.¹⁴

If the New Covenant does not constitute a solution to problems of Israelite worship and abuses of power, it must serve another purpose. The New Covenant oracle is placed in the Book of Consolation as a part of the reassurance to the exiles that their God had not abandoned them. Carroll prefers a postexilic date for the oracle, seeing it as an explanation for the return and reestablishment of Jews in Palestine.¹⁵ Carroll goes on to argue that Jeremiah's use of *berith*, "covenant," is a radical transformation of the Deuteronomistic use of the same word, because in Jeremiah's use, the covenant is dependent upon God alone, who causes the community to keep the law by their own nature.¹⁶ Becking points out, though, that the concept of a covenant was an ancient one for Jeremiah's audience, and the formal elements of suzerainty treaties included in this oracle are intended to imply continuity with the earlier Deuteronomistic uses of those same forms.¹⁷ Allen's assertion that the covenant is "presented as new not in substance but in form" is true to the extent that the covenant is different in form within the category of covenants, but the reader must remember that it remains formally equivalent insofar as it is still a covenant.¹⁸ There is no reason to believe that the contents of the law in Jeremiah's New Covenant are different from the contents of the law of Deuteronomistic covenants; the Deuteronomistic code was simply external to the individual. The effect of Jeremiah's novel internalization of the code is that "The exhortation, 'Know the LORD' will fall silent, because *torah*...written on the heart means that the LORD is known already."¹⁹

Although the statement that the New Covenant is "directly opposed" to Josiah's method of reform is certainly an overstatement, Jeremiah's description of the New Covenant does indicate a certain disillusionment with human agents of reform.²⁰ Divine intervention in the human will acknowledges the failure of previous reforms to produce lasting results. Jeremiah therefore proclaims an eschatological hope that the divine king, much like Josiah, will institute religious reforms.

The Hymn: Textual Variants and Redaction of Jeremiah 31:34b-37

The poetic lines of Jeremiah 31:34b-37 stand out against the background of the New Covenant disjuncture with the past. Apart from their context, these lines “read like an unambiguous statement of a Zion theology that guarantees the inviolability of the nation.”²¹ In sharp contrast to the New Covenant, the poetry of 34b-37 explicitly emphasizes Israel’s continued existence and relationship with God.

Establishing the textual history will be more important in this section than in the prose verses, due to both the nature of variants in this doxology and the fact that poetry uses precise wording to create parallelism. There are four noteworthy textual variants in Jer. 31:34b-37. The first major textual variant is found in verse 35, where the Masoretic Text reads, “Thus says the LORD, who gave the sun to light the day, the ordinances of the moon and the stars to light the night, stirs up the sea and its waves roar, LORD of hosts is his name.” The Septuagint does not contain any equivalent to “ordinances.” Further confusing the issue, the Greek has *hoi nomoi*, “the laws,” paralleling the Masoretic Text.²² If this is a late addition to the text, it is unlikely that it is a mistaken repetition of the other instances of “ordinances” in the surrounding verses. Although the same Hebrew word for “ordinances” is repeated in verse 36, the form in verse 35 has the feminine plural inflectional suffix, and in verse 36 it is masculine plural, two forms that are not easily confused.

If the appearance of “ordinances” in verse 35 is not accidental, though, it begs the question of why else it would be there. It may be that both instances of “ordinances” are original, and that the first was omitted from the Septuagint. However, it is reasonable to prefer the Septuagint’s reading on the principle of *lectio brevior*, as in the case of Jer. 31:31. In that case, it is apparent that a redactor found it necessary to clarify what “ordinances” in verse 36 refers to. Such a clarification also serves to strengthen the connection between two parts of this poem by functioning as a near exact lexical pair.

Two zero-variants distinguish the Septuagint of verse 37 from the Masoretic text. That is to say, the Masoretic text has two words or phrases that have no equivalent in the Septuagint version. The shorter of these variants is the Masoretic inclusion of *ḅkol*, “in all,” in the second half of the verse. The Masoretic text reads, “I will also reject all the seed of Israel for all that they have done, word of the LORD,” while the Septuagint has simply “I will reject the seed of Israel for all they have done.” The Septuagint reading is appealing not only because it is shorter, but also because the appearance of “all” at the end of verse 36 and again in the very next phrase, “for all they have done,” provides a plausible explanation for the addition of “all” here. It is unlikely that a scribe added “all” unintentionally because it has a prepositional prefix, absent in the other cases. Like “statutes” in verse 35, “all” was likely added to strengthen parallelism by appealing to the same term in surrounding lines.

