

# OUR Journal

Oregon Undergraduate Research

Volume 18, Issue 1, Winter 2021





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## Cover Art—"Hope"

Sophia Salter\*, Psychology

This piece is the last in my series that explores how people respond to grief and trauma. The two people holding hands represent the hope and healing that come after the acceptance of a traumatic experience and the need for connecting with others in this process. The strong brush strokes and bold colors are my own style I have developed throughout my years as a painter. Although the piece was conceived before the transition to social distancing, its subject is especially relevant now amidst the coronavirus pandemic as we all struggle to stay connected; we must stay strong together despite our inability to be together physically. We look forward to hope and healing in 2021.

The entire series and more of my work can be viewed at [artbysophia.com](http://artbysophia.com).

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\*Sophia Salter is a freshman studying psychology and neuroscience. She would like to go into research and study how art can be used to help victims of trauma. She enjoys painting, swimming, and running her art business, Cards and Prints by Sophia, and she is looking forward to having in-person activities again. Please direct correspondence to [ssalter@uoregon.edu](mailto:ssalter@uoregon.edu).



## Letter from the Editor

Starla Chambrose\*, Biology and History

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Dear Readers,

I know I'm not the only one who is more than a little glad that 2020 is finally behind us. Yet while I was reflecting on all the tumult of the last year, I wondered if I should be so quick to try and wipe it all from my mind; perhaps that would be throwing out the baby with the bathwater, so to speak. 2020 brought us wildfires, (publicized) racial injustice, arguably the most contentious presidential election in living memory, and, of course, a pandemic that has claimed countless lives around the world. However, the year was also filled with acts of kindness, heroism, and inspiration. When one of the many fires in the Willamette Valley last summer burned down a friend's home while she was away, in a sick twist of irony, fighting fires elsewhere in Oregon, donations came pouring in to help her land back on her feet. Across the country, people participated in peaceful protests in support of the Black Lives Matter movement, proving that there is still hope for systemic change. More people than ever voted in the U.S. presidential election. Finally, companies developed vaccines for COVID-19 at unprecedented speeds, an incredible feat and a major win for scientific research. It was a rewarding year for research at the UO as well. I am proud to present five articles from undergraduates who, despite the challenges of the previous year, adapted and found ways to continue their research remotely. Alexis Garcia argues for a new perspective on an ancient grave stele (p. 1), Dimitra Fellman analyzes the relationship between the nuclear family and Oregon's fight in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century against venereal disease (p. 13), and Jacob Evarts and Mikala Capage find compelling evidence in yeast that sometimes, the presence of misfolded proteins can actually be beneficial (p. 26). This issue also presents two full-length theses that won the UO Libraries Undergraduate Research Award: *"You Shall Not Oppress a Resident Alien": The Conception of Immigration in the Hebrew Bible* by Miriam Thielman (p. 35) and *Understanding Native Hawaiian Land Relations Through Kānaka Maoli Literature* by Jordan Kalani Harden (p. 94). When it comes to progress in the pursuit of knowledge, it seems there were some bright spots in 2020 after all.

As always, this edition of *OURJ* would not have been possible without the many people working behind the scenes. This year we welcomed three new editors to our board; although I have not had the opportunity to meet Noa, Taylor, or Micah in person, they have been invaluable additions to the *OURJ* team. My deepest thanks to them for their hard work and dedication. Shuxi and Jay, our only returning editors from last year, are due thanks as well. The board is lucky to have their experience and editing prowess. And to Barbara Jenkins, Coordinator of Outreach and Special Programs at the UO Libraries (just one of the many hats she wears), my most sincere gratitude for making the publication of this journal possible. Finally, I'd like to recognize the authors and artists who have contributed to this publication; may their work inspire fellow undergraduate students to pursue and share their own research and creative works.

On behalf of the editorial board, please enjoy this 18<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Oregon Undergraduate Research Journal*.

\*Starla Chambrose is a senior in the Clark Honors College majoring in biology and history. In addition to serving on the *OURJ* editorial board, she is a member of the university's Rotaract club, works as a tutor for Biology 214, and volunteers as a crisis counselor. She conducts research in the Cresko Laboratory and under Professor Valiani in the history department. In her free time, Starla enjoys watching football, cooking, and playing the piano.



## Guest Editorial—"The Lure of the Lab"

Scott Fisher, Director of the Pine Mountain Observatory, Astronomy Lecturer,  
and Director of Undergraduate Studies, Physics Department

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My undergraduate research experiences completely changed my life and career trajectory! I credit my early research work to leading me to become a Staff Scientist at the Gemini Observatory in Hawaii, build camera systems used on the largest telescopes in the world, and share my expertise and love of astronomy with students at the UO Pine Mountain Observatory.

As an undergraduate at a large state school, my first exposure to any organized research was through a work-study program. Although I was totally inexperienced and in my program's first year, I applied for every science related job I saw. I was so hungry to get involved and committed myself to doing whatever job I got. My first job was a humble one—washing beakers and mixing up epoxy in a chemistry lab. Not too much to do with physics, but I WAS IN A LAB!

I had no idea what I was doing when I applied to those jobs—but I had drive, desire, and enthusiasm. These qualities got my foot into the door of that lab and they carry me now as a mid-career scientist and educator. My advice to students is to be bold and proactive! None of us know what we are doing at first—you just need to get involved and move forward.

That work-study program led to a second experience working in a physics lab where I helped construct a refrigerator that cooled a sample of metal down to just a few milli-degrees from absolute zero (-460 F). After this unpaid internship, I knew I wanted to work with machines that enable cutting-edge science research.

After my first astronomy class, I was hooked on studying the universe with those machines. In my Physics of Astrophotography class, I realized that I could not only build instruments, but also use them to do my own research! That was my first step to becoming an astronomer. After that epiphany, I approached every astronomy professor on campus asking if there were any projects I could take on. Luckily—and I realize that I was lucky to find this opportunity—the director of Rosemary Hill Observatory (operated by University of Florida) gave me my first project at a telescope facility.

As I reflect on my career path, I can see how these straightforward ideas—being proactive, being engaged, being a respectful collaborator—have helped me become the scientist I am today. I do my best to share the same lessons with the students I mentor at the observatory and in physics.

My first undergraduate research job cemented my love for the laboratory environment that has propelled me through my scientific career in astronomy. So, I urge you to get involved with research in your major early and often. The research experiences you have now as an undergraduate will likely be the ones that form the foundations of your career.



## Art Feature—“Material Trail”

Isais Lawrence\*, Architecture

The illustration is focused around “emergy,” which is a word created from the term “embodied energy.” Emergy is the total energy used in the life cycle of a product; it is the energy required both directly and indirectly to make a product or service. It takes a lot of energy to build; building involves mining, shipping, manufacturing, processing, and construction, which all require energy. As I enter my terminal architecture studio, I have been asked to look at how the building process and buildings themselves can become more efficient. Understanding the systems involved in creating a finished building can help us track a material trail of goods, which in turn can help us understand today's environmental crises, like climate change and the destruction of ecosystems. As designers, we should investigate where our materials are coming from so we can limit landscape damage and shrink the trail of carbon emissions that are released from transportation and production.



\*Isais Lawrence is a fifth-year undergraduate studying architecture. While his interests in the field of architecture are broad, he has become intrigued by mass timber construction and the housing crises in the United States and other countries. After graduation, he plans to apply to architecture firms that focus on the residential sector. Outside of school, Isais likes to mountain bike, hike, and hang out with friends. Please direct correspondence to [isais5644@gmail.com](mailto:isais5644@gmail.com).





## Meet the Editorial Board

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### NOA COHEN

Noa Cohen is a senior in the Clark Honors College majoring in biological anthropology and general science and minoring in global health, biology, chemistry, and music. Her research interests include cognitive neuroscience and primate behavior. With the Posner Cognitive Neuroscience Lab, she researches the effect of electrical stimulation on smoking cessation. She also studies Japanese Macaque male bonding at the Oregon National Primate Research Institute. This year she will study cognitive behavioral therapies to help adolescents with Autism Spectrum Disorder at the HEDCO clinic. In addition to serving as an editor at the OURJ, she works as a contact tracer and case manager for the Corona Corps at the University of Oregon. Outside of school, Noa enjoys playing classical piano, reading, and painting.

### TAYLOR GINIECZKI

Taylor Ginieczki is a junior majoring in political science and global studies and minoring in Spanish. Her research interests include international relations theory, collective action and cooperation, terrorism studies, and nuclear weapon nonproliferation, and she plans to attend graduate school for political science in order to become an academic in international relations. At the UO, Taylor is a Wayne Morse Scholar, a poetry editor for the student arts journal *Unbound*, the treasurer of the Economics Club, and a member of the Foreign Policy Forum Club. Beyond academics, she loves nature photography, writing poetry, painting, and learning French.

### JAY TAYLOR

Jay Taylor is a sophomore majoring in linguistics and minoring in computer science and Korean. He currently serves as the Financial Coordinator for the University of Oregon LGBTQA3 office and co-president of the UO Model United Nations club. He recently discovered a strong interest in research and presented on the topic of mental health in South Korea at the 2020 Oregon Undergraduate Research Symposium. He is passionate about learning new languages, non-profit management, and making the world a better place.

### MICAH WOODS

Micah Woods is a sophomore in the Clark Honors College majoring in environmental studies and philosophy and minoring in biology. Their research interests include environmental philosophy, social and political philosophy, transgender theory, issues in sustainable agriculture, and the use of fear rhetoric in relation to environmental issues. Micah is a Presidential Scholar and currently



serves as a writing tutor at the UO Tutoring and Academic Engagement Center and as the Student Organizations Liaison Coordinator with the UO LGBT Education Support Services. Their non-academic interests include singing, playing guitar, watercolor, learning about plants, and exploring Eugene on bike and skateboard.

## SHUXI WU

Shuxi Wu is a senior majoring in anthropology, Asian studies, economics, and international studies. Her research concerns globalization, urbanization, migration and new media. She plans to go to graduate school in anthropology. She is the associate director of the UO Associated Students of Undergraduate Research and Engagement and the vice president of the UO Anthropology Club.





# Silent Slaves: Reconstructing Slave Perspectives on the Grave Stele of Hegeso

Alexis Garcia\*, Art History and Cultural Anthropology

## ABSTRACT

The Grave Stele of Hegeso (400 BCE) depicts a ‘mistress and maid’ scene and preserves valuable insights into elite iconography. The stele also explores the experiences of wealthy Athenian women in their social roles and domestic spaces. The slave attendant, if discussed at length, primarily functions as a method of contrast and comparison to her elite master. While the comparison between elite and non-elite women is a valuable interpretation for studies of gender and class in classical Athens, more can be done in regard to examining the slave attendant on the stele, and as a result, examining slave figures in Greek art. Slaves made up a sizeable portion of classical Athenian society and were present in both elite and poor households. However, due to a lack of material and written evidence, the field of classics has not explored the concept of Greek slavery to its full extent. In addition, what little does remain to modern scholars was commissioned or written by elite voices, who were biased against slaves. The remaining elite perspective does provide insight into the role of slaves in classical Athenian households and can be reexamined to find subversive interpretations. This paper explores potential reconstructions for slave perspectives and narratives on the Grave Stele of Hegeso by drawing upon the Attic funerary practices and literary tropes of the Good Slave and Bad Slave in Athenian theater and Homeric epic. This paper also discusses the relationships between masters and slaves, household slave dynamics, and what constitutes the idealized Athenian slave. While the majority of remaining classical material and literary evidence relates to the elite, subversive ideals can be picked out from elite narratives and used to better understand the perspectives of the enslaved, construct frameworks that give voices to disenfranchised groups, and further enrich the study of surviving elite perspectives.

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When the Grave Stele of Hegeso (Fig. 1) was first excavated in 1870, its remarkably intact status launched over a century of scholarship focused on elite iconography, gender, and status in classical Athens. Dating to 400 BCE, the grave stele is a Pentelic marble funerary monument standing 1.49 meters tall and 0.92 meters wide.<sup>1</sup> The stele depicts two women in a relatively common “mistress and maid” scene. As identified by the stele’s inscription, Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos, is seated as the lady of the household. Her slave attendant is at her side, holding a box

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of jewelry. The stele is a *naiskos* form, meaning that it emulates the architectural form of a classical Attic temple, with two columns and a pediment framing the two figures.



**Figure 1:** The Grave Stele of Hegeso, 400 BCE<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the existing scholarship for the grave stele focuses on Hegeso, rather than her slave. As an elite woman, Hegeso has a larger body of written and iconographic evidence to

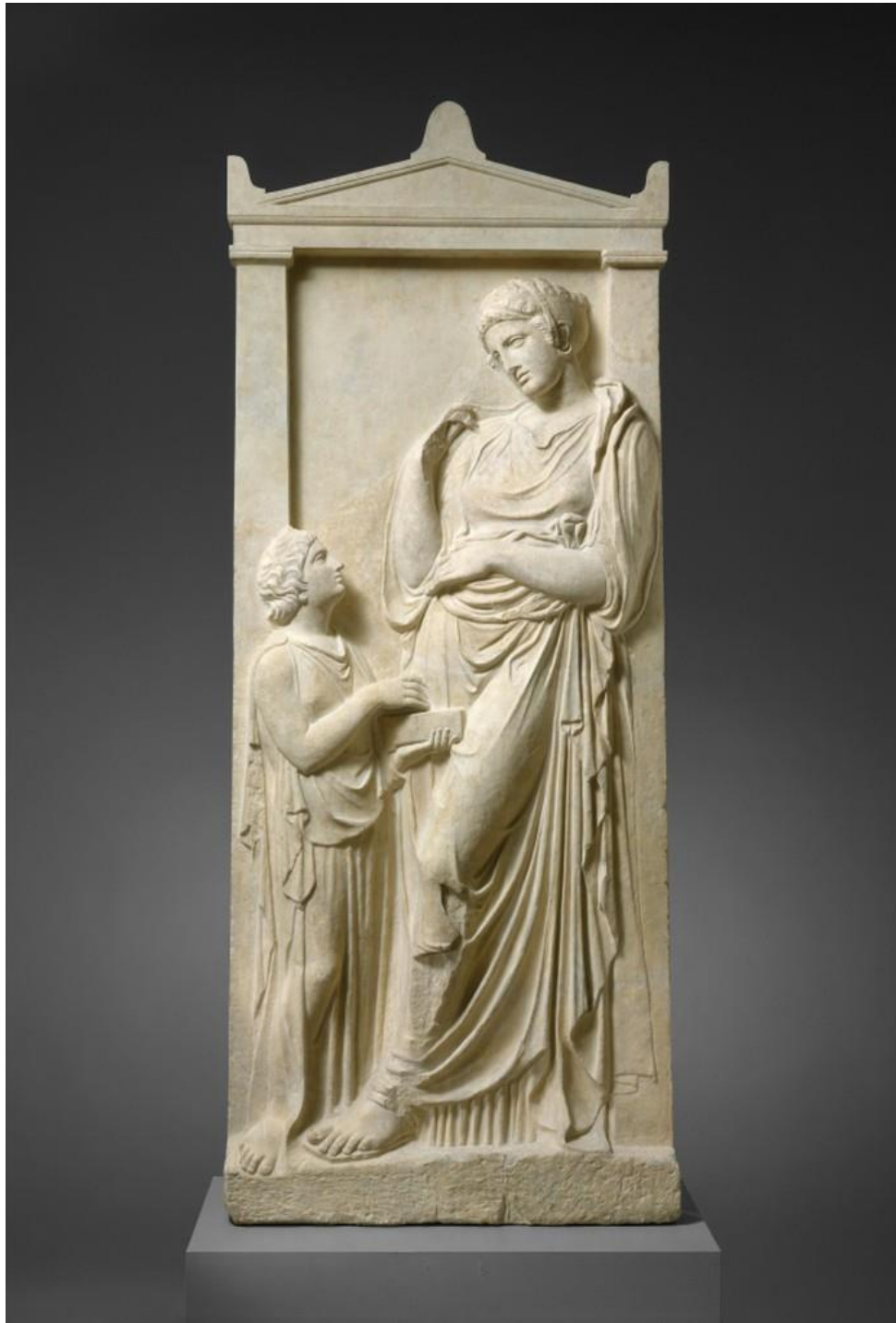
analyze. This grave stele bears her name, and as such, it is only natural for scholarship to focus on her image. Hegeso's slave is not commemorated on this stone, but instead functions as a visual representation of her master's status as a free Athenian woman.<sup>3</sup> When the slave is mentioned at length, it is usually to discuss what her presence and iconography has to say about Hegeso, rather than the other way around. Furthermore, the field of classics has historically avoided discussing the full extent of Athenian slavery. This hesitance can be seen in the common terminology used to refer to enslaved people as attendants, maids, or laborers rather than fully addressing the dark reality of Attic society. However, to many Athenians, citizen or not, slavery was an integral part of Attic society. As a result, reexamining the depiction of the slave on the Grave Stele of Hegeso can provide valuable insight into the Athenian perception of slavery and would have been regarded in vastly different ways for both slaves and their masters.

To fully understand the iconography of the slave, it first needs to be broken down and compared to the traditional iconography of the elite Athenian woman. In her monograph *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece*, Mireille Lee, a classicist specializing in the study of gender, writes: "servants and slaves are generally represented in opposition to the elite ideal," and this difference can only be fully highlighted when both modes of representation are discussed in full.<sup>4</sup>

Hegeso, the largest figure on the stele, is shown seated on a stool—a sign of luxury, leisure, and the domestic space.<sup>5</sup> Her garments are rendered elaborately with numerous folds that cascade over each other. The hair is equally as complex, carved into a meticulously arranged hairstyle and incorporated into a headdress. As she sits, Hegeso is shown reaching into a jewelry box held by her slave attendant and pulling an object out. The original piece of jewelry showcased on the stele was not carved into the stone but painted on. As the original polychromy has faded away, scholars do not know what it looked like, but a popular theory is that it may have been a necklace or type of brooch.<sup>6</sup> This iconography would have worked to present Hegeso as a well-cared for wife and highlighted the household's wealth.

In contrast, the four main iconographic elements of an Attic slave woman are as follows: short cropped hair, short physical stature, foreign features, and performing activities of servitude.<sup>7</sup> On the grave stele of Hegeso, the enslaved attendant demonstrates several of these iconographic elements. She is physically much smaller than her mistress—if Hegeso were to stand, she would tower over the other woman. The slave's chiton is much less elaborately rendered, with fewer folds and definition. She is also wearing two types of chitons, a long-sleeved one worn beneath a short-sleeved one.<sup>8</sup> This long-sleeved chiton is known as a *chiton cheridotos*. Hegeso's slave also wears her hair covered up by a *sakkos*, which in conjunction with the *chiton cheridotos* is the typical dress of female slaves on grave stelae.<sup>9</sup> The enslaved attendant does not have any outwardly noticeable foreign features. These non-Greek physical traits can vary widely, although most commonly these are represented by tattoos and non-Greek physiognomy, such as red hair.<sup>10</sup> The strongest indicator that Hegeso's slave is non-Greek is the *chiton cheridotos*, as it is a garment frequently associated with foreign-born slaves.<sup>11</sup> Lastly, Hegeso's slave is shown performing an act of service for her master, by holding the jewelry box for Hegeso to peruse. Several of these iconographic indicators can be seen on other contemporary grave stelae, such as the grave stele of a young woman and servant (Fig. 2) and the stele of Phainippe (Fig.3) which share the drastic

difference in height between mistress and slave and the performance of acts of service. Notably, they also share the *naiskos* form with the Grave Stele of Hegeso.



**Figure 2:** Marble grave stele of a young woman and servant, 400-390 BCE<sup>12</sup>





**Figure 3:** Marble stele of Phainippe, 400-390 BCE<sup>13</sup>

According to the popular, contemporary iconography, Hegeso's slave is a stereotypical depiction of an Attic slave. The visual stereotypes of slavery are what define her both as a slave and a person, and this use of stereotype also applies to the depiction of Hegeso. The stele is not aiming to convey an individualistic portrait of Hegeso and her slave. Instead, the stele, the artist, and the commissioner behind it are portraying "stereotypes of man, woman and maid" and using

these stereotypes to depict Athenian social norms and ideals.<sup>14</sup> In Hegeso's case, she is represented as the ideal Athenian woman and wife, safely ensconced in the domestic space with wealth and the privilege of leisure. Managing the home and household slaves was a job that would have been expected of her as an elite wife, along with weaving and perhaps some minor role in cult ritual.<sup>15</sup> The grave stele depicts Hegeso in her expected role of "carrying out a variety of traditional domestic...roles in accordance with the politics of gender and spatial differentiation."<sup>16</sup> The *naiskos* format of the stele could also support this, as the form may represent the family house. Hegeso and her enslaved attendant are figuratively standing in for all women belonging to the domestic space.<sup>17</sup> However, if the purpose of this grave stele was to convey prevalent social ideals, what is the depiction of Hegeso's slave attendant meant to say about the idealized form of Athenian slavery?

In classical Attic literary sources, with a particular emphasis on Athenian theater, slave characters can be used to unravel slave stereotypes prevalent during classical Athens. Athenian theater often engaged with contemporary issues in society, and as such, the character types in these plays can provide insight into the social perceptions of slavery. These stereotypes can be separated into two distinct character types: the Good Slave and the Bad Slave. The Bad Slave is seen most often in comedies, and can be characterized as "untrustworthy, sex-starved, bibulous, gluttonous, and weak-willed."<sup>18</sup> They are physically and morally ugly, disloyal to their masters, occasionally outright traitorous, and are usually punished or mocked as a form of social sanctioning. The punishment of "bad" slave characters would be considered humorous in Athenian comedies. In drama and tragedy, scenes of punishment were regarded as righteous comeuppance for disobedient and disloyal slaves. For both genres, the abuse of "bad" slave characters reinforced the "physical power of masters over the bodies of slaves" and the lack of slave autonomy.<sup>19</sup> This display of power would have been reassuring to slave-owning elites, who were vastly outnumbered by the slave population in Athens.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, the Good Slave embodies the opposite traits: loyalty, obedience, and devotion. They are members of the family but are ultimately aware of their status as a slave and their place in the Athenian social hierarchy. Hegeso's slave embodies the stereotype of the Good Slave via her obedience and servile nature to her master, even after death.

The earliest literary reference of the Good Slave trope appears in Homeric epic.<sup>21</sup> The *Odyssey* has two prominent slave characters: Eumaeus and Eurycleia. Both characters are members of Odysseus' household, remaining loyal to their master even after his twenty-year absence. They scorn the suitors who are destroying Odysseus' property and curse the household slaves who have not remained loyal. Eumaeus aids his master in the slaughter of these suitors and Eurycleia crows in triumph at the execution of the household intruders. The Bad Slaves of the *Odyssey* are justly, but cruelly, punished according to classical Attic standards. Telemachus and his father execute all the female slaves who turned their back on the household and fell into bed with Penelope's numerous suitors. The Good Slaves aid their master in restoring the balance of the household and are narratively rewarded for doing so, while the Bad Slaves are unceremoniously executed for their transgressions.

Homer's version of slavery is one deeply rooted in paternalism, "marked by loyal service on one side and benevolent care on the other."<sup>22</sup> In the *Odyssey*, Bad Slaves are punished for breaking social contract and the consequence is their death. However, a fear of punishment is not the only motivation to maintain the paternalistic relationship. Good Slaves are sometimes rewarded for maintaining this paternalistic relationship. In an exchange with Odysseus in Book 14 of the *Odyssey*, Eumaeus sums up some of the numerous rewards a slave can earn from years of loyal service:

He would have taken care of me, and given / what kindly owners give to loyal slaves: / a house with land, and a wife whom many men / would want—as recompense for years of labor which the gods have blessed and made to prosper. (14.62-66)<sup>23</sup>

Odysseus would have provided for his slave as a father would for his son, gifting some of the privileges of the free elite to his slave, including land and a wife. This would only come after proving one's worth and loyalty to the household. This sense of paternalism is deeply embedded in the Good Slave trope, and this ideal persisted in the collective consciousness of classical Athens, as Hegeso's slave is rewarded by being immortalized on the stele with her master. She only achieves an identity after proving herself as a worthy member of the household.

Depicting Hegeso's attendant as a Good Slave would have also reflected well on the household in terms of their moral character and status. It should be remembered that Hegeso's grave stele would have been commissioned with some design input from her husband. With this in mind, Hegeso's depiction as a well-cared for, wealthy, domestic wife would have spoken to her husband's wealth and status. As the head of the household was responsible for the stewardship of both his wife and slaves, it is likely that the household reputation was also considered with the depiction of the slave attendant. "Good" slaves reflected well upon their household and masters in the same way that "well-behaved children reflect positively on their parents."<sup>24</sup> An unruly slave was indicative of the poor character of the master, who was assumed to be either too lax in disciplining their slaves or equally unworthy in character. As such, the presumed character of a slave played a key role in determining their master's social status. Since Hegeso's slave is meant to be viewed as the Good Slave figure, her presence on the grave stele would cement both Hegeso and her husband's virtue as upstanding Athenian citizens. Furthermore, the presence of Hegeso's slave in conjunction with her mistress could have been intended to represent a cohesive and well-run household, which would further emphasize Hegeso's capability in managing the household and her slaves.<sup>25</sup>

The argument that Hegeso's attendant is meant to be regarded as a Good Slave is strengthened when the full context of the stele's original location is considered. The Grave Stele of Hegeso was excavated from the Kerameikos Cemetery in Athens.<sup>26</sup> While the modern site is currently within city limits, Kerameikos, like all other Greek cemeteries, was located outside of the city walls in the 400 BCE.<sup>27</sup> The Kerameikos Cemetery was situated by the Dipylon Gate, a major entrance to the city of Athens, and the well-traveled road to Eleusis, which made it a site uniquely suited to receive a constant flow of people.<sup>28</sup> Athenian elite, their slaves, and even foreign visitors to Athens would have passed through this site and viewed the grave stelae. Furthermore, Kerameikos would

develop a reputation as a burial place for prominent Athenian citizens, “singled out as the burial place of those whom the city wished to honor most highly,” making the grave stelae at Kerameikos exceptionally noteworthy in its contemporary period.<sup>29</sup> In its original position, the Grave Stele of Hegeso would have been placed atop a walled terrace that bordered the roads. This prominent position at a well-known and well-traveled cemetery stands as evidence that Hegeso’s grave stele was intended to be viewed as a public monument. Athenian elite passing through Kerameikos would view this stele and may leave having formed new opinions about the social standing of Hegeso’s household.

Athenian elite were not the only ones who got to view the elaborate funerary monuments at Kerameikos, although they were the ones who commissioned and paid for them. Grave stelae, such as the one belonging to Hegeso, would have been seen by slaves passing in and out of the city through the Dipylon Gate. This slave audience would also have the chance to form opinions about the stele and the social ideals it sought to convey. Hegeso’s grave stele, which sat overlooking a road, would have functioned similarly to a modern billboard, advertising the qualities and benefits of the Good Slave. In many ways, this appears especially insidious, as the positive traits of the Good Slave are traits that “were most useful in the context of slavery.”<sup>30</sup> For Athenian elite, owning slaves is easy when they are compliant, loyal, and unwilling to resist subjugation into slavery. It would benefit slave owners greatly to promote the characteristics of the Good Slave in order to reduce conflict and make the lives of slave owners easier. Enslaved persons who embody the ideals of the Good Slave, such as Hegeso’s attendant, would have been the “type of servants their masters most wanted to have and would want other slaves to emulate.”<sup>31</sup> Hegeso’s slave attendant may have functioned as a role model for other enslaved servants and laborers to aspire to, demonstrating that good behavior would bring good rewards such as prestigious positions in the household.

The most desirable reward for a slave would have been manumission, earning their freedom through years of hard service. This would be granted entirely at the discretion of the slaveowner to slaves that they deemed loyal and hardworking, encouraging slaves to be obedient and minimize the chance of revolts.<sup>32</sup> While manumission could also be attained by purchasing one’s freedom, the benevolent gift of freedom from a slave master has roots in the paternalistic nature of slavery established in Homeric epic. The gift of freedom would be most easily achievable by slaves who were constantly near their masters, such as the household slave depicted on the Grave Stele of Hegeso. Slave viewers passing through Kerameikos, simply from the nature of their travel in and out of the city, may have worked as laborers at sites outside of the city and likely did not enjoy a household position. Slave viewers may have regarded the slave figure on the stele as a visual representation of the rewards that come with submission and obedience, and as motivation to comply with their master’s wishes.

The interpretations of a grave stele varied depending on the viewer. For the elite audience, wealthy households commissioned grave steles as a way to cement their social standing and their moral characters. For a slave audience, these interpretations can vary. While a more positive view of slavery which emphasized the rewards of loyal service may have been the interpretation intended for slaves by slave-owning Athenian elites, there could be an alternate reading where



slaves viewed the enslaved attendant on the Grave Stele of Hegeso as a type of ‘class traitor’ and recognized it as propaganda. Turning to Athenian drama, themes of resistance can be excavated from surviving written evidence. In contrast to classical Athenian comedies, classic dramas more willing to give voices to minority groups and on occasion could present a view of slavery far different from the more common perspective of the slave-owning elite.<sup>33</sup> A particularly famous example is Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, which details the agony and humiliation that comes from elite women being forced into slavery. However, it should not be forgotten that Athenian playwrights, even those who penned thought-provoking explorations of slavery such as Euripides, were slave owners.<sup>34</sup> Regardless, that does not mean that these plays do not offer valuable insight into the reality of classical Athens, although they do offer a biased perspective. In the play *Alexandros*, also revolving around the events of the Trojan War, Euripides writes: “Slaves who are fond of their master’s class arouse much hostility from their own kind.”<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, *Alexandros* is not extant so the specific context of this fragment has been lost to time. The potential interpretations this quote inspires are mostly based on conjecture, as there is not enough remaining literary or material evidence to fully reconstruct a narrative of slave resistance. However, this quote still raises a very interesting point, suggesting that there was conflict between slaves about having positive relationships with their masters and that there may have been some degree of solidarity between slaves.<sup>36</sup> To the slaves viewing the grave stele, Hegeso’s enslaved maid could have been regarded as a figure that betrayed other slaves in the household in order to secure higher household standing. Slave viewers could have been greatly insulted by the depiction of a slave willingly adopting a servile attitude towards those who had enslaved them. There may have been remarkably complex dynamics within the Athenian household between slaves determined to resist and those who were willing to submit for personal gain.<sup>37</sup> However, there is not enough material or literary evidence to construct a comprehensive, theoretical framework of resistance, and so many interpretations on this aspect of slavery must be primarily speculative unless more evidence is excavated.

Despite the lack of a substantial body of evidence, it is important to construct narratives that have themes of resistance in the material that has survived. As conjecture-based as these interpretations may be, exploring slave-based narratives is equally as important in developing more inclusive and complex frameworks about gender and class in classical studies. While the majority of the material and literary evidence remaining relate to the elite, subversive ideals can be picked out from elite narratives and used to delve into and better understand the perspectives of the enslaved. Furthermore, constructing frameworks that give voices to disenfranchised groups will also enrich the study of surviving elite perspectives, providing more context around their decisions and the complex social relationships between the elite and enslaved.

Hegeso’s enslaved attendant may have served as the model example of the ideal slave. This could have been the way her elite masters wanted slave viewers to see her, as a role model for them to follow. Slaves seeking manumission may have regarded the figure on the stele as a source of motivation for attaining household positions and a beneficial paternalistic relationship with their master. The slave’s interpretation could have been more negative, recognizing it as targeted propaganda attempting to keep slaves compliant and powerless. It is also possible that Hegeso’s

slave serves no further purpose other than functioning as a background object to highlight Hegeso's wealth and neither elite nor slave viewers regarded it as noteworthy. It is an unfortunate fact of the field of classics that there is not always enough evidence that has survived the test of time. Much of this surviving material belongs to elites, as the poor and the enslaved did not have the wealth to construct buildings, monuments, and grave stelae that would survive past antiquity. However, that does not mean that exploring slave perspectives in more depth is futile and there is always a chance that more evidence can be found to inform us on the experience of Greek non-elites. Reexamining existing finds such as the Grave Stele of Hegeso can open up new roads of interpretation for non-elite voices and enrich the study of antiquity.

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## NOTES

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# The Nuclear Family and Gender Roles in Oregon's Venereal Disease Campaign: 1911-1918

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## ABSTRACT

The Social Hygiene Society of Portland, Oregon (later renamed the Oregon Social Hygiene Society - or OSHS) was founded in 1911 in order to combat venereal disease in the city and eventually across the state. Oregon's efforts were part of the broader social hygiene movement taking place across America during the second decade of the twentieth century, which most notably advocated for an equal standard of chastity for men and women. Despite this single standard, promiscuous women (women engaged in premarital sex or sexual relations with multiple sexual partners) were systematically persecuted and punished while men were not. While a large amount of existing scholarship focuses on how the social hygiene movement targeted prostitutes and not the men seeking their services, little work has been done to investigate how the movement viewed husbands and wives within the nuclear family and whether partnerships were equal when it came to combating venereal disease. This paper investigates how the social hygiene campaign in Oregon from 1911 to 1918 viewed the nuclear family and conceptualized parental duties in combating venereal disease. It also analyzes how those duties equalized husbands and wives while simultaneously reflecting social gender norms of the time that relegated women to the home.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In September of 1911, doctors, health workers, social workers, and other prominent Portland community members gathered at the invitation of the Portland YMCA and founded The Social Hygiene Society of Portland, Oregon (later renamed the Oregon Social Hygiene Society, or OSHS) in order to combat venereal disease in the city and eventually across the state.<sup>1</sup> Oregon's efforts were part of the broader social hygiene movement taking place across America during the second decade of the twentieth century, which blended purist values with new medical knowledge in order to cure America of venereal disease through both moral reform and medical education.<sup>2</sup> Creating a single standard for male and female chastity became one major tenet of this national campaign, bringing together social reformers and medical men in the fight against venereal disease. However, conflicting agendas between medical men and female reformers — the former

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viewing the single standard as a means to remove venereal disease and the latter perceiving it as a step towards gender equality — would ultimately result in inequality.<sup>3</sup>

Kristin Luker argues that in the process of fighting venereal disease and the immoral actions that caused them, promiscuous women (women engaged in premarital sex or sexual relations with multiple sexual partners) were systematically persecuted and punished while men were not. Her work and a large amount of existing scholarship focus on how the social hygiene movement targeted prostitutes and promiscuous women, but not the men seeking their services. However, no work has been done to investigate how equal the treatment was between married men and women.<sup>4</sup> Previous scholarship demonstrates that during the Progressive Era, society increasingly viewed marriage as a partnership and union of love as opposed to an arrangement,<sup>5</sup> yet no one has investigated whether this newly conceptualized spousal equality existed in the social hygiene movement. Bridging the gap between the social hygiene movement and newly emerging perceptions of spousal partnership is critical because the social hygiene movement called for a single standard of chastity in which women *and* men were expected to wait until marriage to have sex and justified such a standard using rhetoric that targeted the married and unmarried by emphasizing the importance of a disease-free nuclear family in one's life. With a focus on both uniform behavioral standards before marriage and the nuclear family, it is important to ask whether uniform standards extended to the nuclear family as well.

In order to fill this gap, this paper analyzes *Oregonian* articles, Oregon state legal documents, as well as OSHS pamphlets and essays—widely circulated in Oregon through fairs, public lectures, publicly displayed billboards, private visits to homes, and the mail<sup>6</sup>—to answer the following questions: How did Oregon's venereal disease campaign view the nuclear family? What were husbands' and wives' roles within the family, and how were they expected to use their respective positions to combat venereal disease? How did these respective roles equalize or differentiate husbands and wives? The evidence makes it clear that the social hygiene campaign in Oregon from 1911 to 1918 strived to protect the nuclear family, calling upon both men and women to remain chaste before marriage and carry out specific tasks related to education, childrearing and the home in order to do so. While some of these roles and the reasoning behind them theoretically equalized husbands and wives, the campaign's rhetoric reinforced 20<sup>th</sup> century gender norms that limited women and ultimately situated them within the home.

## 2. PROTECTING AND CREATING VENEREAL DISEASE-FREE FAMILIES VIA THE SINGLE STANDARD

Oregon's social hygiene campaign aimed to protect nuclear families via the single standard of chastity, a standard which OSHS believed would keep families free from venereal disease and the horrible physical conditions OSHS thought would arise within families as the result of venereal diseases. Promotion of a single standard created equality in marriages by expecting the same behavior from both men and women and giving women some legal agency. However, OSHS's campaign limited women by expecting them to want and have children and by depicting women in ways that deprived them of agency.

## 2.1. PROTECTING MARRIAGE

Chastity guidelines from Oregon's social hygiene movement drew on national social hygiene reforms striving to refine society through sexual purity. OSHS's pamphlet *Keeping Fit (Illustrated)*, which contains images of posters distributed throughout the state, includes a poster that proclaims: "Somewhere the girl who may become your wife is keeping clean for you. You expect her to remain pure. Resolve that you will bring to her a life equally as clean."<sup>7</sup> Not only does this statement create clear standards for women who will become wives, but it holds that men must remain chaste as well.<sup>8</sup> At the time, many social hygienists in Oregon presumed all women engaged in extra- or pre-marital sex carried venereal disease; therefore, chastity would be the only way for men to remain clean for marriage.<sup>9</sup> This rhetoric, indicating that women must remain clean for the sake of their husbands and men must do the same for their wives, exemplifies Oregon's efforts to protect the nuclear family. This single standard also brought equality to marriages by holding both future husbands and future wives to the same expectations.

Legally protecting disease-free marriages served as one way to achieve a single standard and furthered equality between husbands and wives. In 1913, Oregon passed a law requiring men to obtain a venereal-free certification in order to obtain a marriage certificate.<sup>10</sup> Like the single standard, this law held men to the same expectations women had been historically held to, equalizing men and women entering marriage. In addition to Oregon's 1913 marriage certificate law, a 1916 Oregon Supreme Court case granted a woman a divorce, one-third of her ex-husband's land, and the ability to take back her maiden name because her husband gave her a venereal disease.<sup>11</sup> This ruling shows legal support for disease-free marriages and protecting nuclear families because the husband was held legally responsible for his actions. Furthermore, the case exemplifies a phenomenon described by Robert Griswold: as societal values change, what is considered deviant and cause for divorce changes as well.<sup>12</sup> This court case indicates that in Oregon, the adoption of a single standard expanded the grounds for women to divorce, extending women's legal power in marriage. This court proceeding and law further indicate that Oregon's social hygiene movement aimed to protect nuclear families by holding husbands and wives to the same standards, which simultaneously expanded wives' power to control marriage outcomes.

Statements on Oregon's venereal disease laws reveal the underlying motive for a single standard in Oregon's social hygiene campaign was that maintaining such a standard would generate healthy, disease-free families. William T. Foster, Vice President of OSHS spoke about how Oregon's 1913 marriage certificate law protected families:

As a measure for preventing the spread of diseases, this law has probably been of no great direct value, for few physicians have the means of making adequate examinations. The value of the law has been educational. It has forced thousands of men and women to face marriage more seriously, to consider the nature of venereal diseases, the laws of heredity, and the consequent responsibilities of parenthood.<sup>13</sup>

Foster admits that the OSHS's goal is to prevent the spread of venereal disease by promoting family-centered values and making young men and women more carefully consider their sexual

activities in relation to their future marriage. Overall, Oregon laws and OSHS rhetoric surrounding marriage in Oregon's social hygiene campaign aimed to protect both husbands and wives, creating equality within marriages.

## 2.2. PROTECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Male chastity in the form of abstinence until marriage also protected the nuclear family by safeguarding the health of women and children. According to OSHS's *Vigorous Manhood* pamphlet, a man who engages in intercourse with a prostitute can contract venereal diseases that linger for years and pass them to future wives, possibly causing birth defects, blindness, or deafness in future children.<sup>14</sup> Other OSHS material claimed mothers infected by their husbands could experience stillbirths or infect their children during pregnancy. OSHS emphasized that when both parents carried a venereal disease, the child suffered the most, facing mental illness due to impediments in neurological development.<sup>15</sup> A published version of a lecture given by Dr. William House, an OSHS executive board member, also insists that marriage laws protected families by keeping parents free of venereal disease and preventing them from passing them to their children. For Oregon's social hygiene movement, then, maintaining a single standard would create disease-free families and protect women and children. Furthermore, while OSHS told men to remain chaste for the sake of their future wives and children, women were told to remain chaste only to protect their future children, not their future husbands.<sup>16</sup> This suggested that women, but not men, needed protection. Such a differentiation affords men more agency because OSHS presumed men could protect themselves while women could not.

OSHS's portrayal of husbands as the cause of some venereal disease cases depicted wives as victims and further deprived them of agency. One OSHS pamphlet follows a fictional man who does not receive a proper sex education, leading him to infect his wife with a venereal disease. The story only focuses on the man's perspective, emphasizing how *his* improper upbringing and actions result in disaster. The woman has no control over her fate and, in the last image, lies helplessly in bed (Figure 1).<sup>17</sup> Another pamphlet describes a woman "laying down her life for a venerated companion, and doing this with so whole-hearted a devotion that she never knows that her own youthful aspirations and ebullitions are repressed."<sup>18</sup> In this excerpt, the woman is wholly innocent and unaware of her risk of contracting venereal disease. The quotation also suggests that the woman is no longer able to have children as a result of her "venerated companion," and so her dreams are completely crushed. This stresses OSHS's focus on protecting the nuclear family and reinforces gender expectations of the time. Depicting wives as innocent victims whose life purpose is lost as a result of their husband's actions while placing the responsibility of clean families on men deprived women of agency. This created inequality between husbands and wives because it purported that only husbands, and not wives, could control whether they would have a venereal disease-free future.



**Figure 1:** A page from OSHS pamphlet *How One Boy was Instructed in Sex Matters and What Happened* depicting how a lack of proper sex education ruins families.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY AND PARENTAL EDUCATION

Like the single standard, OSHS's efforts to educate husbands and wives together emphasized the importance of both in combating venereal disease. Although the social hygiene movement believed public education was crucial for preventing venereal disease, the movement in Oregon viewed parents and the home as the best medium through which venereal disease education could be disseminated.<sup>20</sup> According to one venereal disease educator, "If the proper person to teach the child is the parent and if the parent does not know how, the obvious thing to do is to call the parents together and to try to teach them how."<sup>21</sup> This sentiment rang true throughout the OSHS's educational campaign. In their first year alone, the OSHS held 98 meetings for parents, and over 200 by 1917.<sup>22</sup> What is noteworthy about these meetings is that husbands and wives were allowed to attend together. The presence of both spouses at these events suggests OSHS believed that parents should receive information together, which would give both genders equal importance in fighting venereal disease. However, an *Oregonian* article describing one of these events suggests that in practice, wives had less agency in receiving this education because they reportedly did not choose to attend or were always escorted by their husbands. Furthermore, the article describes



how these lectures were only of interest to housewives of businessmen.<sup>23</sup> As a result, OSHS emphasized parental co-education while simultaneously reinforcing gendered husband-wife dynamics within the familial structure that deprived wives of agency.

Further divides existed in how husbands and wives were educated individually. In 1911, thirty-four percent of OSHS events exclusively for men were given at their workplace, and by 1917 four-hundred lectures had been delivered to men at work.<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, from September of 1912 to August of 1913 the OSHS held seventy-one meetings for women at their place of employment.<sup>25</sup> While providing this type of education to both working men and women suggests equality between them, the OSHS's education for married women suggests that once married, a woman belonged in the home. The OSHS used door-to-door workers to deliver venereal disease information to 4,030 mothers in their homes in the program's fourth year and 3,842 in the fifth. Yet husbands received no home lectures.<sup>26</sup> Although this may be the result of a society with already gendered spheres, educating mothers but not fathers at home only served to reinforce women's roles in the home and a husband's status as the breadwinner.

#### 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY IN CHILD-REARING

These gendered spheres were reinforced by the social hygiene movement's beliefs regarding how men and women should be raised in order to become dutiful parents. Despite an emphasis on fatherhood for men, the only source cited as an obstacle in fulfilling this role was immoral pleasure.<sup>27</sup> For women, on the other hand, schooling took away from household responsibilities and the creation of unified families. Furthermore, a lack of domesticity was cause for female nervousness and stress.<sup>28</sup> Attributing schooling to a woman's inability to foster a proper family—and not doing so for men—and making negative associations with time spent away from the home ultimately places women, but not men, in the domestic sphere. Additionally, women were told to take their outdoor amusements and activities in moderation and as prescribed by a physician, as too much stimulus could cause undue stress.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, these types of stimuli were the best way to distract adolescent boys from sexual desires and maintain purity.<sup>30</sup> Differing advice on how to raise girls and boys to achieve a proper family limited future wives compared to their husbands.

While inequalities existed in how OSHS thought men and women should be raised to become proper parents, much of the discussion around families focused on both mothers' and fathers' responsibility to protect and raise children. According to Lebert Weir, a guest lecturer at an OSHS sponsored event, "One field of neglected social activity is the home as a recreation and social center [...] The revival of the small group social in the home for the young people would be a constructive contribution to some of the moral problems of the young."<sup>31</sup> Here, Weir advocates for family-oriented activities because he believes that such events will strengthen family ties, affording parents greater opportunities to educate and influence their children's morals, including those sexual in nature. This further emphasizes OSHS's focus on the nuclear family as a means for preventing the spread of venereal diseases.

Notably, familial bonds between parents and children were crucial for both fathers and mothers to combat venereal disease. Previous scholarship by Margaret Marsh indicates that late nineteenth-century men supported the idea of “masculine domesticity” and encouraged fathers to play a larger role in raising male children to keep sons away from immoral actions.<sup>32</sup> The OSHS’s campaign was no different, promoting father-son rapport. One OSHS member Henry Moore stressed the importance of fathers in the sex education of their children, writing, “We should endeavor to include the father in our plans of sex instruction and be careful not to break down such confidence as exists between father and son.”<sup>33</sup> The society’s actions matched Moore’s words, mailing letters to fathers throughout Portland inviting them to attend father-son lectures. If the father could not go, the letter also included a ticket he could give their son so he could attend by himself.<sup>34</sup> Promoting events specifically for fathers and sons, requiring them to attend the event together or requiring sons to obtain a ticket to go alone — which would inevitably bring about a discussion of venereal disease — reflects a belief in family-based education. The idea of male domesticity also emphasizes an inclusive and more gender equal approach to venereal disease education within the family.

Unsurprisingly, women were portrayed as an integral part of raising children as well. The OSHS held both mother-daughter meetings and mother meetings in order to provide venereal disease education strictly for mothers.<sup>35</sup> However, there was an underlying assumption that the best type of woman was one who served the household in some capacity. The most obvious way she was told to fulfill this role was as a mother, which OSHS’s campaign described as her chief responsibility and interest.<sup>36</sup> Even women who could not have their own children were encouraged to dedicate their life to the care of others’ children.<sup>37</sup> One OSHS pamphlet author goes so far as to say the two times he looks up to women the most are when they pray and when they complete “with infinite cheerfulness the repetitious tasks of wifehood and motherhood.”<sup>38</sup> By explicitly telling women that their priorities should be raising children and that they are most admired when they do so, Oregon’s social hygiene movement drives home the importance of family and makes it clear a woman’s fundamental arena is the home.

In addition to motherly rhetoric in the society’s educational pamphlets, OSHS took actions reflecting their support of a proper family and a mother’s role within them. An *Oregonian* newspaper article published in 1918 asked Portland citizens to help find homes for promiscuous young women on a path to recovery. The article stresses that these women will return to their misguided ways if they simply return to their previous accommodations. Instead, the society looked to place them in homes where “the housewife is a woman who applies her Christianity in a practical way.”<sup>39</sup> The fact that the OSHS explicitly looked for housewives to prevent women from reverting to actions that could spread venereal disease emphasizes the importance of a motherly figure in a girl’s life and the importance of domestic mothers in fighting venereal disease. So, while OSHS increased equality between husbands and wives by expecting both to spend time educating their children, they expected only wives to dedicate themselves to parenthood, maintaining gender norms that restricted women more than men.

## 5. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY AND A WOMAN'S ROLE AS HOMEMAKER

Even when described in contexts outside motherhood, women were portrayed as vital members of their homes and communities. One emotionally charged OSHS pamphlet set extremely high standards for a divine woman. The author Lyman Abbott provides vignettes of divine women—including one depicting a poor woman who can still create a beautiful home— and a second who brings...

...into her village home the culture which education, social advantage, and travel have given to her, and giving herself to the new and unknown neighborhood with such devotion that local jealousies are laid aside, gossip and slander are stilled, the spirit of sectarianism gives place to a spirit of brotherhood, and the whole community feels the pulsation of a new life of good will.<sup>40</sup>

Both of these examples focus on a woman's ability to create a pleasant home and community, whether she is a woman of means or disadvantaged. The second excerpt also implies that even when women do leave their homes and communities to travel or study, their ultimate reason for doing so should be to provide service to their own or another community. Two other vignettes describe women who leave their household duties only to educate and care for others who do not have homes, solidifying this point.<sup>41</sup> Advertising the ideal woman as one who serves domestic spheres reinforces traditional gender roles that relegated women to the home.

Evidence suggests the OSHS practiced what they preached with the women they employed. The *Oregonian* article seeking homes for young wayward women portrays an OSHS worker by the name of Miss Murphy as a "good Samaritan" finding homes for misguided women with proper Christian families, reflecting Abbott's divine woman.<sup>42</sup> Although a working woman, Miss Murphy takes on the role of house matchmaker for others and serves as a vehicle for creating proper home environments for misguided women. Other women working for the OSHS served as educators for girls, women and mothers, offering their uncompensated time to bettering society through venereal disease education.<sup>43</sup> These women's ultimate service was to the domestic sphere or serving communities in Oregon. Men who worked for OSHS lecturing also served the domestic sphere by providing venereal disease education that OSHS believed would protect families. However, the fact that men served in this capacity resulted from the nature of OSHS's goal to protect and create healthy families. Men, unlike women, were never explicitly praised for being homemakers or told that they must act in that capacity, further separating male and female roles in combating venereal disease.

While men were expected to take part in child-rearing, they were not as limited to this sphere as their female counterparts, since wives played second fiddle to husbands when it came to supporting their families financially. Firstly, women who did work were encouraged to avoid "the mechanical pursuits [and work] into those which are more or less associated with the domestic arts."<sup>44</sup> Asserting that women should only be employed in tasks related to the home reinforces female roles in the domestic sphere.

While the idea of women as homemakers and caregivers was nothing new, what was perhaps more progressive is that the social hygiene movement supported wages for working women. In OSHS's call for homes for "wayward" young women, the writer states the women will work in downtown Portland to pay for their room and board.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, Oregon's social hygiene campaign supported increasing wages for women to ten dollars a week. Their reasoning for this call was that working single women who did not receive proper wages were forced to turn to what OSHS saw as immoral means of living.<sup>46</sup> While the OSHS supported working women, they only supported those who were unmarried and without children. Every example provided regarding the correlation between women's wages and vice depicts women who support either themselves or their parents, implying that once a woman marries, she should no longer work outside the home. The author also alludes to this belief when he encourages increasing wages for working men so they can support their wives and children, suggesting married women should not work but instead rely on their husbands.<sup>47</sup> Limiting women's working capabilities and arguing that married women should not hold jobs separated male and female spheres within the nuclear family.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The single standard in Oregon's social hygiene campaign, which required both women *and* men to abstain from sex before marriage and lessened differences in gender role expectations by holding both to the same standards. While a focus on the nuclear family increased male household responsibilities and created some gender equality regarding roles in parental co-education and child-rearing, women were ultimately charged with home-focused roles in combating venereal disease and afforded less agency and mobility than their husbands. These findings indicate that overall, Oregon's social hygiene campaign propagated gender norms and expectations of the time, but, due to the nature and basis of its campaign, also afforded women some opportunities for equality. Although Oregon's social hygiene campaign reflected the national social hygiene movement by utilizing the single standard, the OSHS was established two years before the national body coordinating venereal disease reforms and education—The American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA)—was founded.<sup>48</sup> This generates further questions as to whether ASHA or other social hygiene campaigns across America maintained similar perspectives on marital and parental equality, or if Oregon's campaign was unique in its perspective on familial and parental roles in combating venereal disease. More broadly, these observations are reflective of the longer fight for gender equality that began during the Progressive Era and slowly gained new ground throughout the twentieth century.