The Masoretic version of verse 37 is introduced by the formula “Thus says the LORD,” which is absent from the Septuagint. There is no reason to suspect that the longer reading is original. However, no simple motivation for adding this formula is readily apparent. The rationale behind this addition may become clearer in light of the final variant in this passage.

Masoretic verse 37 precedes verses 35-36 in the Septuagint. Becking suggests that neither tradition is an alteration of the other; rather, they constitute two independent collections of the texts.²³ Initially, this position would seem tenuous at best, as it suggests that at least two compilers, completely independent of each other, possessed nearly identical collections of oracles and chose to arrange them in the same order, and with so few exceptions that the reversal of a few short poetic lines like these comprises a significant deviation. Becking does provide one scenario, however, which may have provided a redactor with motive to reverse these two units. Notably, verses 31-37 may be analyzed as a single unit with “for they will all know me, from the smallest unto the greatest” in verse 34 and “if the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth explored below” forming an extended merism.²⁴ Verse 37 may have been moved in order to incorporate 35-36 into this merism, and the introductory formula “thus says the LORD” might have then been placed at the beginning of the verse, both by analogy with the previous unit of poetry and in order to signal the beginning of a new poetic thought.

The Poetry: Versification and Meaning in Jeremiah 31:34b-37

At this point, the discussion of poetic elements in the text begins to have more bearing on its arrangement. Becking's suggestion of merismus here is frustrated by the fact that "from the least to the greatest" comes at the end of the 34a subunit, at least in the Masoretic Text, explaining why no one will teach his neighbor under the New Covenant, and is immediately followed by the concluding formula, "Word of the LORD." The phrase, "from the least to the greatest," more likely concludes the prose section of 31-37, and the second section of verse 34 begins the poetic section.

The second half of verse 34 separates naturally into two versets of poetry, "For I will forgive their depravity / and their sins will I remember no longer." These two phrases are pragmatically co-referential, both describing God's future mercy to Israel. The second verset of this line uses what Alter refers to as a "structures of intensification" to heighten the previous statement by saying that in addition to forgiving sins, God will not even remember them.²⁵

The line of poetry in verse 34 forms a natural thematic unit with verse 37. Following Becking's versification of 37, this creates a tri-linear poem thusly:

1. For I will forgive their depravity / and their sins
will I remember no longer.
2. If the heavens above can be measured / and the
foundations of the earth explored below
3. Also will I reject the seed of Israel / for all they
have done.²⁶

Each of these three lines begins with a different preposition. Lines 1 and 3 contain contrasting images of the action God will take, actual and hypothetical, respectively, as a reaction to the sins of Israel. These two lines create an envelope structure of contrasting elements analogous to several other constructions in biblical poetics, such as the one that Alter points out in Psalm 1. Here, God's forgiveness is diametrically opposite the course of action that is expected in the Deuteronomistic corpus.²⁷ Line 2 appeals to the axiomatic impossibilities of measuring heaven and exploring the depths in order to emphasize the certainty and extravagance of what God is doing for the "seed of Israel." The vastness of

creation is central to this poem, and it serves as the basis for the description of God's monumental forgiveness and ability to carry out these promises. Lines 2 and 3 may have been moved in the Masoretic text in order to put them in closer proximity to the parallel lines in verse 36, or in order to incorporate 35-36 into this psalm of forgiveness.²⁸

Although verse 35 divides easily into two bi-colic lines, verse 36 is less transparent. Becking interprets verse 36 as a single tri-colic line.²⁹ It will become apparent, though, that both of these verses consist of two lines with two versets each, delineated thusly:

Thus says the LORD:

1. A) [He] who gave the sun to light the day /
B) moon and stars to light the night
2. A) Stirs up the sea and its waves roar / B) LORD
of hosts is his name
3. A) If these statutes depart / B) from before me,
word of the LORD
4. A) Also the seed of Israel will cease / B) from
being a nation before me all the days.

This short poem fits well with Alter's schema of lines divided into two or three versets.³⁰ In line 1, "the sun" is clearly parallel to "moon and stars," both in pragmatic terms, referring to celestial "lights," and in grammatical terms as the objects of the same verb. In line 2, the versets are coreferential, verset A acting as a substantive, "He who stirs up the sea" and verset B naming God explicitly in the nominal phrase "LORD of hosts." Becking treats line 3 as the first of three cola in verse 36. It becomes clear that there are two separate versets, though, when line three is compared to line 4. Verset A of the lines correspond, with line 3 verset A introducing the protasis, and line 4 verset A responding with the apodosis of a condition. The second versets of lines 3 and 4 are parallel on the basis of different conjugations of the verb *liphnei*, "in front of," and the recurrence of the prepositional prefix N. There is no significant parallelism between the first verset of one line and the second verset of the other, which also suggests that there are two "bi-colic" lines rather than one "tri-colic" line, to use Becking's terminology.