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<sup>8</sup> A more thorough analysis of male chastity, its origins and relationship to the social hygiene movement can be found in John C. Burnham, "The Progressive Era Revolution." Also see David J. Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control 1868-1900* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973).

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<sup>14</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Vigorous Manhood*, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Andrew C. Smith, "Medical Phases," in Foster, *The Social Emergency*, 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> In all OSHS source material there is not one instance in which women are told they must remain chaste to protect their husbands. For instance, in OSHS's *Healthy Womanhood* pamphlet women were encouraged to take "care of yourself not just for your own health, beauty, happiness and welfare, but also for the health, beauty, happiness and welfare of the babies that may someday be yours."

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- <sup>26</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Five Years' Work in Oregon*, 37.
- <sup>27</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Vigorous Manhood*, 5; Moore "Teaching Phases: For Boys," in *The Social Emergency*, 132. Also see previous arguments regarding how men pass venereal disease to wives and children, leading to "failed" families.
- <sup>28</sup> Bertha Stuart, "Teaching Phases: For Girls," in Foster, *The Social Emergency*, 157.
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- <sup>30</sup> Moore, "Teaching Phases: For Boys," in *The Social Emergency*, 138-39.
- <sup>31</sup> Lebert Weir, "Recreational Phases," in Foster, *The Social Emergency*, 78-79.
- <sup>32</sup> Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," *American Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1988): 176. doi:10.2307/2713066.
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- <sup>34</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Progress — The Second Annual Report*, 21-22.
- <sup>35</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Progress — The Second Annual Report*, 23; The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Five Years' Work in Oregon*, 34.
- <sup>36</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Vigorous Manhood*, 8.
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- <sup>39</sup> "Girls Need Homes — Appeal Made by Social Hygiene Society Worker," *Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 31, 1918, Morning Edition.
- <sup>40</sup> Abbott, *Womanhood*, 2.
- <sup>41</sup> Abbott, *Womanhood*, 2.
- <sup>42</sup> "Girls Need Homes — Appeal Made by Social Hygiene Society Worker," *Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 31, 1918, Morning Edition.
- <sup>43</sup> The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Five Years' Work in Oregon*, 47.
- <sup>44</sup> Arthur E. Wood, "Economic Phases," in *The Social Emergency*, 49.
- <sup>45</sup> "Girls Need Homes — Appeal Made by Social Hygiene Society Worker," *Oregonian* (Portland, OR), July 31, 1918, Morning Edition.
- <sup>46</sup> Wood, "Economic Phases," in Foster, *The Social Emergency*, 48.
- <sup>47</sup> Wood, "Economic Phases," in Foster, *The Social Emergency*, 62.
- <sup>48</sup> Luker, "Sex, Social Hygiene, and the State," 610.



# Hunting for Prions: Propagating Putative Prion States in Budding Yeast

Jacob Evarts\*, Biology and Mikala Capage\*\*, Biology

## ABSTRACT

Prions have been closely associated with fatal neurodegenerative diseases. Recent evidence, however, suggests that prions also represent an additional class of epigenetic mechanism that is biologically beneficial. From an evolutionary standpoint, the ability to change phenotypes without requiring changes to the genome, as prions do, would be hugely beneficial in fluctuating environments. Through overexpressing proteins and introducing environmental stressors, two techniques known to increase *de novo* prion formation, we performed a large-scale screen of many RNA-modifying enzymes in budding yeast to test if they harbor beneficial prionogenic behavior. From this screen, six induced prion-like states were found to be mitotically stable and infectious. We show that many of these putative prions are dominant and are dependent on chaperone proteins, which is consistent with a prion-based epigenetic mechanism. Prion-based inheritance is expanding on the central dogma of biology, contributing to the belief that prions work as an epigenetic mechanism for passing on heritable traits.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Mad cow disease, sheep scrapie, and Creutzfeldt-Jakob in humans are all mammalian neurodegenerative diseases that appear to be caused by infectious proteins called prions (Derkatch 1996). Prions are alternate forms of cellular proteins that have the ability to induce normal, or naïve, proteins to take a new, altered state. In this sense, prions are a self-templating form of epigenetic regulation, which is the regulation of phenotypes without changes to the genome (Wickner, 1994). Once a sufficient number of proteins are in a prion state, they have a tendency to aggregate, falling into two categories: amyloids and non-amyloid forming prions. Thus, prion-based diseases occur when a prion protein is introduced and induces conformational changes in a host's naïve proteins, which in turn agglomerate and lead to neurodegeneration.

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Not all prions are agents of disease and degeneration, however. Some yeast prions have been shown to bring about beneficial phenotypes, such as resistance to environmental stress (Suzuki *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore, these phenotypes are heritable in a non-Mendelian fashion. This allows species variation at the level of protein conformations, which is significant because it was previously believed that species variation was only heritable through DNA. (Wickner, 1994). Researchers have shown that two yeast prions in particular, [URE3] and [PSI<sup>+</sup>], are important mechanisms of inheritance (Derkatch, 1996; Wickner, 1994). The Garcia Lab has been investigating novel ways to identify new yeast prions and understand the mechanisms of expression and inheritance behind them. The yeast *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* is an optimal model organism because genetic modifications are easily introduced to the cells, thousands of genes shared with humans, and hundreds of experiments can be run in parallel. These high-throughput growth assays allow for proteome-wide screens to be analyzed, reducing the time necessary to uncover unique phenotypes.

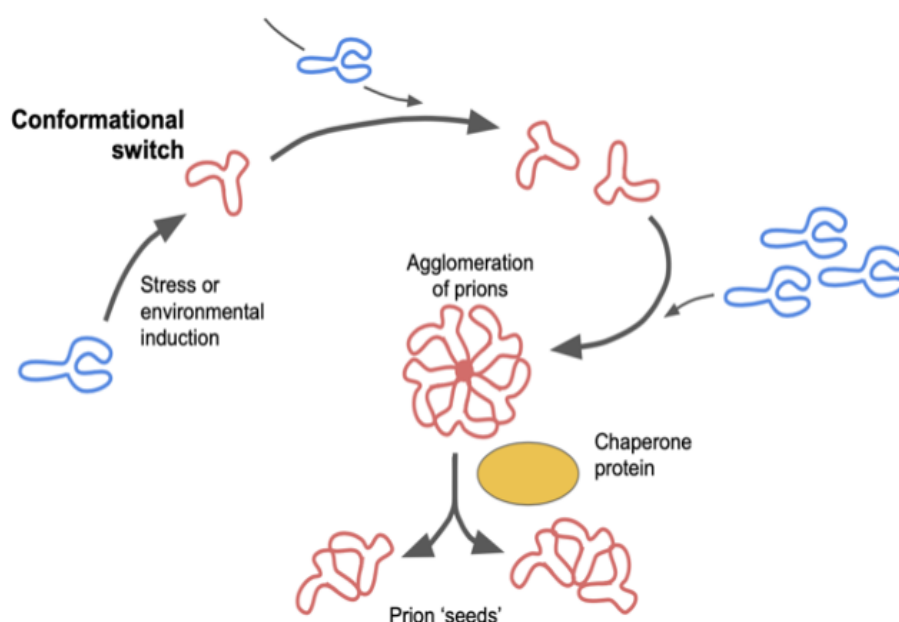
In order to increase the chance of a *de novo* appearance of a prion-like state in RNA-modifying enzymes, sixty of these proteins were individually expressed with centromeric plasmids. From these, six strains proliferated better during exposure to a chemical stressor than a control strain that did not experience any overexpression. Using growth assays, these traits were found to be mitotically stable, meaning the ability for the cells to grow better under adverse chemical conditions was transmitted across generations. In order to attribute these observed heritable growth traits to prion proteins, the strains needed to exhibit inheritance patterns consistent with that of established yeast prions. Namely, the growth states needed to be dominant in a diploid cell and be dependent on chaperone proteins. Here we show that many of the strains with heritable growth states, as established by previous experiments, have characteristics consistent with prion proteins, indicating that the growth states may be caused by prions.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Yeast prion research started with the identification of the [PSI<sup>+</sup>] factor  $\psi^+$ , referred to as a non-Mendelian factor by Liebman *et al.* (1975), in some strains of *Saccharomyces cerevisiae*. It was initially found that the [PSI<sup>+</sup>] factor increased the effectiveness of certain translational suppressors (Cox and Young, 1971), and later confirmed that suppression of certain stop codon nonsense mutations increased in  $\psi^+$  strains (Liebman and Sherman, 1979). Lindquist and colleagues went on to confirm that the [PSI<sup>+</sup>] factor was a prion-like aggregate of Sup35, a cellular protein that functions as a translation release factor in its naive state. Strains that contained [PSI<sup>+</sup>] were phenotypically similar to strains in which the Sup35 had been mutated (1996). Furthermore, Cox and colleagues demonstrated that [PSI<sup>+</sup>]  $\psi^+$  was not related to any extrachromosomal DNA or RNA (1988). Similarly, Wickner found that [URE3] was a prionic form of the protein Ure2p, which is responsible for allowing cells to metabolically shift to using ureidosuccinate in the presence of ammonium ions, despite ammonium usually repressing the uptake of ureidosuccinate in favor of more readily available nitrogen sources. (1994). Wickner also describes how overexpression of the naive Ure2p protein can lead to an increase in the frequency with which a yeast strain became [URE3] by up to 100-fold (1994).



In 1995, it was discovered that the chaperone heat-shock protein 104 (Hsp104) plays a large role in the propagation of the  $[PSI^+]$  factor in yeast (Chernoff *et al.*). Although Hsp104 must be present in the cell for propagation of  $[PSI^+]$ , overexpression of Hsp104 leads to the elimination of the  $[PSI^+]$  factor from the strain (Chernoff *et al.*, 1995). Lindquist and colleagues supported a hypothesis that some chaperone proteins put proteins into a sort of transition state, from which they could either convert back to naive proteins or convert to prion form with some small spontaneous probability; however, chaperones are also responsible for breaking aggregates of prions into smaller seeds, allowing for propagation to other organisms or onto progeny (1996) (Figure 1). Loss-of-function mutations to the Hsp104 gene or inhibition of the corresponding protein has thus been found to be an effective “cure” of some yeast prions (Wickner, 1994; Lindquist and colleagues, 1996).



**Figure 1:** Model for prion formation in yeast

In addition to being chaperone-dependent, a hallmark of previously identified prion-states is their non-Mendelian inheritance (Shorter and Linquist, 2005). Since prion inheritance in yeast is not tied to chromosomal segregation, it is common to see prions passed to see most or all meiotic progeny (4:0 or 3:1 in meiotic progeny). Because of their unique inheritance mechanisms, prions also tend to be dominant in diploid cells created through genetic crosses of strains with and without the prion (Chakrabortee *et al.*, 2016). Traits that arise from mutations in the genome, in contrast, are generally passed on to half of the progeny (2:2 inheritance pattern).

Prion-based information transfer has recently been found to play a much larger role in trait heritability than previously thought and provides many beneficial phenotypic changes (Chakrabortee *et al.*, 2016; Halfmann *et al.*, 2012; Yuan and Hochschild, 2017). Here, we propose that prions appear to be a relatively common form of inheritance in RNA-modifying enzymes in budding yeast.

### 3. RESULTS

#### 3.1. TRANSIENT OVEREXPRESSION OF SIX RMEs CREATES BENEFICIAL HERITABLE TRAITS

To try to generate beneficial prions, we overexpressed one RNA-modifying enzyme per yeast strain and subjected the colonies to chemical stress. For a yeast colony to have a putative prion state it must have a significantly faster growth rate with protein overexpression than without ( $p < 0.05$ ). Strains were controlled to ensure that protein overexpression on its own was not a confounding variable. Of the proteins that were overexpressed, six resulted in strains that had at least a number of wells ( $n \geq 4$ ) that saw significantly faster growth than a control strain over the same number of hours. Additionally, five of those six strains, Abd1, Ppm2, Pus4, Pus6, and Trm5, had a large number of colonies ( $n \geq 8$ ). In some strains, the number of significant wells per biological replicates was over 20%, which is many orders higher than the spontaneous mutation rate in *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* (Zhu *et al*, 2014). Since each biological replicate originated from one strain, a large number of significant wells in a replicate suggest that the original replicate colony harbored a beneficial phenotypic state. See Table 1.

**Table 1.** RNA-modifying enzymes (RMEs) and the environmental stresses used to help induce phenotypes. Cycloheximide concentration: 0.2ug/mL; Radicicol concentration: 0.05mM.

RNA-Modifying Enzyme	Function of Protein	Environmental Stressor
Abd1	mRNA methyltransferase	Cycloheximide
Cet1	mRNA phosphatase	Cycloheximide
Ppm2	tRNA methyltransferase	Cycloheximide
Pus4	tRNA pseudouridine synthase	Radicicol
Pus6	tRNA pseudouridine synthase	Cycloheximide
Trm5	tRNA methyltransferase	Cycloheximide

### 3.2. SEVERAL OF THE HERITABLE PHENOTYPIC STATES ARE REGULATED BY HSP70

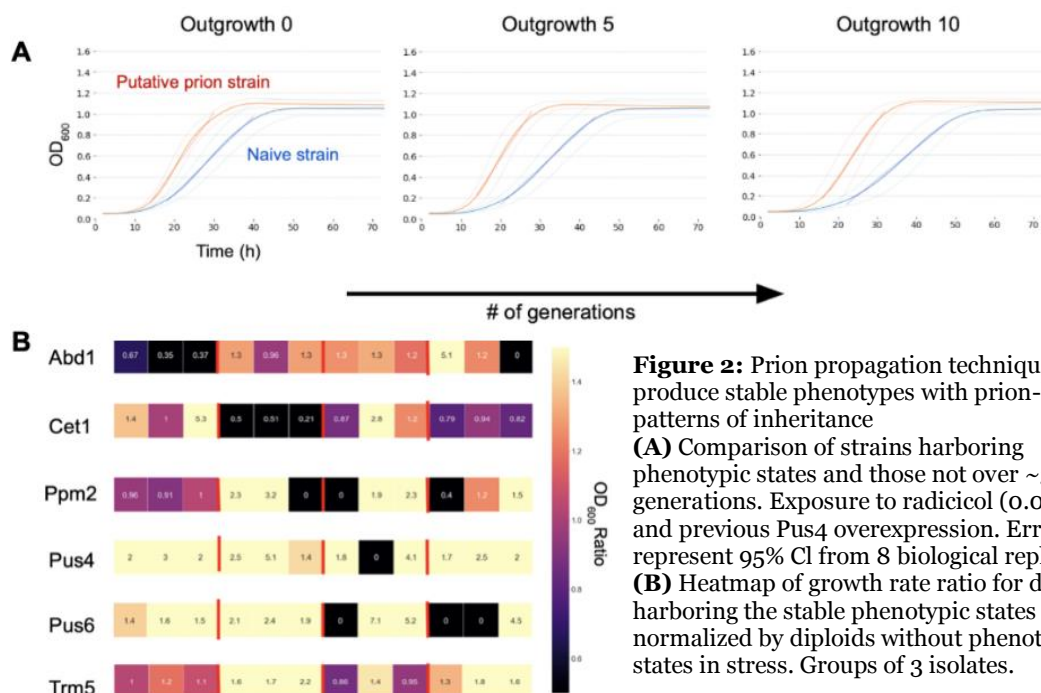
Prions can be differentiated from other forms of epigenetic inheritance by their reliance on protein conformation modulators. Hsp70 appears to be an extremely common chaperone protein in prion propagation in yeast (Chernoff et al., 1995; Shorter and Lindquist, 2004), as well as Hsp70 and Hsp90 (Hou et al., 2011, Brown and Lindquist, 2009; Jarosz et al., 2014b). To determine whether the phenotypic states we observed behave similarly to previously identified yeast prions, we tested if inheritance of the phenotypic states would be disturbed with transient inhibition of each of these three heat-shock proteins. Although we saw no significant changes after affecting Hsp90 and Hsp104, the three strains in which we affected Hsp70 expression, Abd1, Pus6, and Cet1, saw a virtual elimination of the phenotypic states. A dominant-negative variant of Hsp70 (Ssa1-K69M) was expressed for three outgrowths. The expression plasmid was then eliminated before growing the strains for another three outgrowths to restore the function of Hsp70. In the 11 isolates of Abd1, Pus6, and Cet1 tested, over 80% (9) of the isolates appear to have lost the phenotype entirely. We plan to test the other strains in future experiments.

### 3.3. PROTEIN-BASED INHERITANCE CONFERS MITOTICALLY STABLE TRAITS

Next, we tested the mitotic stability of the differential growth traits exhibited when the six strains were exposed to chemical stressors over hundreds of generations (Figure 2A). Strains were grown up in parallel on YPD plates and in liquid YPD for three days before being streaked out or pin replicated into fresh media. This process was repeated 10 times, with some measurements taken midway. Strains tended to keep their phenotypes longer when grown on the YPD plates over the liquid, with 60% (3) of the strains keeping at least weak phenotypes through all 10 outgrowths. Only two strains kept their phenotypes in the liquid media, and were much weaker, which we posit could be due to different community dynamics or population bottleneck, although we have not tested for either of these.

### 3.4. BENEFICIAL PHENOTYPIC STATES ARE DOMINANT IN GENETIC CROSSES TO NATIVE STRAINS

In the first step of determining the inheritance patterns of each of the phenotypic states, we crossed cells harboring putative prions to naive, isogenic controls to create diploids. We then tested these strains in the original stress conditions at a range of concentrations. Sensitivities varied, but the majority of the diploids exhibited strong phenotypes at twice the concentrations used for the haploids. At this double concentration, 80% (57) of the isolates grew significantly better than naive diploids (Figure 2B). Thus, the heritable phenotypes appear to be dominant in genetic crosses to naive strains and continue to be beneficial under stressful conditions.



**Figure 2:** Prion propagation techniques produce stable phenotypes with prion-like patterns of inheritance

**(A)** Comparison of strains harboring phenotypic states and those not over ~300 generations. Exposure to radicicol (0.05mM) and previous Pus4 overexpression. Error bars represent 95% CI from 8 biological replicates. **(B)** Heatmap of growth rate ratio for diploids harboring the stable phenotypic states normalized by diploids without phenotypic states in stress. Groups of 3 isolates.

## 4. DISCUSSION

Each of the six heritable phenotypic states, created through the transient overexpression of RNA-modifying enzymes, exhibit characteristics consistent with prion proteins. The data presented here show that the heritable phenotypic states are mitotically stable, are regulated by the chaperone protein Hsp70, and are dominant. These characteristics are in keeping with that of established prion proteins and suggest that a prion protein is present in the cell. This finding supports the idea that prions serve as an epigenetic mechanism in budding yeast to transmit heritable information. However, further experiments are necessary to attribute these six heritable phenotypic states to prion proteins. Namely, using a tetrad sporulation and dissection protocol, we will investigate the meiotic inheritance of the heritable phenotypic states to determine if they follow the non-Mendelian patterns of inheritance consistent with known prion proteins. Additionally, we will investigate the molecular mechanisms by which the putative prions listed here affect the ability of yeast cells to proliferate in adverse chemical conditions. Understanding how prions affect key biological processes can help uncover the role epigenetic mechanisms play in a cell's response to stress.

## 5. METHODS

### 5.1. STRAINS AND CULTIVATION PROCEDURES

The yeast strains used in this study are *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* from the BY strain background. Yeast strains were cultivated on YPD agar or liquid (RPI), and several were grown on amino acid dropout media where specified (Sunrise Scientific). All strains were stored as

glycerol stocks (25% glycerol (Amersco) in appropriate media) at -80 °C and revived on YPD plates before testing. Yeast were grown in YPD at 30 °C unless specified. All yeast strains were sourced from the BY4741 MATa haploid knockout library (GE Dharmacon).

## 5.2. QUANTITATIVE TESTS FOR *DE NOVO* APPEARANCE OF BENEFICIAL PHENOTYPES

All yeast strains were exposed to an environmental stressor and growth rate, carrying capacity, and lag time were all measured. Strains descended from yeast that experienced overexpression of an RNA-modifying enzyme were compared against an identical strain that had been exposed to the same conditions but had not had the protein overexpressed. Growth rates were extrapolated from lines fit with the SciPy library for Python. The ratios of the growth rates between strains with overexpression and strains without overexpression to normalize was used as a qualitative measure of growth dynamics. In order to attribute the heritable growth traits seen here to prion proteins, genetic crosses and chaperone protein curing protocols were paired with growth assays to determine if these heritable growth states exhibit the same inheritance patterns seen in strains with known prion proteins.

## 5.3. CREATION OF DIPLOID YEAST STRAINS

Strains with previous overexpression of an RNA-modifying enzyme were crossed with a strain of the opposition mating type on YPD agar overnight. Cells were streaked to two rounds of dual selection plates to select for diploid cells. Single colonies were selected and stored in 25% glycerol at -80 °C for future experiments.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# **“You Shall Not Oppress a Resident Alien”: The Conception of Immigrants in the Hebrew Bible**

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## **ABSTRACT**

An increase in global immigration has resulted in humanitarian crises across the world as countries struggle to respond to the growing number of refugees and asylum seekers arriving at their borders. Understanding the specific messages within the Hebrew Bible regarding immigrants is important for developing faith-informed responses to immigrants and refugees. Religion often influences people’s beliefs, actions, and even the policy decisions for which they advocate, and the various forms of Christianity practiced in the United States frequently use the Hebrew Bible and New Testament as their sacred instructive texts. A detailed study of relevant portions of the Hebrew Bible, coupled with analysis of biblical commentaries and scholarly criticism, suggests that the Bible underscores the imperative to care for the most vulnerable members of society, as well as to include immigrants in the community. Arguably, people of faith should take this overarching message into account when considering how to respond to immigrants’ arrival in the United States.

Note to the Reader: The books of the Bible were originally written in biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, depending on the time period in which each book was redacted. Because I do not read biblical Hebrew, all biblical passages quoted in this thesis are from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) of the Hebrew Bible. The NRSV is regarded as one of the most accurate and reputable recent English translations of the Bible because it was completed by a committee of biblical scholars. My thesis advisor, Professor Deborah Green, checked the verses cited herein for accuracy against the original biblical Hebrew text and provided corrections to the translation where necessary. Verses that have been corrected from the original NRSV translation are footnoted. Unless otherwise noted, all other verses are from the NRSV translation.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

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The New Atheist Sam Harris once scathingly remarked, “Most people imagine that Iron Age philosophy represents the only available vessel for their spiritual hopes and existential concerns” and that people fail to recognize the possibility of living in an intellectually defensible and non-sectarian way.<sup>1</sup> Harris’ disdain for organized religion, however, ignores the reality that religion remains a powerful force in the modern world through influencing people’s beliefs, actions, and even the policy decisions for which they advocate. In the United States, Christianity in particular plays a powerful role in the political sphere. Evangelical voters have historically mobilized to vote against the liberalization of abortion and same-sex marriage, and opposed promoting roles for women outside the home because these initiatives reflect liberal social and cultural values and contradict the more traditional conservative norms that they seek to uphold in society.<sup>2</sup> Further, a high rate of evangelical Christians view immigration—not as stringently opposed by religious groups that tend to identify as liberal—to the United States as having a negative impact on the country.<sup>3</sup> The 2016 U.S. presidential election strikingly highlighted the correlation between voters’ religious affiliations and the political candidates for whom they voted. According to the Pew Research Center, an astounding 81% of evangelicals voted for then-candidate Donald Trump,<sup>4</sup> presumably due to his support of their political platform and validation of their communal identity.

President Trump has supported the political agenda of the evangelical voting bloc through legislation passed under his administration. He has also expressed disdain for human rights, especially regarding immigrants and refugees, a position that contrasts with the charity and compassion espoused by the Gospels. His zero-tolerance policy for migrants detained at the U.S.-Mexico border resulted in the separation of thousands of families<sup>5</sup> and migrants being forced to wait indefinitely in dangerous Mexican border cities for their asylum cases to be heard.<sup>6</sup> The policies of the Trump administration have dehumanized these individuals and are directly responsible for the deaths of migrants: lack of medical care and negligence at detention centers has led to the preventable deaths of sick adults and children,<sup>7</sup> and individuals who have been forced to wait in Mexican cities across the border have been killed by armed gangs and face the daily threat of robbery and rape.<sup>8</sup> These tragedies could have been prevented if the Trump administration had taken asylum claims seriously and allowed migrants to stay in the country, with proper medical attention and humane living conditions, until their cases were decided. It is difficult to imagine how such heinous disregard for human life could take place under an administration that was, at least in part, launched into power by one of the most powerful religious blocs within the country—especially when Christianity is associated with the ethical and compassionate treatment of people.

The various forms of Christianity practiced in the United States often use the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament as their sacred instructive texts. Although the New Testament is regarded as more authoritative within the Christian tradition—as a fulfillment of the prophecies and theology outlined in the Hebrew Bible—the Hebrew Bible nevertheless continues to be relevant and act as the root and inspiration for much of the theology found in the New Testament.<sup>9</sup>

Modern Christians use these texts to inform and justify their actions. For example, one of the complexities that evangelical Christians confront with regard to their political positions on immigration is the tension between the humanitarian concern for vulnerable people reflected in the Gospels and upholding the law.<sup>10</sup> Several well-known passages within the New Testament sanction the rights of civil government and the necessity of Christians' obedience to authority. According to the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus commands, "Give therefore to the emperor the things that are the emperor's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mt. 22:21). Jesus' statement indicates a separation between Christians' duties of obedience to temporal authority and their responsibility to follow God's commandments. The apostle Paul also reminds his followers: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except from God, and those authorities that exist have been instituted by God...if you do what is wrong, you should be afraid, for the authority does not bear the sword in vain!" (Romans 13:1-10).<sup>11</sup> Tension arises when government policies conflict directly with religious commandments, and determining when this is the case, especially with regard to immigration, is often up to individual conscience. Conservative evangelical voices have often decided the issue of how to treat immigrants in favor of obedience to civil authority rather than recognize and act on the humanitarian aspect of immigration.<sup>12</sup>

While these interpretations of the Scriptures are valid, this thesis argues that greater attention should be paid to the overarching themes of the protection and inclusion of resident aliens within Israelite society. These biblical motifs run throughout both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament in different iterations.<sup>13</sup> Further, the influence of the Hebrew Bible on Jesus' teachings is important to acknowledge when interpreting the New Testament. The texts, theologies, and law codes of the Hebrew Bible formed the basis of Jesus' ministry. Like Jesus, the Jews who authored the New Testament viewed the Hebrew Bible as holy. Given that people today interpret the Bible according to their experiential and temporal context, it is also important to note that the texts that compose the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament were written over nearly a millennium in an ancient Near Eastern context. This means the texts reflect ideologies and worldviews much different than modern sensibilities, ideologies that are nevertheless reinterpreted according to readers' time period and circumstances. Given the continued influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition on modern society, it is of the utmost importance to understand the biblical texts for what they actually say, within their social, historical, and cultural context. With regard to developing faith-informed responses to immigrants and refugees, this understanding is even more important.

Due to the multiplicity of authors and the scope of time over which the Hebrew Bible was written, this compilation of literature reflects a great diversity of views.<sup>14</sup> On the one hand, the fair treatment of strangers, foreigners, and resident aliens—the people whom we might refer to today as "immigrants"—is a recurring ethical teaching throughout much of the Bible.<sup>15</sup> The book of Exodus, for example, exhorts the Israelites: "You shall not oppress a resident alien [*ger*]...for you were aliens in the land of Egypt" (Ex. 23:9), and this command is repeated in Leviticus (Lev. 19:33-34)<sup>16</sup> and Deuteronomy (Deut. 10:17-19, see also Deut. 24:14-22)<sup>17</sup> and echoed by the Prophets.<sup>18</sup>

Additionally, the Israelites paradoxically view themselves as both the rightful heirs to Canaan—the land promised to them by God—and also as *gerim*, or resident aliens, themselves, because the land is God’s and they are guests on it.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, the Bible contains passages in which God commands the Israelites to slaughter all of the indigenous inhabitants of Canaan or “foreign” peoples because foreignness is seen as a threat to religious orthopraxy. The incorporation of foreigners into the community could have encouraged Israelites to commit idolatry by worshipping other gods, which would have broken the covenant with YHWH. Intermarriage is also condemned in the Ezra-Nehemiah memoirs, resulting in the heartbreaking mass-divorce of “foreign” wives and the abandonment of half-Judahite children.<sup>20</sup>

Because of its composite nature it would be simplistic and inaccurate to say that the Hebrew Bible provides a clear and unified ethical message regarding the treatment of immigrants. Nevertheless, an overarching theme of inclusion and protection of the resident alien (*ger*) can be traced throughout the different genres (and the time periods from which they date) that compose the Hebrew Bible. In Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, laws specify the treatment of, protections for, and expectations of the *ger*; the *ger* appears as an integrated member of the Israelite community within the narratives of the Davidic monarchy and under the rule of subsequent kings; and the way in which the *ger* is treated forms part of the conception of social justice articulated in the prophetic literature. This emphasis on the inclusion and protection of the *ger* is too significant to dismiss, and its presence throughout the biblical texts suggests its importance in Israelite and Jewish theology throughout time.

Additionally, to make sense of these complex texts, it is necessary to understand the context in which they were written. This requires investigating how and under what circumstances the Israelites formed into a distinct political, ethnic, and religious group, what this distinctiveness meant to them, their social and historical reality, and how they saw themselves in relation to other tribal groups and peoples.<sup>21</sup> It also requires a literary analysis of the biblical text, as the authors used language to construct nuanced depictions of identity and did not necessarily intend for their words to be taken literally.

## BACKGROUND

The *ger* appears in several areas within the Hebrew Bible: in a legal context within the Torah, in the narratives regarding the Davidic monarchy and later kings, and in the prophetic literature. The laws of the Torah specify ethical and practical commandments that the Israelites were expected to follow to maintain their relationship with God and remain on the land he gave them. Several of these pertain to the treatment of immigrants in the community. The books of Joshua through Second Kings chronicle the formation of Israel into a unified nation, from the conquest of Canaan to the establishment of the Davidic monarchy and the secession of the north (Israel) until the downfall of Judah.<sup>22</sup> These books contain passages and stories that demonstrate the Israelites’ relation to and conception of “foreign” peoples, both inside and outside of their community. Meanwhile, the prophets were voices of conscience who criticized the existing social



order of Israelite society and called for social justice, condemned the Israelites' infidelity to God and the Covenant, and told the people what they should do in order to be faithful to the divine law. It is important to note that while these biblical narratives purport to be true, not all of them are archaeologically substantiated or supported by other sources from these time periods; rather, they were written to further theological and nationalistic agendas. However, the biblical accounts are still valuable because they reflect the Israelite biblical writers' values, customs, and worldviews, and certain sections are based in actual historical events.<sup>23</sup>

On the basis of archaeological excavation, the earliest presence of Israelite settlements in the central hill country of Canaan (now modern Israel-Palestine) can be dated to between the thirteenth and the twelfth centuries BCE.<sup>24</sup> A monarchy established by King David, which enjoyed a brief period of regional power and autonomy from surrounding kingdoms, developed in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.<sup>25</sup> Contrary to the biblical account, the Israelites were most likely descended from indigenous Canaanites rather than migrants from another region.<sup>26</sup> There are conflicting theories regarding the origins of Israel: some scholars propose that the Israelites could have been settler-pioneers who established agrarian settlements, or indigenous Canaanites who allied with migrating bandits, mercenaries, and former slaves to overthrow the ruling class and establish a new social order.<sup>27</sup> Given the archaeological evidence of Iron Age settlement in Canaan, the narratives of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan appear to be myths written to substantiate Israel's national identity rather than narratives based on actual historical events.<sup>28</sup>

Ancient Israelite religion began as henotheism (when worship is directed principally towards one god but other deities are also acknowledged) due to the worship and recognition of multiple gods; however, the Israelites differentiated themselves from other ethnic groups through their special emphasis on worship of the deity YHWH.<sup>29</sup> Deities that the Israelites worshipped in addition to YHWH included Baal, the Canaanite god of storms and fertility,<sup>30</sup> and Asherah, a popular fertility goddess who was sometimes referred to as YHWH's consort.<sup>31</sup> It is important to note that although henotheistic worship was common among the populace, at least during the Iron Age, this practice was condemned by the Israelite priests, who promoted monotheistic worship of YHWH (as reflected in the biblical texts that condemn idolatry). This emphasis on monotheism, though not accepted initially by the entire Israelite populace, was unique for Iron Age Canaanite society where polytheism was the standard. Over time, emphasis on the sole worship of YHWH became more widely accepted within the Israelite and Judahite community, and eventually monotheistic worship of YHWH became normalized.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, the Israelites differentiated themselves from other ethnic groups through their devotion to the specific god YHWH, and this unique monotheism also contributed to the formation of their identity as a group.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the Israelite community's covenant with YHWH, the biblical texts contain commandments meant to preserve the identity and security of the community. These included exhortations to avoid associating with foreign peoples and the prohibition on intermarriage (see Deut. 7:3-4). In some instances the biblical text commands the slaughter of the peoples of the

lands in order to ensure ethno-religious separation and avoid breaking the covenant with God.<sup>34</sup> However, Israel's relationship with God is characterized by contention, since the Israelites fail time and again to remain completely faithful to God because they intermarry with other ethnic groups and worship other deities. An important and recurring theme within the biblical stories is the cyclical nature of the Israelites' relationship with YHWH: when they fail to follow the Covenant they often incur God's wrath, resulting in calamity and subjugation at the hand of other peoples; realizing by their misfortune that they have sinned, the Israelites plead for mercy; God takes pity on them, delivers them from their oppression, and they reform their ways for a time. Then the cycle repeats.<sup>35</sup> This biblical motif is significant because it created a framework for understanding events that happened in the Israelites' national history, such as war, famine, and disaster. The cycle of maintaining, breaking, and renewing the Covenant reminded the Israelites that they were responsible for their own actions and that they had a choice whether to follow the Covenant. God held them to a high standard of conduct, and it was their choice whether they lived up to his laws.

Interestingly, when intermarriage and interactions with foreigners are condemned by certain biblical writers, it is almost always because the risk of such exposure can lead the Israelites to the worship of deities other than YHWH. However, the position of the entire Israelite community on intermarriage is far from unified. Not all biblical texts condemn intermarriage: For example, Moses marries Zipporah, a Midianite woman who bears him a son. Moses names their son Gershom, which means "I have been a stranger there" (Ex. 2:22).<sup>36</sup> The Moabite Ruth marries an Israelite and continues the line of David (Ruth 4:13-17). And various Judahite and Israelite kings, most notably King Solomon, marry non-Israelite wives (1 Kings 11:1-2), a maneuver that, while problematic for the priestly tradition that authors the account of his reign, was an already well-established diplomatic tactic that maintained political alliances and kept the peace during his kingship.<sup>37</sup> The biblical position on intermarriage is not monolithic: laws in the Torah such as the prohibition on intermarriage in Deuteronomy 7:3-4 are contradicted by biblical narratives such as the examples above that present intermarriage as a non-issue.

The Covenant makes a clear distinction between foreigners (*nokhri*) and resident aliens (*gerim*). *Nokhri* are treated with caution and subject to different laws than Israelites; they are not permitted to assume kingship over the community (Deut. 17:15); they may be charged interest on loans (Deut. 23:19-20); Israelites may not be sold to them as slaves (Ex. 21:17); and their gods are regarded as inferior.<sup>38</sup> The caution and distrust with which foreigners are treated may be due to the fact that they maintain their own customs and loyalty to a different people or country, which could be perceived as threatening to Israel. By contrast, the Covenant contains several protective provisions for the *gerim*, the resident aliens.<sup>39</sup> For example, the *gerim* are often mentioned in conjunction with the poor, widows, and orphans, which suggests that they were perceived as marginalized and thus subject to the same charity and protective laws as these other vulnerable groups.<sup>40</sup> Further, the Deuteronomist specifies that "the aliens within your camp" are subject to the same covenant as the Israelites (Deut. 29:11), and the *gerim* are bound by the same prohibitive commandments as the Israelites so as not to defile the land.<sup>41</sup> Arguably, the main difference between the *gerim* and the *nokhri* is that the *gerim* had no loyalties outside of Israel and had

integrated into Israelite society, whereas the *nokhri* maintained their loyalties to their people and place of origin.

Perhaps one of the most blatant examples of nativism found in the Hebrew Bible is in the book of Ezra. Understanding the historical context in which this narrative was written illuminates the influences on Ezra's stance on foreignness. The Jews were conquered in 586 BCE by the ruthless Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, whose forces destroyed their Temple and deported their leaders and intellectuals out of Judah (the Jewish kingdom) to Babylon.<sup>42</sup> However, when the Persian emperor Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon in 539 BCE, he allowed the Judahites to return home and rebuild the Temple (Ezra 1:1-3).<sup>43</sup> Of course, Judah had not been completely depopulated because the lower-ranked Judahites were overlooked by the Babylonians and remained there. Further, given their long exile in Babylon, many of the Judahites who had gone to Babylon had married non-Judahite wives and started families there (Ezra 9:1-2, 10:2). Ezra saw intermarriage as breaking God's Covenant and commanded the people to divorce their wives and disown their children to retain their ethnic distinctiveness, which he viewed as a religious imperative (Ezra 10:10-11). However, Ezra is by no means the only voice on the subject of intermarriage. A passage in Malachi, likely included as a direct response to Ezra, condemns divorce and indicates that it is a worse violation of God's will than intermarriage (Mal. 2:10-16). Further, the Book of Ruth supports intermarriage because its protagonist, a Moabite woman, marries an Israelite man and becomes the great-grandmother of David, the first king of Israel (Ruth 4:13-17). And as discussed previously, Moses marries a Midianite and has a family with her, which the text regards as a non-issue.

Arguably, the discriminatory marriage laws of Ezra-Nehemiah are extreme and not representative of biblical thought on ethnicity as a whole.<sup>44</sup> Rolf Rendtorff has pointed out that the Covenant indicates that integration of the *ger* into the Israelite community is possible,<sup>45</sup> which contradicts Ezra's complete hostility to non-Israelites. The Book of Ezra was written in a postexilic context much later than most of the Hebrew Bible (ca. 458 to 398 BCE, according to some scholars)<sup>46</sup> and is reflective of specific historical circumstances that encouraged nativism instead of the integration of foreigners into the Israelite community.

## THE SCOPE AND STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is divided into four chapters that concern the conception of resident aliens in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>47</sup> The first chapter addresses the laws in the Torah that establish special protections for the *ger* against exploitation and abuse. This chapter considers how the Israelites in the Hebrew Bible, and by extent the biblical authors, perceived foreigners and resident aliens and the laws regarding their treatment. It addresses the distinction made between "foreigner" (*nokhri*) and "resident alien" (*ger*). It also explores why they are treated differently, and how they are integrated into, or excluded from, Israelite society.

The second chapter analyzes the inclusion and integration of *gerim* into Israelite society during the Davidic monarchy. In particular, this chapter addresses whether the nation-building of Israel

under King David and his descendants necessitated an “other”—that is, an opposite people or peoples that Israel defined itself against—or if David created a political state using an alternative method to construct group identity. This chapter also explores how the construction of Israel as a nation-state relates to the treatment of non-Israelites within Israelite society.

The third chapter considers nativism and xenophobia in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. This chapter addresses the troubling aspects of Ezra-Nehemiah’s stance on non-Jews and explores how the ideas of intermarriage and the foreigner change over time according to historical circumstances. The chapter also addresses whether Ezra’s prohibition of intermarriage is ethnically discriminatory or if this prohibition is motivated by religious, political, social, or other reasons.

The fourth chapter addresses exilic and postexilic prophetic thought on resident aliens and foreigners and the theology of divine universalism. It argues how the prophets rearticulate the imperatives within the Torah to take care of the most vulnerable members of society, including resident aliens, in their postexilic theology. This chapter also considers how Israel’s national identity and relationship to other peoples changed after the exile and how the prophets developed a more inclusive postexilic conception of membership in the community of Israel.

Over the course of these four chapters, this thesis will demonstrate that despite the diversity of views preserved within the Hebrew Bible, the theme of welcoming, including, and protecting the *ger* (resident alien) is significant within Israelite society and religion. The conclusion comments on the modern significance of the conceptions of resident aliens within the Hebrew Bible and how the biblical messages regarding immigrants may be harnessed in service of acceptance of immigrants in the United States.

## CHAPTER 1: THE *GER* [RESIDENT ALIEN] IN THE TORAH

### INTRODUCTION

The resident alien appears in several different areas within the legal matrix of the Torah. The *gerim* within Israelite communities were subject to the prohibitive commandments within the law but not the performative ones, indicating the degree to which they were integrated into Israelite society. The biblical traditions within the Torah frequently associate resident aliens with widows and orphans, two groups that were especially vulnerable in ancient Near Eastern societies, suggesting that the *gerim* were conceived of as equally vulnerable and merited the same kinds of charity and social protection. The text depicts God as a champion who will defend the poor and weak from people who exploit or abuse them. Further, the commandments that concern social justice often appeal to Israel’s empathy and sense of solidarity by referring to the Israelites’ ancestral experience of enslavement in Egypt as a motivation to protect the *ger*. Ultimately, these themes within the text indicate that the contributors and editors of the Torah believed that God was the defender of the most vulnerable members of society—widows, orphans, and resident

aliens—and, in recognition of their vulnerability, resident aliens deserved to be protected from abuse and were eligible to receive charity.

## PERFORMATIVE VERSUS PROHIBITIVE COMMANDMENTS

The Levitical and Deuteronomic laws suggest that the *ger* is both a member of Israelite society and simultaneously not fully Israelite.<sup>48</sup> Biblical scholars disagree about the exact characterization of the *ger* within Israelite society—as will be explained below, there is debate over whether the *ger* could be a native displaced Israelite rather than a foreign-born individual—but either way, most agree that the *ger* was a displaced, kinless individual whose vulnerability qualified him or her for social protection. Nahum Sarna defines the *ger* as “a foreign-born permanent resident whose status was intermediate between the native-born citizen (*‘ezrah*) and the foreigner temporarily residing outside his community (*nokhri*)”.<sup>49</sup> Mark Awabdy also maintains that the *ger* was not a countryman or an Israelite, but could only be a person of foreign origin.<sup>50</sup> Mark Glanville agrees that the *ger* is a vulnerable and displaced person<sup>51</sup> but argues that the text does not make it clear whether that person is a foreigner or a Judahite because the status of an individual as a *ger* does not necessarily depend on their ethnic origin, but rather is predicated on lacking a kinship group in the area in which the person lives.<sup>52</sup> Ultimately, most scholars agree that the *ger* was a displaced and kinless person whose vulnerability merited special protection. For the purposes of this thesis, this is the definition of the *ger* that I will use.

To what extent the *gerim* were integrated into Israelite society can be studied not only through the text’s compassionate stance towards resident aliens, but also through the way in which *gerim* were subject to the prohibitive, but not the performative, commandments found in the Torah.<sup>53</sup> Prohibitive commandments concern actions that are forbidden and will cause divine judgment and wrath, whereas performative commandments are actions that are encouraged to honor YHWH. For resident aliens, failure to execute the latter is not as egregious as doing something that is forbidden because *gerim* are not necessarily YHWH-worshippers and are thus not subject to the covenant in the same way that native Israelites are.<sup>54</sup> Observance of the prohibitive commandments prevented the pollution of the land and the sanctuary and thus preserved the safety of the entire community, whereas performative commandments concerned the worship of YHWH. Resident aliens were not obligated to do the latter because sins of omission would not cause the land or the sanctuary to become impure.<sup>55</sup> The way in which the *gerim* are treated within the Levitical and Deuteronomic laws demonstrates the simultaneous inclusion and distinction made between them and native Israelites.

A case study of such inclusion and distinction can be found in Deuteronomy 14:21, which specifies to Israelites: “You shall not eat anything that dies of itself; you may give it to aliens residing in your towns for them to eat, or you may sell it to a foreigner. For you are a people holy to the Lord your God”. This passage not only pertains to dietary laws, but acknowledges the reality of social class,<sup>56</sup> poverty,<sup>57</sup> and the way in which different demographics were perceived and treated within Israelite society. As indicated by the final phrase, the Israelites are clearly God’s

chosen people and thus have a special status compared with other social groups. However, this does not exempt them from caring for people who are less favored, namely the resident aliens among them. The *gerim* are not required to observe all of the Israelites' laws because they are not necessarily practitioners of YHWHism, which is why they may eat an animal that died on its own.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, they are recognized as members of the community because giving the dead animal to the *ger*—a person who may have been landless and/or impoverished—both fulfills the Israelites' covenantal duties and is an action of mercy on the part of the Israelite who does so, as the *ger* may have been unable to afford basic necessities such as food without the support of the community.<sup>59</sup> The exception in Israelite dietary law made for the *gerim* reflects the strong ethic for social justice within Israelite society and also a recognition that, as individuals who may not be YHWH-worshippers, resident aliens are not obligated to observe all of the commandments that the Israelites are expected to follow. Foreigners, however, clearly have a different status: they are not members of the community and the text implies that as a class they are likely affluent enough to purchase meat from the Israelites.<sup>60</sup> This can be surmised from the distinction made between foreigners and resident aliens within the passage, as resident aliens are entitled to receive the dead animal free of charge, while foreigners will have to pay for it. While both resident aliens and foreigners are not ethnically Israelite, resident aliens establish themselves as members of the Israelite community and integrate into it to a significant extent, whereas foreigners have no desire to do so and typically relate to the Israelite community as visitors passing through due to trade or conflict.

The laws governing Israelite religious life indicate the Israelite community's inclusion of the *ger*. A *ger* who desired to participate in the Passover had to undergo circumcision (the sign of the covenant between YHWH and his people), but after he completed the process, the *ger* was considered completely eligible to worship the deity and was furthermore regarded as a member of the Israelite community (Ex. 12:48-49).<sup>61</sup> The full passage reads: "If an alien who resides with you wants to celebrate the passover to the Lord, all his males shall be circumcised; then he may draw near to celebrate it; he shall be regarded as a native of the land. But no uncircumcised person shall eat of it; there shall be one law for the native and for the alien who resides among you" (Ex. 12:48-49). Presumably, the "one law" that applies to both native Israelites and resident aliens maintains the distinction between those who can celebrate the Passover and those who cannot by virtue of circumcision, but the one law also means that the *ger* who chooses to become circumcised may worship YHWH and join the Israelite community as a full member. Further, religious festivals such as Shavuot<sup>62</sup> (Deut. 16:11, Deut. 26:11) and Succoth<sup>63</sup> (Deut. 16:14) are all-inclusive celebrations that were celebrated by native Israelites and resident aliens alike. The Torah also commands the Israelites to support kin who have fallen on hard times *just as if* they were resident aliens living within the Israelite community (Lev. 25:35), which indicates that both resident aliens and impoverished Israelites were considered to be of a similar social status and consequently merited the same special protection.

The prohibitive commandments that *gerim* were expected to observe indicates how they were integrated into the community as non-Israelites. For example, Leviticus specifies that "Aliens as



well as citizens, when they blaspheme the name [of God], shall be put to death” (Lev. 24:16). This means that *gerim*, even if they were not YHWH-worshippers, were expected to maintain a basic level of respect towards the deity and, by extent, towards the Israelite community that YHWH patronized. This commandment also served to ensure that the wrath of God would not befall the Israelite community, because the *ger*, as a resident alien, was considered a community member and any of his or her actions could have repercussions on the Israelites as a group.<sup>64</sup> Along the same lines, during the Passover the presence of leaven was forbidden in both Israelite and resident alien households, regardless of whether the resident aliens are YHWH-believers (Ex. 12:19). This universal prohibition is because observance of the prohibitive commandments is necessary to ensure the welfare of the entire Israelite community. Any person who failed to follow these commandments would bring wrath not only on himself and his household, but on his neighbors as well.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, God warns the Israelites to observe the covenant or face his wrath and includes resident aliens in this warning:

You stand assembled today, all of you, before the Lord your God—the leaders of your tribes, your elders, and your officials, all the men of Israel, your children, your women, *and the aliens who are in your camp*, both those who cut your wood and draw your water—to enter into the covenant of the Lord your God...You know how we lived in the land of Egypt, and how we came through the midst of the nations through which you passed. You have seen their detestable things, the filthy idols of wood and stone, of silver and gold, that were among them. It may be that there is among you a man or woman, or a family or tribe, whose heart is already turning away from the Lord our God to serve those nations...All those who hear the words of this oath and bless themselves, thinking in their hearts, ‘We are safe even though we go our stubborn ways’ (thus bringing disaster on moist and dry alike)—the Lord will be unwilling to pardon them, for the Lord’s anger and passion will smoke against them. All the curses written in this book will descend on them, and the Lord will blot out their names from under heaven. (Deut. 29:10-20, emphasis added)

This passage emphasizes that all members of the community of Israel, ethnic Israelites and resident aliens alike, were subject to the prohibition against idolatry. Any person who worshipped a deity other than YHWH would bring God’s wrath down not only on themselves, but on the entire community. Consequently, it was necessary to ensure that *gerim* observed the prohibitive commandments of the Covenant.

Other prohibitive commandments that the *ger* was required to follow include the prohibition on eating blood, regarded as the life source of humans and animals (Lev. 17:12)<sup>66</sup>; the prohibition on offering sacrifices to YHWH at any place other than the “tent of meeting”, the centralized place of worship (Lev. 17:8)<sup>67</sup>; and the prohibition on offering child sacrifices to Molech (Lev. 20:2).<sup>68</sup> Arguably, the required observation of the prohibitive commandments on the part of resident aliens does not have to do with religious compulsion, but rather with preserving the welfare of the community as a whole.<sup>69</sup> This suggests the degree to which the *gerim* were integrated into the community and the simultaneous acknowledgement of their distinctiveness.

## THE EXODUS MOTIF AND GOD AS CHAMPION OF THE POOR

God reminds the Israelites that “The land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine, with me you are but resident aliens and tenants” (Lev. 25:23). In this passage, God characterizes the Israelites as resident aliens because they are guests on his land and reside there because he allows them to. The structure of the agreement between God and Israel mirrors that of Assyrian vassal-suzerain treaties,<sup>70</sup> which delineate the relationship between a subservient people and an outside dominant empire. These treaties clearly specify the expectations for both parties, and the dynamic tends to be that of loyalty pledged and tribute provided by the vassal people to their suzerain and, in return, protection on the part of the suzerain or ruler. The Covenant made between the Israelites and God is that the Israelites pledge their loyalty and the observance of the commandments in exchange for YHWH’s protection and the gift of land, offspring, peace, and prosperity. The Israelites have a covenantal relationship with God, but within this legal framework YHWH demonstrates his *hesed*, lovingkindness. A powerful deity decides to form an agreement to provide for and protect a small, vulnerable people in exchange for their commitment to him. The Covenant is not just a legal agreement, as are the Assyrian and Hittite international treaties with subject peoples, but a relationship between the two parties. This consciousness of YHWH’s *hesed* and human vulnerability may have by extent engendered empathy towards individuals who were very vulnerable within Israelite society. In other words, Deuteronomic and Levitical legislation that encouraged benevolence to vulnerable members of Israelite society such as widows, orphans, and resident aliens reenacted YHWH’s *hesed* towards Israel.<sup>71</sup>

Perhaps the most powerful recurring motif within the Deuteronomic laws that is used to inspire obedience to the covenant and compassion towards the resident alien is the Israelites’ formative experience as slaves in Egypt and their self-conception as a once-enslaved people now freed through YHWH’s intervention. Passages that reflect this consciousness are scattered throughout Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy. Some of the most notable examples are analyzed below.