In 35-36 line 1, verset A forms an envelope structure with line 4 verset B between "to light the day" and "all the days." This structure creates equivalence between "the seed of Israel" in line 4 and the

sun, moon, and stars in line one, reinforcing the permanence of Israel. The second versets of lines 2 and 3 contain the only occurrences of the tetragrammaton in 35-36. These two lines describe God's absolute power to control creation. Bruggemann states that the doxology of lines 1 and 2 serves to establish the speaker's ability to fulfill the condition in lines 3 and 4.³¹ The lexical connection between lines 2 and 3, then, may be understood as supporting the function of the doxology, reminding the reader that the deity who is described in the doxology is also the one making the conditional statement.

The division of this poem into eight versets may be further supported by its lexical constancy. Five of the eight versets consist of exactly four words. The second versets of lines 2 and 3, which have already proven parallel to each other, each have three words. The second verset of line 4 has five words, but it is possible that the poet intended "all the days" to be interpreted as a single pragmatic unit, especially considering the frequent occurrence of this word pair (46 times in the Masoretic Text), which may have had idiomatic status as a single unit. Though word count may not always be significant in Hebrew poetry, the degree of consistency, in conjunction with the lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic parallels demonstrated before, should not be ignored. Fokkelman similarly appeals to a high degree of consistency in the number of beats or stresses per poetic unit to establish the importance of beat in biblical poetics.³²

The Balance: Interaction of Prose and Poetry in Jeremiah 31:31-37

Keown et al. point to thematic similarities and vocabulary between Jeremiah 31:31-37 and the Noahic covenant in Genesis 8:22.³³ The permanence of Israel is thus connected to another permanent covenant. In contrast to the prose New Covenant oracle, the hymn appeals to a permanent covenant with nature and promises the continuity of Israel's existence.³⁴ While Carroll understands "the hymn [as] the only part [of 31-37] which does not directly reverse a saying or past event,"³⁵ this observation is ultimately incomplete. The hymn does not simply fail to reverse previous statements but actively affirms, as Bruggemann notes, that "nothing can separate Israel from God's relentless love."³⁶

The hymn is joined to the New Covenant oracle by means of the particle *ki*. This particle serves to demonstrate the relationship between two related words, ideas, or clauses, and it generally does so in one of four ways.³⁷ *ki* may follow verbs of seeing or saying and is then translated “that,” it may introduce a temporal clause, a causal clause, or it may be paired with the preposition *‘im* to introduce an exception, i.e. “although,” or “except.”³⁸ It would seem noteworthy, then, that in the Septuagint arrangement, the next line of poetry begins with the preposition *‘im*. Subsequent lines beginning with *ki ‘im* suggests the idea of “but” or “except,” framing the hymn as a contrast or exception to the preceding lines of prose. The hymn is placed deliberately to counterbalance the New Covenant. Significantly, the particle *ki* also functions in an oath to indicate what is sworn, thus, “I swear *that*,” and it may serve a similar purpose in Jeremiah 31:34, where the hymn introduced by this particle is the content of the oath that God has sworn, or the covenant that God has made.³⁹

The disjuncture of the oracle is clearly intended to preserve the continuity of Israel, God, covenant, and law after Israel has been unfaithful and condemned to exile. As Sarason explains, “Jeremiah, in the light of the contemporary catastrophe, apparently despairs of the people’s ability to change themselves (“to repent”; see, by contrast, 24:6-7) and requires God to do it for them in a radical fashion.”⁴⁰ In contrast, the hymn emphasizes God’s dedication to continuity. Together 31-34a and 34b-37 form a balanced view of a covenant that is both new and a renewal of old covenants, making use of the broad range of meaning of *chadash*, “new.”⁴¹ These two units together extend to opposite extremes simultaneously: the New Covenant oracle insists on a fundamental reorganization of the covenant and what it means for Israel to be in a covenant with God, while the hymn declares with equal fervor that the maker of the world will never allow any sin or circumstance to destroy the bond with Israel.