A powerful example of the protection the *ger* merited, purely because of the vulnerability he or she shared with the Israelites’ ancestors, can be found in Exodus 23:9: “You shall not oppress a resident alien; you know the heart of an alien, for you were once aliens in the land of Egypt”. This passage refers to the Israelites’ experience of oppression under Pharaoh because of their difference and the perceived threat they posed to the Egyptians, in whose country they resided for several generations. As resident aliens in Egypt they did not have the same rights as the Egyptians, they were enslaved and forced to make bricks, and some of their children were slaughtered under Pharaoh’s orders. They were powerless to defend themselves or alter their situation until God intervened. “You know the heart of an alien” suggests that the Israelites shared the same experience as resident aliens in other ancient Near Eastern societies, including their own; the clause also suggests that they ought to have empathy for resident aliens because of this shared experience. Due to this experience of oppression and deliverance, according to the Torah the

Israelites were expected to maintain a feeling of empathy and sense of responsibility to care for the resident alien among them.<sup>72</sup>

An earlier passage reflects this same message, but develops it a step further:

You shall not wrong or oppress a resident alien, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt. You shall not abuse any widow or orphan. If you do abuse them, when they cry out to me, I will surely heed their cry; my wrath will burn, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall become widows and your children orphans. (Ex. 22:21-23)

To wrong, oppress, or abuse one of the three individuals in this passage means to take advantage of their vulnerability and lack of protection from predators. Provisions for the protection of widows and orphans are common across other ancient Near Eastern law codes, but the Hebrew Bible is exceptional in its protections for resident aliens. Typically, foreign-born residents in other ancient Near Eastern societies received no special legal protection from exploitation and abuse.<sup>73</sup> By associating widows and orphans with resident aliens, the passage emphasizes the similar vulnerability of the *ger* and his or her right to the same kind of protection that widows and orphans receive. The fact that the statute concerning the *ger* appears next to those regarding the widow and orphan indicates that all three demographics were considered equally vulnerable and merited protection, despite the fact that the widow and orphan are autochthonous to the community, whereas the *ger* is foreign-born.<sup>74</sup> What the three groups share, however, is lack of a kinship network which would otherwise protect them.<sup>75</sup> It is also important to note that God himself is the champion of the oppressed and in direct opposition to any human who would dare harm them—which means that care for the poor is not only in accordance with God's will, but failure to do so will incur divine anger.<sup>76</sup>

Multiple passages within Leviticus and Deuteronomy further emphasize the connection between resident aliens, widows, and orphans, and specify the special considerations that landholding Israelites should make with regard to these particularly vulnerable groups. Widows, orphans, and resident aliens were given gleaning rights in the fields, vineyards, and olive orchards of Israelite farms.<sup>77</sup> Deut. 24:19-22 states:

When you reap your harvest in your field and forget a sheaf in your field, you shall not go back to get it; it shall be left for the alien, the orphan, and the widow, so that the Lord your God may bless you in all your undertakings. When you beat your olive trees, do not strip what is left; it shall be for the alien, the orphan, and the widow. When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, do not glean what is left; it shall be for the alien, the orphan, and the widow. Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I am commanding you to do this.

Olive trees, vineyards, and fields for growing grain were important sources of sustenance in Israelite agricultural communities. Workers would harvest the produce when the time was right,

but gleaning—the practice of collecting the food that the workers had missed—was a right reserved for the poorest members of society, who likely had no land with which to feed themselves and relied on their wealthier neighbors’ harvest leftovers for subsistence. The first motivating clause within the passage—“so that the Lord your God may bless you in all your undertakings”—indicates that when the Israelites support the less fortunate members of their community, YHWH will reward them with blessings.<sup>78</sup> The second motivating clause, “Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I am commanding you to do this”, connects the Israelites’ experience of enslavement and penury in a foreign land with the imperative to ensure that the resident aliens within their own community do not have the same experience.<sup>79</sup> The consciousness of YHWH’s beneficence towards the Israelites in bringing them to a land of plenty should be reciprocated by the Israelites’ beneficence towards the vulnerable individuals within their community.<sup>80</sup> The Israelites are encouraged to care for the *ger* because according to the Exodus narrative, their ancestors experienced discrimination and hardship due to their status as *gerim* among the Egyptians. It was only through YHWH’s remembrance of the promise he had made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that they were ultimately saved and brought to a land where they could prosper. This consciousness of redemption should, according to Deuteronomy, animate concern for and responsibility towards the *ger*.

A second example of the connection between widows, orphans, and resident aliens can be found in the law regarding the distribution of triennial tithes to these groups. Deuteronomy 14:28-29 states:

Every third year you shall bring out the full tithe of your produce for that year, and store it within your towns; the Levites, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you, as well as the resident aliens, the orphans, and the widows in your towns, may come and eat their fill so that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work that you undertake.

The triennial tithes refer to the produce that farmers were required to bring to town storehouses, to be distributed to people who had no means of supporting themselves. In this passage the traditional triad of widows, orphans, and resident aliens is supplemented by Levites, landless priests who were in charge of administering sacrifices on behalf of Israel. Although they may have belonged to a higher socio-religious class, the Levites could be just as vulnerable to poverty and lack of food as widows, orphans, and resident aliens because they lacked the land to support themselves and instead relied on the sacrifices of meat, grain, and other foods that Israelites brought to them. For example, Deut. 14:27 specifies to the Israelites, “As for the Levites resident within your towns, do not neglect them, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you.”<sup>81</sup> The law recognizes the heightened risk of destitution for the Levites, who rely solely on the offerings of their fellow Israelites to sustain themselves.<sup>82</sup> In this sense, their plight is similar to that of the *ger*, so they are included in some charitable provisions within the text.

Resident aliens were also entitled to receive their wages in a timely manner. The *ger* was frequently—though not always—a hired worker,<sup>83</sup> and as a poor day-laborer he or she relied on daily money to subsist. Deut. 24:14-15 specifies:

You shall not withhold the wages of poor and needy laborers, whether other Israelites or aliens who reside in your land in one of your towns. You shall pay them their wages daily before sunset, because they are poor and their livelihood depends on them; otherwise they might cry to the Lord against you, and you would incur guilt.

This law recognizes the reality of poverty within Israelite society and emphasizes the Israelite employer's obligation to pay his hired laborers on time—regardless of whether they are native Israelites or *gerim*—to avoid causing them to suffer. There are two motivating clauses within this passage that encourage the timely payment to resident aliens. The first, “because they are poor and their livelihood depends on them [the wages]” recognizes the real risk of destitution for these workers and exhorts timely payment by appealing to human compassion. If the hired laborers are poor, then they are living day-to-day and need the wages in order to subsist. The second motivating clause, “otherwise they might cry to the Lord against you, and you would incur guilt”, is even more powerful. It suggests that God is the champion of the poor and will fight against abuse or exploitation on their behalf. This is a noteworthy theme because it indicates that the most powerful being conceivable in Israel chooses to protect the weakest and most vulnerable members of society, instead of allying with the greatest members of the community like priests, kings, or wealthy citizens. The cause of the poor is linked directly to God's justice.<sup>84</sup>

## ISRAELITE SELF-IDENTITY THROUGH THE STORIES OF THE PATRIARCHS

Also important to the Israelites' sense of self-conception are the stories of the patriarchs, all of whom self-identified as resident aliens. According to the biblical text, until their arrival in Egypt the Israelites were nomads who wandered in search of safety and pasture for their flocks. They were also vulnerable to the will of neighboring, settled, more powerful tribal groups. Abraham and Isaac, the first patriarchs of the Israelites, are characterized as aliens by God throughout Genesis because they could call no place their homeland. For example, God promises to Abraham, “I will give to you, and to your offspring after you, the land where you are now sojourning, all the land of Canaan, for a perpetual holding; and I will be their God” (Gen. 17:8).<sup>85</sup> The Israelites are not indigenous to the land and their illustrious ancestor himself was a resident alien.<sup>86</sup> The consciousness that the Israelites were descended from an immigrant and a resident alien is reflected in the Deuteronomic legislation regarding the presentation of the first produce of the land to YHWH's sanctuary:

When the priest takes the basket from your hand and sets it down before the altar of the Lord your God, you shall make this response before the Lord your God: “A wandering Aramean was my father; he went down to Egypt and lived there, few in number, and there he became a great nation, mighty and populous. When the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us, by imposing hard labor on us, we cried to the Lord, the God of our

ancestors; the Lord heard our voice and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression. The Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with a terrifying display of power, and with signs and wonders; and he brought us into this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. So now I bring the first of the fruit of the ground that you, O Lord, have given me.” (Deut. 26:4-10)<sup>87</sup>

This passage not only reflects the idea that Abraham was himself a resident alien, as a “wandering Aramean”, but also that the Israelites are resident aliens in the land to which God led them, even though he meant for them to settle down there. The prosperity and bounty of the land are God’s, and the Israelites owe this to his goodness. Because of this debt to God, the law recognizes that the Israelites owe the first produce of the land—the choicest examples of its bounty—to him.

Further, despite Abraham’s tenuous status as a nomad, his hospitality towards strangers is exemplary, indicating that his descendants should follow his example. Gen. 18:1-8 narrates Abraham’s response to the angels sent by God to his dwelling. The patriarch sits outside his tent almost as if he were waiting for strangers to appear. When the angels arrive in the guise of ordinary men, he welcomes them, entreats them to stay, and rushes to offer them food and water to wash their feet. His response to the visitors is notable because strangers were frequently subject to mistrust and violence in the ancient Near East;<sup>88</sup> Abraham’s behavior is exceptional because he breaks that norm.

A direct contrast to Abraham’s welcome is provided in the subsequent narrative of the angels’ visit to the town of Sodom, where the townspeople, assuming they are ordinary men, attempt to gang-rape them. Abraham’s nephew Lot tries to shelter and protect the two visitors from the mob of Sodomite men outside of his door, as he recognizes the angels’ apparent vulnerability to attack because of their status as friendless strangers. This exemplifies the rules of hospitality in ancient Near Eastern societies, which were put in place to counteract the frequent violence against travelers and foreigners who had no kin to protect them.<sup>89</sup> However, the Sodomites dismiss Lot’s entreaties for justice, jeering, “‘This fellow came here to dwell, and he would play the judge!’” (Gen. 19:9).<sup>90</sup> Lot’s position within the community of Sodom is precarious because although he was accepted into their society, he still maintains his position as an outsider in the community. He has not yet been fully integrated and the lack of respect that the Sodomite men demonstrate towards him suggests that he retains a lower social status. The fact that he tries to protect the angels despite his vulnerability is all the more commendable.<sup>91</sup>

Like Abraham, Moses, the prophetic leader of the Israelites, lives the experience of a resident alien. As an Israelite child he was raised in the Egyptian court by Pharaoh’s daughter. After killing an Egyptian, he flees the wrath of Pharaoh and becomes a fugitive in the land of Midian, where he marries the daughter of a Midianite priest. Moses names his firstborn son Gershom, to commemorate his status as “an alien residing in a foreign land” (Ex. 2:22).<sup>92</sup> Not only do a foreign people give Moses refuge, but he also intermarries with them. Moses’ mixed-ethnicity family normalizes intermarriage, despite the commandments within the Torah that prohibit it.



Additionally, Moses' father-in-law, Jethro, is instrumental in setting up the Israelite judicial system, as he proposes a new administrative infrastructure which is more effective than Moses' initial judicial procedure.<sup>93</sup> This is notable because Jethro is a Midianite.<sup>94</sup> Although he comes from a different ethnic background, Jethro expresses belief in YHWH, which may be why he is accepted into the broader Israelite community. There is no issue within the text of Exodus with Moses' marriage to a Midianite woman or his intimate and trusting relationship with her father. This indicates that non-Israelites are not necessarily perceived as threats—indeed, could even be beloved allies—provided they recognize the supremacy of YHWH and support Israel. Even when Aaron and Miriam, Moses' brother and sister, speak out against him “because of the Cushite woman whom he had married”, God ignores their criticism and reminds them that, while they may be prophets, Moses has been “entrusted with all my house. With him I speak face to face—clearly, not in riddles; and he beholds the form of the Lord” (Num. 12:1-9). In this exchange God reminds Miriam and Aaron that, while they may be prophets, Moses has been entrusted with leading all Israel; further, he is the sole person with the honor of being able to communicate directly with God. God does not address the issue of intermarriage; instead he condemns Miriam and Aaron for their jealousy because what he most cares about is the successful leadership of Israel. This story suggests that, while intermarriage may have been a concern for some members of the Israelite community, others—such as the redactors of this particular tale—believed that there were more important issues.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the ways in which the *ger* appears in the Torah. The expectation that the *ger* observe the prohibitive commandments indicates the degree to which he or she was integrated into Israelite society; at the same time, because resident aliens were not expected to observe all of the performative commandments, they were not considered full members of Israel. The law specifies clear protections for resident aliens and links *gerim* to widows and orphans to emphasize these groups' shared vulnerability and the social and religious imperatives to provide for them and protect them from abuse. Further, the Israelites are reminded of their ancestors' experience as slaves in Egypt to encourage their empathy towards resident aliens in their own society and, by extent, to remind them of their duty not to enact the same oppression as they themselves suffered under Pharaoh. Ultimately, God is depicted as the champion of the poor, and to abuse or exploit the vulnerable is represented as a violation of his will.

## CHAPTER 2: THE *GER* [RESIDENT ALIEN] IN BIBLICAL NARRATIVES

### INTRODUCTION

The Former Prophets—Judges, Joshua, First and Second Samuel, and First and Second Kings—chronicle the Israelites' conquest of Canaan, the Davidic monarchy, the rules of subsequent kings, the Assyrian invasion, and the Babylonian exile. Throughout these narratives, and principally within the stories about the Davidic monarchy, resident aliens appear as soldiers,

mercenaries, and loyal citizens within Israelite society. The Bible depicts the golden age of Israel to be the monarchy under King David, a charismatic leader who unified the North and South of the country, defeated Israel's enemies, and enabled his son and successor Solomon to reign in peace. David's governance was unique in that he included not just Israelites but ethnic non-Israelites in his armies and in the kingdom that he ultimately constructed. To understand the way that David included *gerim* within this restructured Israelite society, it is necessary to explore the nature and organization of Israelite society prior to the monarchy.

## JUDGES AND JOSHUA: THE PRE-MONARCHIC PERIOD

The Book of Judges contains some of the oldest stories about Israel within the Hebrew Bible and relates the tribal structure of ancient Israelite society and stories of tribal warfare in the land. Although Judges is difficult to date because it contains narratives from different time periods and multiple redactional layers, the earliest stories have been dated with some confidence to circa the twelfth century BCE.<sup>95</sup> The earliest stories were probably told orally centuries before they were transcribed, and although they may not accurately reflect Israelite history during this time, they nevertheless convey Israel's self-conception<sup>96</sup>—a self-conception that was deemed worthy of preservation by later redactors. Judges relates a much messier and fractious process of conquest and settlement in the land than the book of Joshua does. In Judges, the Israelites fail to eliminate all the other peoples in the land and they fail to conquer all the territory for themselves. Warfare with the surrounding peoples of the land is a recurring issue, and the smaller narratives are arranged in a structure that culminates in a civil war between the Benjaminites and the other tribes.

The civil war is triggered by the abuse of the vulnerable, specifically the gang-rape and murder of the concubine of Gibeah (related in Judges 19-21). The story tells of a traveling Levite and his concubine who spend the night in a Benjaminite town, but the residents of the town demand that the Levite come out of the house in which they are staying and present himself to them so that they can gang-rape him (Judges 19:22). Terrified, the Levite throws his concubine out to appease the mob, who gang-rape and torture her and finally leave her for dead (Judges 19:25). The rape and murder of the concubine elicits outrage from the rest of the Israelite tribes, who declare war on Gibeah and the entire tribe of Benjamin, as the tribe failed to turn over the perpetrators of the atrocity. The somber conclusion of the story is that "In those days there was no king in Israel; all the people did what was right in their own eyes" (Judges 21:25). The redactor of Judges suggests that a king is necessary to ensure order and that the most vulnerable members of society—in this case exemplified by the concubine, a defenseless and innocent woman—are protected from harm.<sup>97</sup> Arguably, the merit and morality of a society can be gauged by its treatment of its most vulnerable members: women, children, and travelers. The individuals who "did what was right in their own eyes", abuse two travelers and in doing so break the Covenant they made with God, which involves the protection and preservation of human life.<sup>98</sup> The text condemns the abuse of the concubine as lawless and unconscionable, emphasizing that to violate the rights of the vulnerable breaks the Covenant.<sup>99</sup> The vulnerable members of society should be protected by the

Covenant, but because the Israelites disregard the law, a king is necessary to enforce the law. Additionally, the narrative hearkens back to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah because it demonstrates the importance of hospitality to strangers, the terrifying social consequences when this imperative is ignored, and the emphasis on the importance of protecting the vulnerable, in this case travelers and women.<sup>100</sup> Ultimately, the story of the concubine relates to attitudes about the *ger* because the resident alien, like the Levite at risk of abuse or the woman vulnerable to predation and rape, depends on the goodness of the people he or she meets to stay safe.

## JOSHUA AND *HEREM*

The book of Joshua purportedly narrates the conquest of Canaan, but the text itself was only composed as early as the tenth century BCE and quite possibly much later in a post-monarchic context.<sup>101</sup> Reading Joshua is useful for understanding a particular Israelite attitude towards ethnic non-Israelites that is not reflected in many other biblical books<sup>102</sup> and an agenda of extermination that was never fully carried out.<sup>103</sup> One of the most troubling aspects of the book of Joshua for modern readers is the divine commands to annihilate all the indigenous residents of Canaan in order to purify the land from idolatrous practices. This practice, known as *herem*, means that conquered objects, animals, and even people were totally annihilated and their destruction was dedicated to God.<sup>104</sup> *Herem* could have been encouraged for several reasons: because it was mandated by God and was therefore not a choice; because it had to do with the indigenous people's idolatry and the risk they posed to the Israelites; because the Israelites needed a religious excuse to commandeer resources and seize territory for themselves; because the dedication of human sacrifice actually pleased YHWH. The possibilities are numerous but it is difficult to determine which were really the cause.<sup>105</sup> Joshua 10:40 states that Moses' successor "left no one remaining, utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded." This mass genocide was in fulfillment of the commandment of Deuteronomy 20:16,<sup>106</sup> which is otherwise a text that preaches compassion and mercy towards other people, including resident aliens. There is a clear division, ethnic and religious, between the Israelites and the Canaanite peoples, and there is no indication in the text that any Canaanites were to be integrated into the Israelite community.

However, the Israelites never actually destroy the indigenous Canaanites—the commands within the text are never fulfilled, and several of these groups coexist with the Israelites over the long term. Joshua acknowledges the inability of the Israelites to conquer Philistine and Sidonian communities (Josh. 13:1-7); Geshurites and Macaathites (Josh. 13:13); and the Jebusites, the original inhabitants of Jerusalem (Josh. 15:63). The contradiction between the *herem* exhorted by God and the surviving groups of autochthonous people reflected in the text indicates the military impracticality of destroying all other ethnic groups and the Israelites' adaptation to this practical reality. Further, the contradiction within the text reflects the tension between Joshua's theological and nationalistic agenda, which was to support the Israelites' claim to the land, their righteousness, and God's patronage,<sup>107</sup> and a grudging recognition of the historical reality, which was the inevitable but necessary coexistence among different ethnic groups within the region.<sup>108</sup>

## LOYALTY TRUMPS ETHNIC IDENTITY

The foreigners and resident aliens who made up part of Israelite society during the Davidic monarchy strengthened it to a great extent. Several hundred Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites compose king David's elite military corps and are among his most loyal followers, supporting him even when his son Absalom rebels against him and forces him to flee Jerusalem:

The king left, followed by all the people; and they stopped at the last house. All his officials passed by him; and all the Cherethites, and all the Pelethites, and all the six hundred Gittites who had followed him from Gath, passed on before the king. Then the king said to Ittai the Gittite, "Why are you also coming with us? Go back, and stay with the king; for you are a foreigner, and also an exile from your home. You came only yesterday, and shall I today make you wander about with us, while I go wherever I can? Go back, and take your kinsfolk with you; and may the Lord show steadfast love and faithfulness to you." But Ittai answered the king, "As the Lord lives, and as my lord the king lives, wherever my lord the king may be, whether for death or for life, there also your servant will be." (2 Sam. 15:18-20).

This passage demonstrates the unswerving loyalty of Ittai and his kin, who are ethnic non-Israelites, to David, and David's high regard and respect for them. The interaction between the two suggests that loyalty to the king was much more important than a person's ethnic origin. David's concern with Ittai's welfare suggests that the Gittite has no obligation to support him, as he is a foreign mercenary, but also that he may be at a heightened risk for violence if he continues to ally himself with David because he is a non-Israelite. The king does not want his comrade to suffer on his account because of his position as a foreigner within the rapidly changing kingdom; this concern demonstrates that David valued loyalty over a person's ethnic origin.

Uriah the Hittite is one of the most well-known examples of a resident alien serving to great acclaim within the Israelite army; he is a respected warrior who defends Judah in its war with the Ammonites (see 2 Sam. 11). It is important to note that Uriah belongs to the Hittites, one of the ethnic groups listed as an ancient enemy of Israel that deserved to be completely wiped out. Of course, Uriah's presence in the text suggests that not only were the Hittites not annihilated, as God and the Israelite leaders exhorted during the Israelite conquest of Canaan, but that he was also considered to be an equal and elite member of Israelite society during the Davidic monarchy.

Other anecdotes within the text that suggest the integration of non-Israelites into Israelite society include David's just treatment of Araunah the Jebusite, from whom he purchases a threshing-floor to build an altar to YHWH (2 Sam. 18-25).<sup>109</sup> Araunah is a member of the ethnic group autochthonous to Jerusalem and from which David's army seized the city (2 Sam. 5:6-7); however, he has clearly become a loyal subject—and thus a fully integrated member of Israelite society—because of his willingness to help David and also because of David's considerate treatment of him. The relationship between Araunah and David demonstrates the inclusivity and pluralism of David's kingdom. Further, although David would be within his rights as Israelite king

and conqueror to seize Araunah's land without payment or discussion, he pays for everything he takes and treats the Jebusite respectfully.<sup>110</sup>

## SOCIAL INEQUALITY OF THE PEOPLE UNDER THE MONARCHY

When Rehoboam, a grandson of David, ascends the throne, the Israelites foment rebellion because he answers them harshly when they request that he ease some of the pressure on them: "My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke" (1 Kings 12:14). Rehoboam's comment alludes to the indenture of many Israelites during Solomon's rule to accomplish his vast building projects.<sup>111</sup> As a result, Israelites—particularly those from the North, which had a larger population than Judah and thus would have provided the majority of the workers—could have been subject to exploitation because they were conscripted as forced labor for national projects. The northerners likely would have viewed their servitude to Judah as a skewed power dynamic, because even though Israel had much greater geographical size, a larger population, and more agricultural resources, the tribe of Judah was sovereign over the ten tribes of Israel.<sup>112</sup> Further, after Solomon's building projects ended, and given Rehoboam's disrespect, the northerners believed they had nothing more to gain by assenting to Davidic rule.<sup>113</sup> The northern Israelites who had been brought to Judah to work on Solomon's Temple may have voluntarily come for the project under Solomon's reign because he employed them and they had accepted him as king. However, after Rehoboam succeeded Solomon the northerners were undervalued, faced harsh treatment, lacked a say in the governance of the kingdom, and had a disproportionate responsibility for the upkeep of the royal court.<sup>114</sup> Rehoboam promised to be more exploitative than his father, and so the northerners renounced his kingship. The story of the rebellion against Rehoboam suggests that those of non-Judahite origin, Israelites and surrounding peoples included, may have been vulnerable to forced conscription.<sup>115</sup> In a sense, this kind of vulnerability parallels that of resident aliens, who could also be subject to harsh treatment under those who governed them. Israel's rejection of Rehoboam also suggests that loyalty to one's tribe (or tribal federation, as in the case of the ten unified northern tribes) superseded loyalty to a monarch who did not treat his subjects well.

## THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Israel, which had previously been unified under David and Solomon, split into two kingdoms after Rehoboam refused to listen to the Israelites' petition. The kingdom of the north took the name Israel, and the kingdom of the south, Judah. The text of Kings was written from a Judahite perspective and is biased against the north.<sup>116</sup> Despite accusations of northern idolatry, the dismissal of the northerners was likely because of the political contention between the two kingdoms rather than significant religious differences between them. Indeed, the text reports that both Israel and Judah practiced idolatry and broke the Covenant.<sup>117</sup> In essence, the division between the two kingdoms occurred because of political contention. Both Israel and Judah continued to share a religious identity even after they split into two kingdoms, as demonstrated by Judah's response to Israelite refugees during the Assyrian conquest.

The successful conquest of the northern kingdom by the Assyrian king Sargon II in 722/721 BCE redefined the relationship between Israel and Judah. This conquest resulted in a mass deportation of Israelites and the forced resettlement of foreign peoples in their place, which destroyed the kingdom of Israel and established Assyrian control over the region.<sup>118</sup> The conquest also led to a massive exodus of Israelite refugees who fled to Judah, where they were received by king Hezekiah.<sup>119</sup> Hezekiah was responsible for a modest religious reform that attempted to eradicate the high places of worship, but additionally he made overtures to the survivors of the northern kingdom who had come to him for asylum by inviting them to participate in the Judean Passover:

So couriers went throughout all Israel and Judah with letters from the king and his officials, saying, “O people of Israel, return to the Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, so that he may turn again to the remnant of you who have escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria. Do not be like your ancestors or your kindred, who were faithless to the Lord God of their ancestors, so that he made them a desolation, as you see. Do not now be stiff-necked as your ancestors were, but yield yourselves to the Lord and come to his sanctuary, which he has sanctified forever, and serve the Lord your God, so that his fierce anger may turn away from you. For as you return to the Lord, your kindred and your children will find compassion with their captors, and return to this land. For the Lord God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn his face away from you, if you return to him.” (2 Chron. 30:6-9)

This action served as an attempt to reunite the remnant of the northern kingdom with Judah, with the caveat of centralized worship at the Jerusalem Temple. In addition, the Passover not only included displaced and visiting Israelites but also resident aliens from both Israel and Judah: “The whole assembly of Judah, the priests and the Levites, and the whole assembly that came out of Israel, and the resident aliens that came from the land of Israel and the settlers in Judah, rejoiced” (2 Chron. 30:25).<sup>120</sup> The Passover celebration indicates that, despite the political division between Israel and Judah, Hezekiah and his people perceived the Israelites as kin and attempted to integrate them into their community. It is difficult to know whether a national Passover of this nature actually happened, but the greater point is that the Chronicler believed in the importance of national and religious unity and inclusivity, regardless of political affiliation in the case of the Israelites or ethnic origin in the case of the *gerim*.

## CONCLUSION

As the presence of integrated *gerim* in the Davidic monarchy suggests, national identity was something one adopted when one swore allegiance to a ruler or, as indicated in the Torah, when one adopted the religion of a people.<sup>121</sup> David’s policies encouraged a sense of nationalism not predicated on homogeneous ethnic and religious affiliation, but rather on loyalty to the monarchy, the security of Israel, and a basic respect for the Israelite cult.<sup>122</sup> In the case of the Davidic monarchy, David constructed a political state through creating a sense of comradeship among

those who pledged their loyalty to him and to his cause of securing the borders of Israel. Through this process Israel became sovereign (although it conceived of itself as a people under the beneficent protection of YHWH). Resident aliens were treated equally with native Israelites provided they served the king with the same commitment.<sup>123</sup>

## CHAPTER 3: NATIVISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF POST-EXILIC JEWISH IDENTITY IN EZRA-NEHEMIAH

### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

In 539 BCE, the Persian emperor Cyrus the Great defeated the Babylonian empire and permitted the Jews in exile to return to Judea.<sup>124</sup> The Jews who returned from exile were known as the *golah* community<sup>125</sup> and were the elites of Jewish society, the descendants of the original exiles, those who chose to return to their homeland.<sup>126</sup> Cyrus' successor, Artaxerxes I, mandated that the Jewish priest Ezra return to Judea to teach the Torah there. Ezra likely arrived and began this task in 458 BCE.<sup>127</sup> Over a decade later, Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judea and served in this role from 445 until at least 433 BCE under Persian rule, after which he may have continued to govern for an indeterminate period of time.<sup>128</sup> Although the Jews had been repatriated to Judah with Cyrus' blessing, the returnees' lives were still difficult because of the necessity to reestablish their claim to the land over the claims of other peoples. Arguably, the main issue during both Ezra's service and Nehemiah's tenure was political control over Judea, as the *golah* community struggled for dominance with the factions of Tobiah, Sanballat, and Geshem, powerful political leaders in the region at the time of their return. In consequence, both Ezra and Nehemiah used ethno-religious identification as a proxy to promote their political agenda of control over Judea and to depict the *golah* as the rightful heirs of the land. Further, despite its prominence in Ezra 9-10 and Nehemiah 13, intermarriage was an issue of secondary importance. The battle for political control within Ezra-Nehemiah is linked to the struggle to define Jewish identity, because if the Jews did not control Jerusalem, the Temple, and membership in their own community, both Ezra and Nehemiah feared the returnees would assimilate into the surrounding peoples and cease to exist as a distinctive group.<sup>129</sup>

### SEPARATION FROM FOREIGNERS

The Bible calls the inhabitants of Judea at the time of their return the "peoples of the lands".<sup>130</sup> While this phrase suggests that these people were not Jewish, it is likely that they were indigenous, non-exiled Jews<sup>131</sup> whom Ezra dismissed as foreign because they had different religious practices or because he wanted to establish the dominance of the returned exiles within Judean society. While Ezra predicated Jewishness on the experience of exile,<sup>132</sup> this was a narrow definition, as several other verified Jewish communities existed contemporaneously with the *golah* community. In addition to the Jewish exiles who returned to Judah from Babylon, the other Jewish communities included the Judahites who remained in the land and were not exiled; the Israelites who remained in Israel (the former northern kingdom) after the Assyrians conquered it, as well



as the foreigners who were forcibly resettled there by the Assyrian army and who may have assimilated into the local Israelite population; the community of exiled Jews in Babylonia and Persia; the community of Jews who settled in Egypt (this includes Judahite refugees fleeing the Babylonian invasion); the possible Jewish community in Ammon, whose existence is suggested by the presence of Tobiah the Ammonite, a YHWH-worshipper; and the decimated descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, who might have survived the Assyrian conquest and deportation and lived on in the Diaspora.<sup>133</sup> Consequently, there were various communities who had a claim to the title “Israel” but most were scattered throughout the ancient Near East, so biblical thinkers like Ezra and Nehemiah had to redefine who constituted Israel.<sup>134</sup> Ezra-Nehemiah is the biblical example of extreme exclusivism and separatism, but it is clearly an outlier when compared to the other ways in which biblical authors define which communities qualify as Jewish.

Both Ezra and Nehemiah have an antagonistic stance against “the peoples of the lands”. Although the representatives of the indigenous peoples claim to have worshipped YHWH ever since being resettled in Judah’s territory by the Assyrians, the returned exiles refuse to allow them to participate in the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>135</sup> On the surface, the rejection of these people by the leaders of the *golah* community suggests that the latter considered the residents of the land to be illegitimate YHWH worshippers, perhaps because they worshipped other deities in addition to YHWH or followed unorthodox religious practices. At a deeper level, however, the rejection was likely *politically* motivated—by designating the returned exiles as the only legitimate Jews, Ezra reserved control over Judea exclusively for himself and for his followers. A decade later, Nehemiah rebuffs Tobiah and Sanballat’s mockery of the Jews’ rebuilding efforts, stating, “The God of heaven is the one who will give us success, and we his servants are going to start building; but you have no share or claim or historic right in Jerusalem” (Neh. 2:20). Similarly to Ezra’s stance, Nehemiah’s rejection has both political and religious implications: he not only excludes these people from any sort of political control over the future of Jerusalem, but also excludes them from participating in the cult of YHWH, which served as a legitimization of a person’s membership in the Jewish community.<sup>136</sup>

Despite these examples of exclusion within the Ezra-Nehemiah narratives, there are indications that the *golah* community was not entirely isolated or homogenous. Ezra reports that “upon the exiles’ return to Judah, the Passover meal was eaten by the people of Israel...and *all who had separated themselves* from the pollutions of the nations of the land to worship the Lord, the God of Israel” (Ezra 6:21, emphasis added).<sup>137</sup> The reference to “all who had separated themselves” is a significant slip on Ezra’s part, as the priest almost never acknowledges the presence of either the Jews who had never been exiled and remained in the land or the peoples who had adopted YHWHism.<sup>138</sup> However, the presence in the text of this category of non-*golah* Jews indicates that for all Ezra’s rhetoric of separation between the *golah* community and the peoples of the lands, he could not ignore the reality of the presence and integration of non-exiled Jews within the community. The presence of “all who had separated themselves” within the *golah* community suggests that Ezra’s position did not reflect the attitudes of most of the community towards Jews who had not experienced exile. The majority of the community apparently had less

aversion to integrating Jews who were not initially members of the *golah* into their ranks, provided those non-Jews were YHWH-believers.

For the day of atonement, Nehemiah notes that “those of Israelite descent separated themselves from all foreigners, and stood and confessed their sins and the iniquities of their ancestors” (Neh. 9:2). To understand the full implications of this, it is important to note that religion was very intimately tied to ethnicity because so many different ancient Near Eastern peoples had their own deities and practices. Exclusion of non-Jews from the *golah* community was regarded as necessary because “the peoples of the lands” were perceived as likely to corrupt the Israelites into practicing idolatry. Therefore, Jews were forbidden from intermarrying with foreign peoples, as the latter could encourage them to commit idolatry.<sup>139</sup> The basis for this discrimination was not necessarily ethnicity. This concern for religious orthopraxy rather than ethnic background suggests that adoption of YHWHism was possible for non-Jews. What mattered to most members of the Jewish community was the sincerity of proselytes’ faith rather than their ethnic identity. Religious proceedings were controlled by a handful of leaders from the *golah* community—those who would be most opposed to the integration of non-exiled Jews—but the separation mandated by the elites was not necessarily reflective of the attitudes of the rest of the Jewish community. Under Ezra and Nehemiah, ethnicity happened to be associated with religion, but the two are not equivalent.

### POLITICAL ISSUES AND THE THREAT POSED BY SANBALLAT AND TOBIAH TO NEHEMIAH’S AUTHORITY AND HIS IDEA OF JEWISH IDENTITY

Evidence for the integration of ethnic non-Jews within the Jewish community in Judah during the Persian period can be found in the stories about Tobiah and Sanballat, rivals of Nehemiah. Both men were powerful figures in the region during Nehemiah’s term as governor, and in Nehemiah’s view both were not ethnically Jewish. Although neither qualified as a *ger*, their close involvement with the Jewish community suggests that the community was much more integrated than Nehemiah would have had his readers believe and that the majority of Jews had no issue with ethnic non-Jews as neighbors or family members.

Nehemiah introduces Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite as political threats to the sovereignty of the *golah* community (Neh. 2:9-10). Sanballat was the governor of Samaria, a neighboring district close to Judah,<sup>140</sup> and Tobiah was likely the governor of Ammon, Judah’s ancestral enemy.<sup>141</sup> Sanballat was a YHWH-worshipper and opposed Nehemiah for political, not religious, reasons. As governor of Samaria, Sanballat sought control over Jerusalem, and Nehemiah’s mission would usurp his bid for power. “Horonite” likely refers to a place of origin and is a neutral term; Sanballat was probably descended from a family resettled in the north (in the territory of the former kingdom of Israel) by the Assyrians in the eighth century BCE.<sup>142</sup> His provenance as a descendant of these forcibly resettled individuals—who adopted YHWHism as their own despite their “foreign” origin<sup>143</sup>—indicates the fuzziness of national and ethnic identity within the ancient Near East. People migrated or were forced to move because of the shifting

political dynamics within the region; no ethnic group remained stationary or completely isolated from its neighbors. Consequently, integration and religious syncretism among different peoples was common.

Similarly, because Tobiah was supposedly an Ammonite he was excluded from any participation in the affairs of Israel, regardless of his proximity to the community and his apparent desire to become involved in the reconstruction effort. Ironically, despite his exclusion he is quite possibly the ancestor of the Tobiad family, a powerful Jewish clan associated with the Jerusalemite priesthood, which Nehemiah had worked so hard to purify.<sup>144</sup> Although Nehemiah suggests that Tobiah is a foreigner, the possibility exists that he could have been a Jew based in Ammon instead of an Ammonite with connections to the Jerusalemite elite.<sup>145</sup> In other words, Nehemiah's labeling of Tobiah as a foreigner could have been politically motivated rather than fact-based, as Nehemiah wanted to contest Tobiah's legitimacy to maintain his political power.<sup>146</sup> Nehemiah's politically-motivated classification of Tobiah—which is a common rhetorical tool used across cultural and historical contexts to discredit “undesirables”—emphasizes the arbitrary way in which group identity can be constructed.

Further, when Nehemiah returns to Jerusalem after a visit to the Persian king, he finds that Tobiah was allowed to reside in the Temple, which in Nehemiah's view defiles it:

Now before this, the priest Eliashib, who was appointed over the chambers of the house of our God, and who was related to Tobiah, prepared for Tobiah a large room where they had previously put the grain offering, the frankincense, the vessels, and the tithes of grain, wine, and oil, which were given by commandment to the Levites, singers, and gatekeepers, and the contributions for the priests. While this was taking place I was not in Jerusalem, for in the thirty-second year of King Artaxerxes of Babylon I went to the king. After some time I asked leave of the king and returned to Jerusalem. I then discovered the wrong that Eliashib had done on behalf of Tobiah, preparing a room for him in the courts of the house of God. And I was very angry, and I threw all the household furniture of Tobiah out of the room. Then I gave orders and they cleansed the chambers, and I brought back the vessels of the house of God, with the grain offering and the frankincense. (Neh. 13:4-9)

Nehemiah reacts to the presence in the Temple of one whom he considers impure with outrage and disgust. He considers Tobiah's residence to be a challenge to his authority and an affront to God. However, the high priest Eliashib left in charge during Nehemiah's absence clearly saw no issue with his entry into the Temple, as he allowed Tobiah to reside there. The text even states that “Eliashib...was related to Tobiah” (Neh. 13:4), presumably by marriage.<sup>147</sup> This indicates two possibilities: that Tobiah was in fact a Jew, despite Nehemiah's views to the contrary, or, if he was indeed not Jewish, that intermarriage within the Jewish community was normal even among the upper echelons of the society. Compared to the attitudes of most of his contemporaries' attitudes toward ethnic non-Jews, Nehemiah's reaction to the presence of Tobiah in the Temple is extreme.<sup>148</sup>

Sanballat and Tobiah both had contacts within Jewish society,<sup>149</sup> so they were by no means outsiders to it even if Nehemiah believed they were. Tobiah's interactions with the Jewish community indicate that even the *golah* community was not isolated from the surrounding peoples; further, individuals from other ethnic groups—such as non-Jewish women and the descendants of parents from different ethnic communities—eventually became integrated into the Jewish community regardless of Nehemiah's efforts to exclude them. The majority of the returned exiles did not define Jewishness as narrowly as Nehemiah or his followers; membership in the community could not be so clearly broken down along ethnic lines, orthopraxy, political affiliation or agenda, or ancestral experience of exile.

## RELIGION VERSUS ETHNIC DISTINCTIVENESS AND MEMBERSHIP IN ISRAEL

Although their terms of service are separated by a decade, both Ezra and Nehemiah use genealogies to determine which people qualify as Jewish and which do not. Ezra consults the genealogical records made of the Judahite families who were exiled to select which descendants should be a part of the expedition back to Judah. Priests whose ancestors are not listed are forbidden from entering the priesthood or consuming sanctified food (Ezra 2:59-63). Similarly, Nehemiah's genealogy indicates the importance he placed on recorded ancestral membership in the Jewish community: when several priests come forward to be registered as members of the community, because their ancestors are not found in the records of those who were exiled, Nehemiah rejects them by excluding them from the priesthood as unclean (Neh. 7:61-64). For both Ezra and Nehemiah, the genealogical list has theological significance because it legitimizes the Jewish community based on its provenance from the past.<sup>150</sup> Both the scribe and the governor consider the experience of exile to be a defining characteristic of Jewishness.<sup>151</sup> But although Ezra and Nehemiah considered exile to be the main determinant of Jewishness, this was not necessarily a widely-held belief across the Jewish community in Judah, Babylon, or the wider Diaspora.

An additional example of the *golah* leaders' views on which individuals qualified as Jews and which did not occurs when Nehemiah criticizes Jews whose children spoke a language other than Aramaic due to their parents' intermarriage: "In those days also I saw Jews who had married women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab; and half of their children spoke the language of Ashdod, and they could not speak the language of Judah, but spoke the language of various peoples. And I contended with them and cursed them and beat some of them..." (Neh. 13:23-25). However, intermarriage was common among the Jewish community and presumably not an issue for the majority of its members: the practice continued even after Ezra's condemnation 30 years before Nehemiah's arrival. Nehemiah did not enjoy unconditional support from the *golah* community, which indicates that the Jews likely disagreed about whether intermarriage was a sin.<sup>152</sup> The evidence suggests that the religiously and ethnically homogeneous, monolingual, closed community that Nehemiah desired never existed in the first place.

Nehemiah's anti-assimilationist policy is based on one interpretation of Deuteronomic law; undoubtedly there were pro-assimilationist interpretations within the community based on the same text, which were not included in Nehemiah's account of his tenure due to his political agenda.<sup>153</sup> The Books of Ruth and Malachi are two examples of biblical sources that contradict Nehemiah's anti-foreigner stance. Ruth tells the story of a Moabite woman who marries into an Israelite family and King David comes from her line. The other source is the prophetic book of Malachi, in which the prophet denounces divorcing the wife of one's youth as one of the sins that God most hates:

Have we not all one father? Has not one God created us? Why then are we faithless to one another, profaning the covenant of our ancestors? Judah has been faithless, and abomination has been committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah has profaned the sanctuary of the Lord, which he loves, and has married the daughter of a foreign god. May the Lord cut off from the tents of Jacob anyone who does this—any to witness or answer, or to bring an offering to the Lord of hosts. And this you do as well: You cover the Lord's altar with tears, with weeping and groaning because he no longer regards the offering or accepts it with favor at your hand. You ask, 'Why does he not?' Because the Lord was a witness between you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is your companion and your wife by covenant. Did not one God make her? Both flesh and spirit are his. And what does the one God desire? Godly offspring. So look to yourselves, and do not let anyone be faithless to the wife of his youth. For I hate divorce, says the Lord, the God of Israel, and covering one's garment with violence, says the Lord of hosts. So take heed to yourselves and do not be faithless. (Mal. 2:10-16).

Due to its complicated language, this passage has been difficult to interpret for many scholars. Some argue that Malachi's declaration supports Ezra's position against intermarriage because Malachi condemns marrying "the daughter of a foreign god" as breaking the Covenant.<sup>154</sup> The phrase "daughter of a foreign god" presumably refers to wives who came from ethnically non-Jewish communities that worshipped other deities.<sup>155</sup> However, it is also important to recognize that many Jewish men might have married Babylonian wives while in exile.<sup>156</sup> These wives would have not only qualified as the wives of their youth, but presumably they would have integrated into the Jewish community and become, in some sense, Jewish. In this latter case, Malachi may have condemned intermarriage in the legal sense, but argued against divorcing the "wife of one's youth" regardless of her ethnic background as a principle of compassion and pragmatism.

Both the reinterpretation of the law and the difference between the views of the people and their governor indicate that although Nehemiah possessed a powerful political voice, his idea of what was best for the community and what the Jewish community actually *was* differed substantially from the way the people perceived themselves, what they desired, and what at least one of their own prophets believed was proper adherence to the Covenant. Further, the theology of Ezra-Nehemiah is by no means the defining version found within the Bible; some biblical

authors directly contradict its message and advocate for a more inclusive community under one God (this topic is explored further in the next chapter).

## THE INTERMARRIAGE ISSUE AND THE DIVORCED WIVES

When Ezra arrives in Jerusalem from Persia, he is appalled to discover that some of the returned exiles have intermarried with “the peoples of the lands”:

After these things had been done, the officials approached me and said, ‘The people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands with their abominations, from the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites. For they have taken some of their daughters as wives for themselves and for their sons. Thus the holy seed has mixed itself with the peoples of the lands, and in this faithlessness the officials and leaders have led the way.’ When I heard this, I tore my garment and my mantle, and pulled hair from my head and beard, and sat appalled. Then all who trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the faithlessness of the returned exiles, gathered around me while I sat appalled until the evening sacrifice. (Ezra 9:1-4)

Ezra believes that this transgression breaks the Deuteronomic imperative against intermarriage<sup>157</sup> and will incite God’s wrath against the already vulnerable “remnant” of the Jewish community. Consequently, his reaction is panic, guilt, and fury. To rectify what he sees as a threat to the survival of the community, he convenes an assembly of the Jews and commands those who have intermarried to “separate yourselves from the people of the land and from the foreign wives” (Ezra 10:11). The women are then evaluated and, if deemed non-Jewish, they are banished from the *golah* community along with their children: “All these [Jewish men] had married foreign women, and they sent them away with their children” (Ezra 10:44).

This story is regarded by most biblical scholars and readers as a horrifying episode in the history of Israel, even given the possibility that it is a nationalistic fiction and did not actually occur. However, it is also important to contextualize Ezra’s dismissal of the “foreign” wives to better understand why he responded to the situation so vehemently.

The post-exilic community was traumatized and under an incredible amount of stress, not only due to its experience of exile but also because of the political threats posed by neighboring peoples who also had a stake in control over Judea. There are various estimates of how many Jews were taken into exile, but what remains clear is that the population was devastated—the number of exiles would have reached the tens of thousands.<sup>158</sup> The Babylonians used various terror tactics to subdue the conquered populations and keep their morale low. These tactics included public executions, carrying away temple goods, humiliation of the gods and temples of conquered peoples, renaming captives, and mass deportations.<sup>159</sup> The trauma caused by the experience of exile led to the development of a “minority consciousness” embodied by Ezra, who worried that engagement with surrounding peoples could potentially lead to the dissolution of a community

which had almost become extinct.<sup>160</sup> It is perhaps because of this chronic, generational stress and fear that Ezra associated ethno-religious separation with the maintenance of group identity.<sup>161</sup> Ezra may have condemned what he perceived to be “mixed” marriages because he saw these as a threat to the cultural, ethnic, and religious identity of a group which was already marginalized and at risk of extinction (via annihilation or integration into other groups); further, it was likely that only he and his supporters actually considered such marriages to be “mixed”, but not the married persons themselves or the rest of the community.<sup>162</sup>

The uncertain relationship the *golah* community had to the neighboring peoples of Judah, especially the Samaritans, would have augmented their stress. Socioeconomic tensions could also have played a role in dismissing some women as “foreign”.<sup>163</sup> In some cases Jewish women could inherit land, which may have encouraged a rejection of “foreign” wives in order to keep properties within the Jewish community. Similarly, concerns over land tenure could have been a contributing factor to the rejection of people who were seen as a potential threat to the economic viability of the community.<sup>164</sup> The landlessness of the returnees compared with the already-settled inhabitants would have automatically created an imbalanced power dynamic because the returnees had to fight to reestablish their claim to the land, even if their ancestors had resided there.<sup>165</sup>

Another major issue was that of identity: the syncretistic YHWHism practiced by the Samaritans probably challenged the returnees’ conception of Jewish identity, who could claim membership in their community, and who had the right to settle in the land.<sup>166</sup> Ironically, the community would have had an easier time reestablishing themselves in Judah if some members intermarried with the indigenous population, because this would give formerly exiled individuals a chance to become part of already landed and well-off families instead of fighting them to establish dominance and control resources.<sup>167</sup> Based on the high instance of intermarriage reported by Ezra and Nehemiah, this was likely the case. Indeed, from a sociological perspective, having a low ratio of Jewish women to men among the returnees may have facilitated intermarriage as the most practical option for establishment in the Judean community.<sup>168</sup> However, Ezra and Nehemiah were against intermarriage because it threatened their idea of what the *golah* community should be. In addition, the women who were targeted could have been of a different ethnic group, or they could have been Babylonians who married Jewish husbands and accompanied them to Judah.<sup>169</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Exclusionary attitudes towards foreigners co-existed with welcoming ones within Jewish society.<sup>170</sup> The exclusionist attitudes of Ezra-Nehemiah can be better understood by the survival mechanisms used by minority communities to adapt to and survive adversity.<sup>171</sup> Further, the perspectives on the post-exilic Jewish community articulated by the Prophets diverge substantially from Ezra and Nehemiah’s views, which suggests that both Ezra and Nehemiah were outliers in their beliefs regarding who qualified as Jewish and how non-Jews were to be treated.



The later Prophets articulate a much more inclusive Jewish society and leave open the possibility of the integration of foreigners into the Jewish community. These prophets recognize that even foreign-born peoples may become legitimate YHWH-worshippers and be blessed by God. I explore the latter theme of the inclusion of foreigners within the Jewish community and divine universalism in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4: THE GER AND THE PROPHETS

### FOREIGN NATIONS AS INSTRUMENTS OF GOD'S WRATH AND THE DIASPORA AS THE ULTIMATE PUNISHMENT

Exilic prophetic theology views foreigners as the instruments of God's wrath against Judah. Although they differ in their specific theologies, the three late prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah concur that the ultimate punishment for transgressing God's commandments is being handed over to foreigners for destruction, which is God's judgment, and to be sent into exile far from the homeland.<sup>172</sup> God's renunciation of the Israelites has a twofold cause: the prophets, particularly Ezekiel, maintain that God rejects the Israelites because of their idolatry; Jeremiah and Isaiah, in particular, also suggest that the Israelites' failure to care for the most vulnerable members of society, such as widows, orphans, and resident aliens, resulted in God's rejection. The trauma of the exile is carried out by non-Israelites who sweep into Judah and enslave or deport the populace. These non-Israelites then exploit the bounty of the land and claim it as their own. This is all part of God's design, however; the foreigners in and of themselves are not independent agents, but rather the instrument of the will of YHWH. The foreign nations' initial role as persecutors is often followed by the prediction that they will be destroyed, but there are also passages that suggest foreigners will ultimately join the Jewish community in the prophetic conception of the restored Israel. The post-exilic period saw a radical new conception of Israel rise, a conception that did not just include the exiles but rather integrated peoples from around the world under one God.

The sense of longing for home and the knowledge that to return there means safety and peace is reflected throughout exilic and post-exilic prophetic thought. The Diaspora is regarded as a punishment for the iniquity of Israel's sin that God will ultimately forgive through allowing the return to the homeland.<sup>173</sup> These two themes suggest that the Judahites' experience of exile was parallel to that of strangers and resident aliens living in a land that is not their own. The emphasis on the difficulty of the exile, the longing for home, and the eventual relief of return ground the theological imperative within the Bible to offer resident aliens the protection that the Israelites themselves did not have when exiled in Babylon.