Conclusion

Jeremiah 31:31-37 consists of two basic subunits purposefully arranged in order to convey a message of Israelite renewal. The New Covenant oracle in verses 31-34a emphasizes disjuncture with the history of Israel’s relationship to God, stating that in the future Israel

will become faithful to the covenant because its laws will become a part of their very nature. The hymn of 34b-37 is juxtaposed to the New Covenant oracle in order to point out that the changes entailed in the oracle have continuity as their goal. If God creates a new covenant with Israel, it is so that Israel will not be forsaken and their covenantal relationship with God will continue. The hymn relates God's forgiveness, which makes the New Covenant possible. The net result of these two complementary sections is the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel. The God of all creation powerfully intervenes in the affairs of Israel, resolving the pressing problem of a house of Israel that feels hopelessly abandoned in exile.

In this element of balancing continuity and discontinuity, Hebrews clearly reflects the attitude of Jeremiah 31, if not the precise context. Hebrews 10:14 proclaims, "For through one sacrifice, He has made complete forever the sanctified ones."⁴² In the following verses, Hebrews goes on to cite a line from each of the prose and poetic sections of Jeremiah 31:31-37. Hebrews juxtaposes the new thing being done in the earth with the continuity of the relationship between God and "the sanctified ones" through forgiveness.⁴³ Although the context is new in Hebrews, and in this sense Bruggemann is correct in saying that Hebrews offers a misinterpretation, the principal remains the same.⁴⁴ In the New Covenant, God is doing something new in the earth in order to maintain a relationship with those who have been sanctified.

APPENDIX

Comparing the Masoretic and Septuagint Texts

31 Behold, days are coming, oracle of the LORD, when I will make with the house of Israel and the house of Judah a new covenant. 32 Not like the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day I took their hand to bring them out of Egypt, the covenant that they broke, and I **was a husband to** (I was unconcerned for) them, oracle of the LORD. 33 For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, oracle of the LORD. I will put my torah in their midst and upon their hearts will I engrave it, and I will be to them a God, and they will be to me a people. 34 And a man will no longer teach his neighbor, and a man his brother, saying, "Know the LORD!" for they will all know me, from the small unto the great. Word of the LORD.

For I will forgive their depravity / and their sins will
I remember no longer.

35 **Thus says the LORD:**

(He) who gave the sun to light the day / statutes
of the moon and stars to light the night

Stirs up (bellows at) **the sea and its waves roar /**
LORD of hosts is his name

36 **If these statutes depart / from before me,**
oracle of the LORD

Also the seed of Israel will cease / from being
a nation before me all the days. (Appears after
verse 37)

37 Thus says the LORD

If the heavens above can be **measured** (elevated) /
and the foundations of the earth **explored** (brought
down) below

Also will I reject all the seed of Israel / for all they
have done.

Oracle of the LORD⁴⁵

Legend:

Not present in the Septuagint

Other differences

(Septuagint reading)

NOTES

¹ Ronald M. Hals, "Some Aspects of the
Exegesis of Jeremiah 31:31-34," 266.

² Joshua N. Moon, *Jeremiah's New Covenant*, 3.

³ Walter Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah:
Exile and Homecoming*, 294-295.

⁴ David Rhymer, "Jeremiah 31:31-34," 294-296;
Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G.
Smothers, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 130-137.

⁵ All Old Testament verses referenced in this
paper are translated from the BHS.

⁶ Robert Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 18.

- ⁷ Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 38.
- ⁸ Keown, Scalise, and Smothers, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 132.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Jer. 31:31.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 353.
- ¹³ Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 612; Harry P. Potter, "The New Covenant in Jeremiah XXXI 31-34," 349.
- ¹⁴ Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, 298.
- ¹⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 613.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 614.
- ¹⁷ Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 258-272.
- ¹⁸ Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 356.
- ¹⁹ Keown, Scalise, and Smothers, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 134, emphasis in original.
- ²⁰ Potter, "The New Covenant in Jeremiah XXXI 31-34," 349.
- ²¹ Keown, Scalise, and Smothers, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 136.
- ²² Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 43.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 42.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.
- ²⁵ Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 76.
- ²⁶ Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 106.
- ²⁷ Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 144; See 2 Kings 17:20 for an example of Deuteronomistic judgment.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ³⁰ Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 4-6.
- ³¹ Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, 297.
- ³² J.P. Fokkeman, *Reading Biblical Poetry*, 37-38.
- ³³ Keown, Scalise, and Smothers, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 136.
- ³⁴ Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, 295.
- ³⁵ Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, 616.
- ³⁶ Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, 297.
- ³⁷ R. Laird Harris, *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, 437-438.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 472.
- ⁴⁰ Richard S. Sarason, "The Interpretation of Jeremiah 31:31-34 in Judaism," 111.

⁴¹ Becking, *Between Fear and Freedom*, 260.

⁴² All New Testament verses referenced in this paper are translated from the Nestle-Aland Greek.

⁴³ Heb. 10:16-18.

⁴⁴ Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, 294-295.

⁴⁵ Jer. 31:31-37.

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