Along these lines, the prophet Jeremiah is clear that the worst fate that could befall a Jew is not death, but rather exile.<sup>174</sup> However, Jeremiah advocates for submitting to Babylonian rule because he believes it is the will of God that the Jewish community accept their punishment of exile and that God will eventually return them home.<sup>175</sup> He encourages the exiles in Babylon to

create lives for themselves in the land where they have been forced to settle instead of refusing to accept their new reality:

Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat what they produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters; take wives for your sons, and give your daughters in marriage, that they may bear sons and daughters; multiply there, and do not decrease. But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you in exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare. (Jer. 29:5-7)

In this passage, Jeremiah clearly advocates for integration and resettlement into Babylon. Jeremiah is concerned both with God's impending deliverance of the exiles<sup>176</sup> and for their immediate material welfare. This missive to the Jewish community in Babylon was likely written to dissuade the exiles from rebelling, as an attempted rebellion in 595-594 BCE against Babylon had inspired hope among vassal states that a more widespread, successful one might take place.<sup>177</sup> The prophet explicitly ties the exiles' prosperity to that of the community in which they now find themselves, and he asks them not to mourn but to continue with their lives. This passage relates to resident aliens because the exiles now find themselves in a foreign land where they will be forced to adapt to an unfamiliar culture and navigate new social expectations. The exiles' situation parallels how *gerim* may be transplanted—voluntarily or forcibly—from their homeland to another country and must adapt to their new environment. Jeremiah's encouragement to the exiles to settle down and the association he makes between the exiles' prosperity and that of the country they are living in hearkens back to the necessity for *gerim* to integrate into the communities that host them to survive. From Jeremiah's perspective, this integration is not positive or negative but rather a necessity for survival.

The submission to Babylonian rule also applies to the Jews who remained in the land. God warns the nations to submit to Babylon, because if they do not "you will be removed far from your land; I will drive you out, and you will perish. But any nation that will bring its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon and serve him, I will leave on its own land, says the Lord, to till it and live there" (Jer. 27:10-11). This oracle occurred in response to the arrival of envoys from Moab, Ammon, and Tyre to Jerusalem in 594 BCE who sought to convince king Zedekiah to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>178</sup> Jeremiah, foreseeing the destruction that a rebellion would cause, dismissed the prophets who supported rebellion as false.<sup>179</sup> He also advocated for people to stay in Jerusalem rather than flee to Egypt, because to stay was the will of God.<sup>180</sup> This advice to remain in place and submit to a foreign authority is also repeated in Jer. 42, as Jeremiah advises the surviving Jews left in Judah to stay put and submit to Babylonian rule. Jeremiah recognizes that the people must somehow live through the impending difficult times, and if they have to submit to foreign rule to survive—at least for the immediate future—then such submission is permissible. Further, submission to foreign rule is part of their divine punishment. His theology is not so uncompromising that it ignores the reality of the situation in which the Jews find themselves, but rather recognizes the necessity to take steps for the exiles to survive.

Ultimately, Jeremiah's position on the exiles is reminiscent of how resident aliens must make decisions regarding what actions they will take to respond to conflict. Both the Jews in Babylon and the *gerim* are displaced from their homeland, and both groups must confront the immanent challenges—often insurmountable political problems outside of their control—in the country in which they find themselves.

## DIVINE UNIVERSALISM AND THE INCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

During the exilic and post-exilic period, Judaism needed to redefine its conception and treatment of foreigners in order to adapt to its precarious new reality and survive.<sup>181</sup> Some late/post-exilic authors view the restoration of the Jews not as involving punishment of foreign peoples, but as having foreign peoples *join* their community under God.<sup>182</sup> This is a departure from the more punitive us-versus-them language of the earlier biblical texts such as Joshua and demonstrates how Jewish theology evolved over time according to the circumstances in which the community found itself. Later biblical texts such as Ruth, Third Isaiah, and Zechariah speak of foreigners joining the Jews.<sup>183</sup>

Examples of this inclusive ideology are scattered throughout the later Prophets, but the two passages which perhaps best illustrate the point can be found in Zechariah and Third Isaiah.

Thus says the Lord of hosts: Peoples shall yet come, the inhabitants of many cities; the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, "Come, let us go entreat the favor of the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts; I myself am going." Many peoples and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the favor of the Lord. Thus says the Lord of hosts: In those days ten men from nations of every language will take hold of a Jew, grasping his garment and saying, "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." (Zech. 8:20-23)

This passage reflects the themes within exilic and post-exilic prophetic theology of the universal blessing which God will bestow, regardless of nationality; the coming peace among nations; and the leadership role of the Jews in bringing this about.<sup>184</sup> Zechariah clearly believes in the Jews' righteousness and their role as facilitators and leaders in bringing the nations of the world to God, but alongside his idea of Jewish exceptionalism is the inclusion of gentiles. All peoples are welcome to join the Jews in their worship of YHWH because YHWH is the universal God. As long as people recognize YHWH's supremacy, they will be free to join the Jewish community. In particular, the emphasis in the passage on the joining of "strong nations" and the difference in language among the peoples who will follow YHWH is worth noting. "Strong nations" refer to the peoples such as Assyria and Babylon that historically threatened the existence of Israel, but according to the prophet the threat they pose will be neutralized because they recognize the supremacy of YHWH and seek to peaceably join Israel. Further, in this passage Zechariah includes speakers of different languages in the inclusive post-exilic kingdom he envisions ("In those days ten men from nations of every language will take hold of a Jew"), which is a departure from certain

biblical stances on people who spoke other languages. Biblical thinkers such as Nehemiah and Jeremiah associated language with foreignness in a negative way.<sup>185</sup> They indicated that the Israelites' inability to speak the language of the other people meant that these people were a danger to them. However, Zechariah refutes this idea, suggesting that language is not necessarily a barrier to inclusion or peaceful coexistence. The idea that language did not prohibit membership in the Jewish community fits into the broader theme of divine universalism throughout the exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature.

The text that contains the most powerful prose regarding divine universalism is arguably Isaiah, written from the perspective of a purist minority group that views the social and religious practices of the dominant group as corrupt.<sup>186</sup> Among the criticisms of the dominant group—that is, the priests, administrators, and kings who governed the Jewish community—are the exploitation and abuse of the poor, widows, orphans, and resident aliens. Isaiah promotes an inclusive view of the community of Israel that is not limited by ethnicity; any person can join the community provided they observe proper worship practices.<sup>187</sup> The passage that perhaps best illustrates this theology is the following:

Do not let the foreigner joined to the Lord say, “The Lord will surely separate me from his people”; and do not let the eunuch say, “I am just a dry tree.” For thus says the Lord: To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off. And the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord...I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar, for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples. Thus says the Lord God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered. (Isa. 56:3-8)

The phrase “join themselves to the Lord” is significant because it indicates a whole-hearted and sincere commitment to YHWH.<sup>188</sup> Importantly, the phrase “join themselves to the Lord” is also used by Jeremiah to illustrate the tearful repentance and renewed commitment of the exiles in Babylon to God.<sup>189</sup> The fact that the phrase applies to both Jewish exiles and non-Jews indicates that, according to post-exilic prophetic thought, foreigners were just as eligible as Jews to make a commitment to YHWH and consequently become part of the community under God. By saying that foreigners—people who are usually regarded with distrust and suspicion—can attach themselves to God, Isaiah indicates that a person's ethnic background or previous religious practices are no barrier to them joining the Jewish community; what matters most is whether their social and ethical conduct adheres to the religious standards of the Jewish community.<sup>190</sup>

It is also important to note the paradox that the prophets articulate regarding the potential integration of non-Jews into the community: the gentiles who follow YHWH will be seamlessly integrated into the Jewish community, but those who persecute the Jewish community will be subordinated or annihilated. Isaiah states:

But the Lord will have compassion on Jacob and will again choose Israel, and will set them in their own land; and aliens will join them and attach themselves to the house of Jacob. And the nations will take them and bring them to their place, and the house of Israel will possess the nations as male and female slaves in the Lord's land; they will take captive those who were their captors, and rule over those who oppressed them. (Isa. 14:1-2)<sup>191</sup>

This passage, from First Isaiah, has been dated to the postexilic period by some scholars but may actually date from king Hezekiah's reign because it alludes to the restoration of Jacob, which is a euphemism for the Northern kingdom.<sup>192</sup> The paradox of this passage is the tension between "aliens will join them and attach themselves to the house of Jacob"—which suggests that non-Israelites are welcome to integrate into the Jewish community—and the idea that revenge will be exacted on the Assyrians who conquered Israel. The enslavement of former oppressors is clearly a reversal of fortunes and a taunt to the foreigners who subjugated Israel. However, it is hard to reconcile the inclusion of "aliens" and revenge on foreigners, as these concepts, especially when articulated in the same oracle, seem to be mutually exclusive. One interpretation of the text is that those who acknowledge the supremacy of YHWH will be spared, while those who resist will be enslaved or otherwise perish. This is not a unique worldview: many religions believe themselves to be exceptional and will discriminate against individuals or groups who do not adhere to their beliefs. An alternative, non-literal interpretation of these passages suggests that the concept of the enslavement of nations that do not adhere to YHWH can be read as a dramatic flourish added to the text, an idealistic desire of the prophets that would never come to fruition because of its impracticality.<sup>193</sup> The enslavement of foreigners in this passage can be read as a metaphor of Israel's supremacy, but not as the literal enslavement or killing of peoples who do not acknowledge YHWH.<sup>194</sup>

## THE PROPHETIC CONCEPTION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND THE RESIDENT ALIEN

Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah all rearticulate the Deuteronomic conception of righteousness in their exilic and post-exilic theology, and the resident alien fits into this framework. For example, Ezekiel states that the people have sinned because they "have practiced extortion and committed robbery; they have oppressed the poor and needy, and have extorted from the alien without redress" (Ezek. 22:29).<sup>195</sup> The prophets rearticulate the broader imperatives for social justice within Deuteronomy of which the *ger* was a recipient. Jeremiah echoes the themes articulated by Ezekiel and cites the Deuteronomic imperative in his theology of redemption for the exiles: "Act with justice and righteousness, and deliver from the hand of the oppressor anyone who has been robbed. And do no wrong or violence to the resident alien, the orphan, and the widow, or shed innocent blood in this place" (Jer. 22:3). Isaiah denounces injustice and condemns oppressive policies against the poor, widows, and orphans, with whom resident aliens were associated, although he does not mention *gerim* specifically.<sup>196</sup> These commands clearly refer to related passages in Deuteronomy, including those which explicitly protect *gerim* from exploitation.<sup>197</sup> Ultimately, the prophets suggest that when Israel negates their responsibility to care for the most vulnerable members of society, they go against God's will.

Another important re-articulation of the Deuteronomic imperative emphasizes that true righteousness lies not just in properly performed ritual, but in actions that promote social justice. Isaiah condemns Jews who outwardly worship YHWH but do little to substantiate their piety through action.<sup>198</sup> He suggests that the Israelites were destroyed by God not only because they neglected to follow rituals, but because they were unjust, especially to the vulnerable: “Because these people draw near with their mouths and honor me with their lips, while their hearts are far from me, and their worship of me is a human commandment learned by rote” (Isa. 29:13). Devotion to God that is not accompanied by service to the most vulnerable within the community is meaningless.<sup>199</sup> According to Deuteronomy and the prophets, the most vulnerable include widows, orphans, the poor, and resident aliens (while Isaiah does not explicitly mention *gerim*, resident aliens were associated with widows and orphans; it is arguable that they may have fallen under the label of “the poor”).<sup>200</sup> In other words, the prophets viewed the observance of religious ritual when it was not accompanied by action to promote social justice as hypocritical.

### THE POWERFUL ARE PARTICULARLY TO BLAME FOR INJUSTICE

Although all members of the community are guilty of transgressions, the elites are often singled out as the worst offenders because they are charged with preserving the people’s welfare and are looked to as examples of righteousness but fail to live up to their office.<sup>201</sup> For example, Jeremiah articulates how helping the poor and needy is to know and follow God’s will in his criticism of King Jehoiakim, one of the descendants of Josiah. Josiah was the king who was widely regarded as one of the few righteous rulers of Judah before the exile (see Jer. 22:11-19). Jeremiah may have condemned Jehoiakim in part due to political reasons, as Jehoiakim was a puppet king put on the throne by Egypt and upheld Judah’s subordinate position as a vassal state,<sup>202</sup> while Jehoahaz was the real king in exile.<sup>203</sup> However, the prophetic condemnation may have been more than politically motivated: according to the oracle, Jehoiakim ruled with violence and oppression and focused on developing his own wealth rather than on the cause of uplifting the poor and needy. This criticism was likely based on Jehoiakim’s indenture of Judahites to build an extravagant new palace and his taxation of the Judean gentry to pay tribute to Egypt.<sup>204</sup> Isaiah echoes a similar sentiment when he gives voice to God’s displeasure with the leaders of Israel: “It is you who have devoured the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What do you mean by crushing my people, by grinding the face of the poor?” (Isaiah 3:14-15).

Further, Ezekiel suggests that the high officials of Israel were exiled in part because they did not take care of their subjects but exploited them instead:

Make a chain! For the land is full of bloody crimes; the city is full of violence. I will bring the worst of the nations to take possession of their houses. I will put an end to the arrogance of the strong, and their holy places shall be profaned. When anguish comes, they will seek peace, but there shall be none. Disaster comes upon disaster, rumor follows rumor; they shall keep seeking a vision from the prophet; instruction shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the elders. The king shall mourn, the prince shall be wrapped in

despair, and the hands of the people of the land shall tremble. According to their way I will deal with them; according to their own judgments I will judge them. And they shall know I am the Lord. (Ezek. 7:24-27)

Ezekiel condemns “the arrogance of the strong”, which alludes to the impunity of the rulers of Judean society at this time and suggests that they abused people who were less powerful and perhaps had no recourse to justice. He predicts that the leaders’ punishment will be in the form of foreign nations appropriating their land and abandonment by God. YHWH will refuse to communicate with the priests and prophets or aid the elders in providing counsel and will thus respond with silence to the rulers’ entreaties. YHWH concludes his condemnation with “according to their way I will deal with them; according to their own judgments I will judge them”, suggesting that the leaders will receive the same harsh treatment they meted out to their subjects, as a divine comeuppance for their injustices against the weak. Through this punishment the leaders of Judah will understand that God is the supreme being to whom they are answerable. Their arrogance led them to assume that they could act with impunity, but God will avenge the crimes they commit and through this retribution establish his position as the ultimate guarantor of justice.

Ezekiel also condemns the kings’ shortcomings: “You have not strengthened the weak; you have not healed the sick, you have not bound up the injured, you have not brought back the strayed, you have not sought the lost, but with force and harshness you have ruled them” (Ezek. 34:4). The leaders responsible for guiding and caring for the people reneged on their duty by neglecting, abusing, and misleading their subjects. The conception of the duty of the powerful to wield their power responsibly and take care of the weak and vulnerable—who include *gerim*, the resident aliens—fits into the Deuteronomic conception of a just society. The prophets’ ultimate promise is that God will judge between the mighty and the weak, and he will protect the weak while condemning the mighty.

## CONCLUSION: CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRANTS AS *GERIM*

Migration is motivated by multiple causes, including war, violence, political conflict, natural disasters, employment opportunities, and economic necessity.<sup>205</sup> Undocumented immigrants are some of the most vulnerable people in society. When in transit they deal with an increased risk of violence because of the lack of law enforcement en route to their destination and the threat of organized crime and opportunists.<sup>206</sup> The militarization of borders forces undocumented immigrants to take more clandestine routes that often go through rugged and isolated areas, such as deserts or mountains, leading to an increased risk of death.<sup>207</sup> Female undocumented immigrants are at an especially high risk of sexual assault and trafficking.<sup>208</sup> The well-being of immigrants also tends to be lower than that of native-born citizens of a country because of the stress and uncertainty of finding and keeping employment and supporting themselves economically.<sup>209</sup> Further, once established in a country, immigrants often become members of ethnic minorities and face racialized discrimination from the dominant social group.<sup>210</sup>

The situation with regard to immigrants in the United States has deteriorated over the last few years due to the influx of Central and South American asylum seekers arriving at the U.S.-Mexico border and the hostile response of the current presidential administration to their plight. President Donald Trump has only worsened the situation for these migrants by barring asylum seekers from entering the country, separating families that have been detained, and keeping detained migrants in inhumane and unhealthy conditions. I would argue that the President has sanctioned human rights abuses because of these policies.

Trump rose to power in part because 81% of evangelical Christians, who make up a little over a quarter of the U.S. population,<sup>211</sup> voted him into office.<sup>212</sup> Research has demonstrated that religion can be influential in shaping a person's political views.<sup>213</sup> Of course, religion is not the only influence on people's political beliefs and actions: Factors such as race, class, and political orientation also play a role in evangelicals' positions with regard to immigration.<sup>214</sup> However, the purpose of this thesis is not to analyze the sociological reasons why evangelicals vote a certain way (that would undoubtedly require an entire book). Instead, in recognition of the power of religion on decision-making and political action, the thesis has made a case for the biblical imperative to treat immigrants compassionately and humanely instead of rejecting them, and appeals to people of faith to act accordingly with the knowledge of these imperatives.

One of the oldest, and perhaps one of the most haunting, stories in the Hebrew Bible illuminates the relationship between the contemporary immigration crisis within the U.S. and biblical imperatives regarding immigrants. At the U.S.-Mexico border, asylum seekers wait for admission to the United States in dire circumstances.<sup>215</sup> This situation is reminiscent of the story of the concubine of Gibeah and the response to her plight within Israel. The concubine traveled through unknown territory with companions who did not protect her; she was then raped, tortured, and left for dead with impunity by a mob who lived in the town where her husband had brought her to stay for the night. Most readers react with horror when reading this story because of the impunity and violence of the Gibeonites' actions and the woman's wretched fate. Yet this is arguably not far from the situation of female migrants waiting at the border, who confront the daily threat of assault, rape, sex trafficking, and death in makeshift migrant camps and at the hands of the gangs that control border cities. The awful risk that awaits these women every day could be mitigated or avoided entirely if the President permitted them to shelter in the United States while they waited for their asylum cases to be heard.

But the president is not entirely to blame, for he assumed office because of the people who voted him in. Perhaps the situation that these migrant women face would not be as dire if the people had not voted for a man with an utter lack of empathy, sense of justice, or feeling of responsibility towards those who are vulnerable. The president and his followers may not be the ones who physically violate these migrant women's bodies, but they allow this to happen because they willfully decide to do nothing to preserve the women's lives even though it is within their power to act. They are the Levite and the old man, the silent bystanders who closed the door and ignored the screams of the anguished woman outside because it was convenient.



What the story of Gibeah suggests is that the merit of a society is based on the way it treats its most vulnerable members.<sup>216</sup> Those vulnerable members often include women, children, immigrants, and refugees. When applied to the contemporary situation with the U.S. government's treatment of migrants, the United States is failing the biblical imperative to take care of the most vulnerable according to the standards indicated by Judges' condemnation of the concubine's treatment. If religious voters are truly influenced by their faith, perhaps they should consider whether their support for a leader whose policies have been responsible for violations of immigrants' rights aligns with the themes of social justice found in the Hebrew Bible.

The standards for the treatment of the *ger* in the Torah and in the Prophets have also been violated by the American governmental response to migrants. As described in the Covenant, justice was not meant to be partial to the rich or to the poor, to the strong or to the weak, to the powerful or to the least influential. Deut. 24:17-18 states, "You shall not deprive a resident alien or an orphan of justice; you shall not take a widow's garment in pledge. Remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you from there; therefore I command you to do this". This law prohibits the abuse of widows, orphans, and resident aliens and states that they are entitled to receive the same justice as landholding Israelites. It is worth noting that the treatment of the *ger* in the Hebrew Bible is unique because it represents a shift away from caring only for those in one's kinship group to caring for those who are outside of the group and who have no one to protect them.<sup>217</sup> This shift in loyalty to one's immediate kin or ethnic group to having a responsibility for the *personae miserae* of society is not found elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern law codes,<sup>218</sup> which makes the Hebrew Bible remarkable among other legal codes of its time.

Further, this passage references the Israelites' ancestral experience of enslavement in Egypt as a motivation for the protection of resident aliens. If interpreted in a modern context, these passages remind Americans who are descended from immigrants to recall our roots.<sup>219</sup> Most of our ancestors undoubtedly migrated to this land because of an Exodus experience of their own: they may have fled religious or political persecution or famine or poverty. When we think back to the mythic foundation of the United States, even if we and our parents and grandparents have been settled here for so long that the ancestral memories passed down generation after generation have been obliterated by the passage of time, our founders were all *gerim*.

How does understanding the imperatives to protect and include the *ger* within the Hebrew Bible relate to evangelicals, who tend to rely on the New Testament for religious inspiration? It is important to recognize that Jewish elements run through the New Testament.<sup>220</sup> While the focus of this thesis is on the Hebrew Bible, it is worth noting the connection between the Old and the New Testaments, as outlined in the passage below about Jesus' ministry:

While he was still speaking to the crowds, his mother and his brothers were standing outside, wanting to speak to him. Someone told him, "Look, your mother and your brothers are standing outside, wanting to speak to you." But to the one who had told him this, Jesus replied, "Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?" And pointing to his

disciples, he said, “Here are my mother and my brothers! For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother.” (Mt. 12:46-50)

Jesus did not consider his loyalty or responsibility to be solely to his family. He considered himself responsible to all the people in his community, even the ones who were usually rejected by society—such as tax collectors and prostitutes—who were some of his most dedicated apostles and followers. The idea of including and serving the people who are not of one’s immediate kinship group is reflected in the Hebrew Bible and rearticulated through Christian ministry.

Jesus himself was a Jew and his ministry was informed by his understanding of the Jewish law. Several of the apostles expressed the idea that Jesus as the messiah fulfilled the law.<sup>221</sup> The meaning of fulfilling the law is ambiguous, but the phrase suggests that Jesus’ conduct and deeds were the epitome of what upholding the law meant.<sup>222</sup> Further, his teachings synthesize the messages found in the Torah (the law) and the Prophets,<sup>223</sup> and in this sense the law of the Torah and the Prophets is not abandoned but reinterpreted. Jesus’ arrival and the Gospels do not negate the importance of the Old Testament; rather, they are new expressions of many of the teachings found inside the Hebrew Bible. Evangelical Christians should take into account the link between the values expressed in the Hebrew Bible and Jesus’ ministry as outlined in the New Testament, and how these might inform their politics and actions with regard to immigrants.

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## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Sam Harris, “Still Sleepwalking Toward Armageddon,” Podcast, November 15, 2015.  
<https://samharris.org/podcasts/still-sleepwalking-toward-armageddon/>

<sup>2</sup>Three political campaigns inaugurated the modern political alliance between the New Christian Right and the Republican Party in the 1970s. These campaigns included a protest against teaching subjects deemed too liberal in schools, mobilization against protections from discrimination for lesbian and gay people, and the campaign against the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which would have established legal rights and protections for women if it had received ratification from 38 states (the amendment failed to receive ratification from the requisite number of states). See Kenneth Wald, “The Political Mobilization of Evangelical Protestants”, *Religion and Politics in the United States* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 205-208. See also the 2015 Pew Research Center analysis of the Religious Landscape Study on evangelicals’ political positions regarding social issues. This analysis demonstrates that the majority of evangelical Christians who were interviewed tend to oppose abortion, same-sex marriage, and other traditionally liberal social positions. Forty-eight percent of the evangelical Christians interviewed for the study also responded that they viewed a growing population of immigrants to the United States as a “change for the worse”; this is the highest rate out of any religious group interviewed for the study of respondents who viewed immigration as having a negative impact on the country (“Chapter 4: Social and Political Attitudes”, *Religious Landscape Study*, Pew Research Center, November 3, 2015, URL:

<https://www.pewforum.org/2015/11/03/chapter-4-social-and-political-attitudes/>). Karla Suomala also comments that President Trump’s support of these policies could have encouraged evangelicals to vote for him. See Karla R. Suomala, “Immigrants and Evangelicals: What Does the Bible Say?” *Cross Currents* 67:3 (September 2017), 591.

<sup>3</sup>“Chapter 4: Social and Political Attitudes”, Pew Research Center.

<sup>4</sup>Jessica Martínez and Gregory A. Smith, “How the faithful voted: a preliminary 2016 analysis”, Pew Research Center, November 9, 2016, URL: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/how-the-faithful-voted-a-preliminary-2016-analysis/>

<sup>5</sup>John Burnett, “How the Trump Administration’s ‘Zero-Tolerance’ Policy Changed the Immigration Debate”, *National Public Radio*, June 20, 2019, URL: <https://www.npr.org/2019/06/20/734496862/how-the-trump-administrations-zero-tolerance-policy-changed-the-immigration-deba>

<sup>6</sup>Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Adam Liptak, “Supreme Court Revives ‘Remain in Mexico’ Policy for Asylum Seekers”, *The New York Times*, March 11, 2020, URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/11/us/supreme-court-mexico-asylum-seekers.html>

<sup>7</sup> Sheri Fink and Caitlin Dickerson, "Border Patrol Facilities Put Detainees With Medical Conditions at Risk", *The New York Times*, March 5, 2019, URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/05/us/border-patrol-deaths-migrant-children.html>. See also the study on human rights violations and medical negligence of migrants arriving in the U.S.: Kathryn Hampton, "Zero Protection: How U.S. Border Enforcement Harms Migrant Safety and Health", *Physicians for Human Rights*, Jan. 10, 2019, URL: <https://phr.org/our-work/resources/zero-protection-how-u-s-border-enforcement-harms-migrant-safety-and-health/>

<sup>8</sup> Kanno-Youngs and Liptak, "Supreme Court Revives 'Remain in Mexico' Policy for Asylum Seekers", *The New York Times*.

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the Gospels Jesus repeatedly references the law and the Hebrew prophets and states, "Do not think I have come to abolish the law or the prophets; I have come not to abolish but to fulfill" (Mt. 5:17). This statement was interpreted by Jesus' followers to mean that he was the messiah. Subsequent generations of Christians would come to understand its significance to mean that Jesus fulfilled the prophecies foretold in the Hebrew Bible and his arrival exemplified the fulfillment of the laws outlined in the Torah—not the letter of the law, but rather its spirit, a revitalization of the commandments to reflect a more humane execution of God's commandments.

<sup>10</sup> Robert W. Heimbürger, *God and the Illegal Alien: United States Immigration Law and a Theology of Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> See Romans 13:1-10. It is interesting to note, however, that before this passage Paul exhorts his followers to "extend hospitality to strangers" (Rom. 12:13), a command that is in opposition to governmental discrimination against resident aliens, foreigners, or, in the modern context, immigrants. This suggests that the modern idea of immigration was not an issue in the first century CE. Alternatively, Paul was comfortable with contradicting himself.

<sup>12</sup> Attorney General Jeff Sessions cited Romans 13 to support the execution of immigration law at the U.S.-Mexico border, arguing that governments are imposed by God and people should obey the law or face the consequences. Sessions presumably quoted Romans in this capacity to appeal to more conservative evangelical voters. See Emily McFarlan Miller and Yonat Shimron, "Why is Jeff Sessions quoting Romans 13 and why is the bible verse so often invoked?" *USA Today*, June 16, 2018, URL: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/06/16/jeff-sessions-bible-romans-13-trump-immigration-policy/707749002/>. Additionally, Professor James Hoffmeier of the Trinity Evangelical Divinity School is one of the most well-known advocates for the conservative evangelical position on immigration. Hoffmeier argues that the *gerim*, the resident aliens, only received protection and favorable treatment because they were in Israel legally (Suomala 594). Other non-Israelites—the *nokhri*, *nehar*, or *zar*, all of which are Hebrew terms referring to foreigners or strangers—resided within Israel's borders illegally and therefore had no right to protection or compassion (Suomala 594). However, Hoffmeier's argument is difficult to accept at face value because ancient Israelite society was vastly different from the modern United States. Consequently, scholars can only approximately reconstruct its structure and legal norms—how, then, would anyone know whether *gerim* were given "legal" status within Israel when such a concept is the product of modern nationalism? In addition, from biblical narratives and extant scholarship it is clear that Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Israelite society was tribal and not based around a centralized government, as the United States is. This centralization of government only came about after the establishment of the Davidic monarchy, though the Israelite tribes still maintained a significant degree of independence, and even then the borders of Israel did not keep out all non-Israelites (this point will be discussed further in Chapter 2).

<sup>13</sup> When interpreted in the spirit of the humanitarian aspect of the Hebrew Bible, the passages regarding giving the emperor his due and being subject to temporal authorities take on a new significance. Coins may belong to a human emperor, but life belongs only to God. God states through the prophet Ezekiel, "Know that all lives are mine; the life of the parent as well as the life of the child is mine: it is only the person who sins that shall die" (Ezek. 18:4). The story of Cain and Abel (see Gen. 4), the Noahide covenant (Gen. 9:1-7), and the sixth commandment given to Moses ("You shall not murder", Ex. 20:13) all emphasize the sanctity of human life and condemn killing another human being. It is God that takes life or gives it, and humans do not have the authority to decide who gets to live and who gets to die. People are judged according to the standards set forth by God, and it is on this basis that they will live or die. For many individuals today, immigration is a matter of life or death—people migrate because they are fleeing violence, war, extreme poverty, lack of opportunity to make a decent life for themselves and their families, etc. If God and not the emperor (i.e. temporal authorities) is sovereign, and life belongs to God, then the preservation of life is a religious imperative—not the support of policies that endanger or end life.

<sup>14</sup> The texts of the Hebrew Bible were written over nearly a millennium. One of the earliest books, Judges, contains stories of tribal life that occurred before the Davidic monarchy (hence, before the tenth century BCE), and some of the oldest material may date to the twelfth century BCE. See Susan Niditch, "Introduction", *Judges: A Commentary*, 1st ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 8-9. Chapters 7-12 of Daniel, one of the latest books in the Hebrew Bible, have been dated with some certainty to the mid-second century BCE because they contain references to the persecution of the Jews under the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes. See John Collins, "General Introduction", *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 29. On the basis of this rough dating, then, the time span over which the Hebrew Bible was written amounts to approximately a millennium.

Although these texts were edited over time, they were not made uniform in their message through the editing process. The stories related in the Hebrew Bible were passed down orally, copied down by scribes, edited over time, and eventually made it into the canonized form of the Bible. For a general overview of this process, see Eugene Ulrich, "The Old Testament Text and Its Transmission" in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 1: From the Beginnings to 600* (Cambridge Histories Online), ed. Joachim Schaper and James Carleton Paget (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). The continuing debates among biblical scholars regarding the dating of certain passages and their attribution to the authorized chairs of specific biblical traditions attests to the presence of different views within the same texts, even as those texts may have a unified theme. For example, the Documentary Hypothesis proposes that the Torah is composed of four main narrative strands: J (Yahwist), E (Elohist), P (Priestly), and D (Deuteronomist), all of which are distinguishable based on the unique themes, style, and terminology that correspond to each one. See Joel Baden, "The Documentary Hypothesis," *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (Yale University Press, 2012), 20-21, 27-29.

<sup>15</sup> By "fair treatment", I mean respect for the dignity and personhood of immigrants and the protection of their basic rights, including their right to make a living, membership in the community, ability to seek and receive legal redress for grievances, legal protection against injustice, and the right to have and provide for their families.

<sup>16</sup> "When an alien resides with you in your land, you shall not oppress the alien. The alien who resides with you shall be to you as the citizen among you; you shall love the alien as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. 19:33-34).

<sup>17</sup> Deut. 10:17-19 states, "For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty and awesome, who is not partial and takes no bribe, who executes justice for the orphan and the widow, and who loves the strangers, providing them food and clothing. You shall love the stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt". This passage indicates that Israelites were expected to take care of the resident aliens in their midst, an imperative informed by their experience of enslavement and exploitation as resident aliens in Egypt. Deut. 24:14-24 contains a set of commands that protect the rights of widows, orphans, and resident aliens within Israelite society, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1.

<sup>18</sup> The Major Prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; these all condemned the abuse of resident aliens as sinful (see Jer. 7:5-7, 22:3; Ezek. 22:6, 22:29). Throughout Isaiah the prophet condemns the abuse of widows, orphans, and the poor, social groups with whom resident aliens were often associated due to their shared vulnerability (see Isa. 1:16-17, 1:23, 3:14-15).

<sup>19</sup> Rolf Rendtorff, "The Ger in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch," in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 79. See also Leviticus 25:23, in which God says to the Israelites: "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants."

<sup>20</sup> Christine Hayes defines intermarriage as "interethnic sexual unions" between Jews and Gentiles, meaning that one partner in such a union is ethnically Jewish (or Israelite, which is the term used for a Jewish person prior to the Babylonian Exile) and the other partner belongs to a different ethnic group. See Christine Hayes, "Intermarriage and Impurity in Ancient Jewish Sources", *The Harvard Theological Review* 92:1 (1999), 5. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, intermarriage is defined as the marriage between an Israelite and a non-Israelite. As will be discussed later in the thesis, the concept of which individuals qualified as "foreign" and which as "Israelites" or "Jews" was debatable and a matter of contention within Israelite, and later Jewish, communities.

<sup>21</sup> In the context of this thesis, "tribal groups" refers to the extended kinship networks that made up ancient Israel, such as Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh. These groups understood each other to be descended from a common ancestor and were thus linked through blood and loyalty, even as they distinguished between each other. "Peoples" refers to communities and empires designated as non-Israelite and, in a post-exilic context, as non-Jewish.

<sup>22</sup> The Former Prophets are composed of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings; some scholars refer to these books collectively, in conjunction with Deuteronomy, as the Deuteronomistic History because their theology is influenced by the theology of Deuteronomy and priestly concerns addressed therein. See "Deuteronomistic History", *The Anchor Bible Dictionary: Volume 2*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 160.

<sup>23</sup> Certain events related in the Hebrew Bible, such as the Assyrian conquest of Israel and the Babylonian conquest of Judah, can be substantiated through extrabiblical sources such as cuneiform inscriptions on stelae, clay tablets, and in other Assyrian and Babylonian records. For a complete overview of the kinds of extrabiblical sources available to scholars, see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Introductory Concerns” in *A History of Babylon, 2200 BC-AD 75* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 1-23.

<sup>24</sup> William G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know, and When Did They Know It?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 110, 119.

<sup>25</sup> John J. Collins, “Deuteronomy and the Invention of the Torah” in *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (University of California Press, 2017), 22.

<sup>26</sup> Dever 121.

<sup>27</sup> Susan Niditch, “The Ban as God’s Portion”, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 52-53.

<sup>28</sup> Dever 121.

<sup>29</sup> YHWH (“Yahweh”) is the personal name of God, so noted because there are no vowels in biblical Hebrew. This annotation is also known as the Tetragrammaton, the grouping of the four Hebrew letters yod, he, waw, he. Many Jews considered (and still do) this name to be too sacred to be pronounced, so they refer to God as “Adonai” (“my Lord”) or “HaShem” (“the Name”). See “Yahweh” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary: Volume 4*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1011.

<sup>30</sup> See “Baal” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary: Volume 1*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 545-547.

<sup>31</sup> See “Asherah” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary: Volume 1*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 484.

<sup>32</sup> While the earlier biblical texts recognize the existence of other gods, YHWH is considered to be the supreme or most powerful god. In exilic and postexilic writings Jewish theology changes to reflect the idea that YHWH is the one true god, and all the others are mere constructions of stone and wood: “Truly, O Lord, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the nations and their lands, and have hurled their gods into the fire, though they were no gods, but the work of human hands—wood and stone—and so they were destroyed. So now, O Lord our God, save us from his hand, so that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that you alone are the Lord” (Isaiah 37:18-20).

<sup>33</sup> John Collins comments that the observance of YHWHism, as outlined in Deuteronomy, is tied to the formation of Israelite ethnic identity. See Collins, “Deuteronomy and the Invention of the Torah”, *The Invention of Judaism*, 39.

<sup>34</sup> Deuteronomy 7:1-5; see also the Book of Joshua, which chronicles the Israelites’ conquest of Canaan and YHWH’s command to slaughter all of the native inhabitants of the land.

<sup>35</sup> See the Book of Judges and the story of the Israelites’ wandering in the wilderness for 40 years in the Exodus narrative for examples of this biblical motif.

<sup>36</sup> The name Gershom is derived from the Hebrew *ger*, meaning “stranger” or “alien”, and *sham*, meaning “there”. The name translates roughly to “I have been a stranger there.” Thanks to Professor Deborah Green for providing the Hebrew translation.

<sup>37</sup> Professor Deborah Green, personal communication, University of Oregon, April 20, 2020.

<sup>38</sup> Deuteronomy specifies that idolatry to gods other than YHWH is punishable by stoning to death (Deut. 17:2-7); further, idolatry will incur God’s wrath and cause YHWH to blight the land and drive all of Israel from it, which other nations shall observe. In doing so, foreigners will recognize the supremacy of God (Deut. 29, *ibid passim*).

<sup>39</sup> The Hebrew *ger* (a singular noun) usually refers to a “resident alien”; *gerim* is the plural noun form derived from the root *garah*, “to reside” or “to sojourn”. Thanks to Professor Deborah Green for providing the Hebrew translation.

<sup>40</sup> Rolf Rendtorff, “The *Ger* in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch,” in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, edited by Mark G. Brett (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 85; see also José E. Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel: The Ger in the Old Testament* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 35-36.

<sup>41</sup> José E. Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 68.

<sup>42</sup> E.J. Bickerman, “Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. 46/47, Jubilee volume (1928-29 / 1978-79) [Part 1] (American Academy for Jewish Research, 1979-1980), 81.

<sup>43</sup> The Persian king Cyrus’ campaign against Babylon began in 538 BCE and led to the Jews being permitted to return to Judah in 539 BCE. See Peter Bedford, “Diaspora: Homeland Relations in Ezra-Nehemiah”, *Vetus Testamentum* vol. 52, no. 2 (2002), 147-148; see also Amélie Kuhrt, “Ancient Near Eastern History: The Case of Cyrus the Great”, *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, ed. H.G.M. Williamson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109.

<sup>44</sup> Mark G. Brett, “Interpreting Ethnicity: Method, Hermeneutics, Ethics” in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), 11.

<sup>45</sup> Rendtorff 86-87

<sup>46</sup> John J. Collins, "Torah in the Persian Period", *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (University of California Press, 2017), 53.

<sup>47</sup> Contemporary immigration activists do not consider the term "resident alien" to be politically correct because it can be considered dehumanizing, although "resident alien" is still used as a legal term in U.S. law. In the biblical context, the terms "resident alien" (*ger*, singular noun; *gerim*, plural noun) and foreigner (*nokhri*) are used instead of the modern term "immigrant". Because "resident alien" is the most widely accepted and accurate translation of the Hebrew *ger*, and since the NRSV translates *ger* as "resident alien", within this thesis the term "resident alien" will be used. However, I also recognize that this is not an appropriate term to use when describing contemporary immigrants or in modern discussions of immigration.

<sup>48</sup> Rendtorff, "The *Ger* in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch", 81. Ramírez Kidd also comments that the *ger* occupies an intermediate position between native Israelites and the surrounding peoples of the land. See Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 62.

<sup>49</sup> Nahum Sarna, *JPS Torah Commentary. 2: Exodus*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 137.

<sup>50</sup> Mark Awabdy, "Social and Religious Integration", in *Immigrants and Innovative Law: Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the Ger* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 227.

<sup>51</sup> Mark R. Glanville, "The *Ger* in Social Law", *Adopting the Stranger as Kindred in Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 45.

<sup>52</sup> Glanville, "The *Ger* in Social Law", 58. His argument has precedent within the biblical text: Leviticus 25:35-36 compares poor Israelites to *gerim* and specifies that both should be taken in and protected from exploitation: "If any of your kin fall into difficulty and become dependent on you, you shall support them; they shall live with you as though resident aliens. Do not take interest in advance or otherwise make a profit from them, but fear your God: let them live with you." This conception of the *ger* as a displaced Israelite could have applied to Israelite refugees fleeing the Northern kingdom after the Assyrian conquest, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2. José E. Ramírez Kidd also makes this point in his chapter on "The Use of the Term *Ger* as Legal Status" in *Alterity and Identity in Israel: The Ger in the Old Testament* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 46. These people had an ambiguous status because the Southern kingdom of Judah had on past occasions waged war on them, indicating a divide between Judahites and Israelites, yet also recognized them as kin when refugees fled the Assyrian assault.

<sup>53</sup> For an additional explanation of the significance and role of the prohibitive commandments, see Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 62-63.

<sup>54</sup> Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1497.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> In this context, I define "social class" as the relative power and status (e.g. rank within a hierarchy) of a group of people within a broader community. Social class can be influenced by the group's wealth, access to and control of resources, the community's positive, negative, or neutral perception of the group, the group's influence in the government and implementation of policies in the community, and how the group is treated by the majority of the broader community. For an overview of the different definitions of social class and the theories of how social class developed over time, see Allen Kieran, "Social Class" in *Marx: The Alternative to Capitalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Pluto Press, 2017), 56-57.

<sup>57</sup> In this context, I define poverty as a lack of sufficient means to support oneself and one's family.

<sup>58</sup> van Houten specifies that the *ger* may eat an animal that has died on its own because he is not subject to the laws of the Covenant prohibiting the consumption of meat that has not been properly drained of blood. See Deut. 12:15-16: "Yet whenever you desire you may slaughter and eat meat within any of your towns, according to the blessing that the Lord your God has given you; the unclean and the clean may eat of it, as they would of gazelle or deer. The blood, however, you must not eat; you shall pour it out on the ground like water." Christiana van Houten, "The Deuteronomic Laws", *The Alien in Israelite Law*, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 81. This prohibition hearkens back to the Noahide covenant, which similarly forbids the consumption of blood (Gen. 9:3-4), and is echoed in Leviticus 17:10-13. Jacob Milgrom explains that blood was thought to contain the life of an animal. Although it was permissible to consume meat, blood contained life, which belonged to God. Consequently, blood should be properly drained from the slaughtered animal so that it could be returned to God, its divine creator. See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1503.

<sup>59</sup> It is simplistic to suggest that the *gerim* as an entire class were impoverished, because the biblical text contains some examples of resident aliens who are well-off. However, the Torah also indicates that the majority of *gerim* were of a low economic class. Within Leviticus and Deuteronomy, the *ger* is frequently mentioned in conjunction with widows and orphans, two classes that were at a social and economic disadvantage because they lacked male relatives to protect and provide for them (see Deut. 14:28-29, Deut. 24:17-22, Lev. 19:9-10). Ramírez Kidd and van Houten also comment on the association between widows, orphans, and *gerim*. See Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 35-36, and van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 78. This association suggests that the *gerim* tended to be less affluent than their Israelite neighbors. That being said, the distinction between the *gerim* and native Israelites may have manifested, in some cases, as class-based discrimination regardless of wealth. For example, Lev. 25:47-53 specifies: "If resident aliens among you prosper, and if any of your kin fall into difficulty with one of them and sell themselves to an alien, or to a branch of the alien's family, after they have sold themselves they shall have the right of redemption...As a laborer hired by the year they shall be under the alien's authority, who shall not, however, rule with harshness over them in your sight". This passage suggests that resident aliens could become wealthy in Israelite society and even take on Israelite debt-slaves. However, the Levitical editor emphasizes that while it is within the rights of the wealthy *ger* to possess Israelite slaves, his free Israelite neighbors are entitled to watch him to ensure that he does not abuse the Israelite debt-slaves under his charge. The same provision does not exist to ensure that non-Israelite slaves will likewise be protected. This disparity suggests a class-based division between the native Israelites and the *gerim*.

<sup>60</sup> van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 81.

<sup>61</sup> Female resident aliens are not mentioned in conjunction with the Passover celebration. It is difficult to know what the process for joining the Israelite community and worship of YHWH would have involved for women because the Torah does not explicitly address the issue. It is possible that female *gerim* may not have faced the same obstacles to joining the Israelite religious community as their male counterparts because inheritance and membership within the Israelite community was determined patrilineally until the Roman period. See Shaye J.D. Cohen, "The Matrilineal Principle", *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 263. Because of this, there are numerous examples within the Bible of ethnic non-Israelite women marrying into the community. These suggest that women who married into Israelite families were accepted as full members of the community because of their husbands. Numbers 31:17-18 commands the Israelite troops who have attacked the Midianites to "kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman who has known a man by sleeping with him. But all the young girls who have not known a man by sleeping with him, keep alive for yourselves". While horrible when evaluated through a modern ethical perspective, this passage suggests that virgin women were "blank slates" because prior to marriage or concubinage they lacked a relationship to a husband. After marriage they belonged to their husband and his family or tribe (Before marriage, girls were under the protection and ownership of their father or closest male relative. However, in the case of the Midianite virgins, this was a moot point because all the Midianite men had been killed). Yet virginity was not necessarily a prerequisite for joining a community. According to the Book of Ruth, the widow Ruth, a Moabite, marries the Israelite Boaz (her first husband had been an Israelite, too), is accepted into the Israelite community of Bethlehem, and has a son who becomes the ancestor of King David.

<sup>62</sup> Shavuot refers to the Festival of Weeks, also known as Pentecost or the Festival of First Fruits.

<sup>63</sup> Succoth refers to the Festival of Booths or Tabernacles.

<sup>64</sup> Blasphemy of God threatened the whole community, so the law against it specifies that native Israelites and resident aliens will be judged according to the same standards (Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 55).

<sup>65</sup> The *ger* was expected to observe the laws that preserve the holiness of the community, (such as performing correct sacrifices, not blaspheming the name of God, not committing child sacrifice, etc.) because these prohibitions have to do with preserving the security of the community as a whole (Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 57-58).

<sup>66</sup> The full prohibitive commandment states: "If anyone of the house of Israel or of the aliens who reside among them eats any blood, I will set my face against that person who eats blood, and will cut that person off from the people. For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you for making atonement for your lives on the altar; for, as life, it is the blood that makes atonement. Therefore I have said to the people of Israel: No person among you shall eat blood, nor shall any alien who resides among you eat blood" (Lev. 10-13). Blood was considered to be the source of life and was used in sacrifices to atone for individuals' sins and ransom the lives of the Israelites; in this sense it was an intrinsic part of the offerings to God and belonged to YHWH. See Baruch Levine, *Leviticus = Va-Yikra: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 115).

<sup>67</sup> "And say to them further: Anyone of the house of Israel or of the aliens who reside among them who offers a burnt offering or sacrifice, and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to sacrifice it to the Lord, shall be cut off from the people" (Lev. 17:8).

<sup>68</sup> “Any of the people of Israel, or of the aliens who reside in Israel, who give any of their offspring to Molech shall be put to death; the people of the land shall stone them to death” (Lev. 20:2).

<sup>69</sup> Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 59-60.

<sup>70</sup> Collins, “Deuteronomy and the Invention of the Torah”, *The Invention of Judaism*, 33-34; see also van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 71. Awabdy characterizes the relationship between Israel and YHWH as that of “vassal Israel” suffering in Egypt who is ultimately delivered by a beneficent “suzerain YHWH” (Awabdy, “Social and Religious Integration”, 239).

<sup>71</sup> Awabdy, “Social and Religious Integration”, 239, 246; Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 73. Some of the Latter Prophets, including Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, and Ezekiel, describe the Covenant between Israel and God as a marriage contract. For example, Ezekiel 16 characterizes Israel as a foundling that God saved and wed. This is of particular interest in conjunction with the discussion of resident aliens, because Israel as a foundling was a vulnerable individual who God noticed, saved, and cared for.

<sup>72</sup> On the relationship between Israel’s experience in Egypt, relationship with YHWH, and consequent treatment of the *ger*, see Awabdy, “Social and Religious Integration,” 237-239.

<sup>73</sup> Awabdy 228-231; Glanville 47, 57.

<sup>74</sup> Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 54; Awabdy, 228-231, 237-238.

<sup>75</sup> Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 58.

<sup>76</sup> See Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 59 for an explanation of how the consciousness of God’s presence animated social justice.

<sup>77</sup> See also Lev. 19:9-10, Lev. 23:22.

<sup>78</sup> Glanville comments that the Israelites were encouraged to follow the laws through appeals to remember “the slavery/exodus motif” and “the contingency of blessing upon justice” (Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 54). See also van Houten’s discussion of festivals and the commandments in Deut. 14:26, 26:15 (van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 86).

<sup>79</sup> van Houten notes that the *ger* is most frequently mentioned in conjunction with widows and orphans, and charity towards him and his fellows is frequently encouraged through motivating clauses that cite slavery in Egypt (van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 78). She adds, “the law [regarding the Israelites’ deliverance from Egypt] presupposes that the Israelites are in a position of power akin to God. The admonition then is appropriate, for it calls upon them to remember how God used his might for their benefit, and instructs them to do likewise to others” (Ibid., 92).

<sup>80</sup> Awabdy, “Social and Religious Integration”, 239.

<sup>81</sup> See also Deut. 12:19: “Take care that you do not neglect the Levite as long as you live in your land.”

<sup>82</sup> van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law*, 84.

<sup>83</sup> Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 55.

<sup>84</sup> See also Deut. 24:17-18: “You shall not deprive a resident alien or an orphan of justice; you shall not take a widow’s garment in pledge. Remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you from there; therefore I command you to do this”. This law prohibits the abuse of widows, orphans, and resident aliens and states that they are entitled to the receive the same justice as landholding Israelites. See also Lev. 19:15: “You shall not render an unjust judgement; you shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great: with justice you shall judge your neighbor.” This indicates that all members of the community were to be judged according to the same legal standards. Justice was not meant to be partial to the rich or to the poor, to the strong or to the weak, to the powerful or to the least influential.

<sup>85</sup> Correction to the NRSV translation provided by Professor Deborah Green.

<sup>86</sup> See also Gen. 23:3-4: “Abraham rose up from beside his dead, and said to the Hittites, ‘I am a stranger and an alien residing among you; give me property among you for a burying place, so that I may bury my dead out of my sight’” (NRSV translation). Professor Deborah Green translates Abraham’s words as as “I am a resident alien-settler with you”.

<sup>87</sup> Correction to the NRSV translation provided by Professor Deborah Green.

<sup>88</sup> Glanville, “The *Ger* in Social Law”, 57; Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 122.

<sup>89</sup> Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis*, 135-136; Frymer-Kensky 122.

<sup>90</sup> Correction to the NRSV translation provided by Professor Deborah Green.

<sup>91</sup> Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis*, 136.

<sup>92</sup> The name Gershom means “an alien there”, from the Hebrew *ger-sham*. Sarna comments that Gershom means “a stranger in a foreign land” and echoes God’s Covenant with Abraham (Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus*, 12-13).

<sup>93</sup> See Ex. 18:6-23.

<sup>94</sup> See Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus*, 99-100.

<sup>95</sup> Susan Niditch, "Introduction", *Judges: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 9.

<sup>96</sup> Niditch, "Introduction", *Judges: A Commentary*, 11-12.

<sup>97</sup> Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 137-138.

<sup>98</sup> See the Ten Commandments, which include: "You shall not murder. Neither shall you commit adultery. Neither shall you steal. Neither shall you bear false witness against your neighbor. Neither shall you covet your neighbor's wife" (Deut. 5:17-21). The Gibeonites clearly violated the prohibitions against killing another person and, through the violation of the concubine, coveted and committed adultery with her.

<sup>99</sup> The men in the narrative considered their women to be "disposable and replaceable", but the narrator clearly condemns this view: "They [the men] emerge as cowardly, and their complicity in the rape and murder of the woman is a clear and reprehensible violation of the covenant" (Niditch, *Judges: A Commentary*, 193).

<sup>100</sup> Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 124-126.

<sup>101</sup> Niditch, "Introduction", *Judges: A Commentary*, 9.

<sup>102</sup> Niditch, "Introduction", *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 5.

<sup>103</sup> Niditch, "The Ban as God's Portion", *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 55.

<sup>104</sup> Niditch, "Introduction", *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 8; see also "The Ban as God's Portion", *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 29.

<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the various potential motivations for *herem*, see Susan Niditch, "The Ban as God's Portion" in *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 28-55.

<sup>106</sup> "But as for the towns of these peoples that the Lord your God is giving you as an inheritance, you must not let anything that breathes remain alive. You shall annihilate them—the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites—just as the Lord your God has commanded, so that they may not teach you to do all the abhorrent things that they do for their gods, and you thus sin against the Lord your God" (Deut. 20:16-18). This passage contains two important points. Firstly, annihilation of non-Israelites was seen as a necessity to ensure religious orthopraxy and was the only thing that would allow the Israelites to reside safely within the land, as any idolatrous practices they adopted would turn YHWH against them. Secondly, because different peoples had different deities, the surrounding peoples would not have been associated with YHWH.

<sup>107</sup> As Susan Niditch comments, Joshua was written from a triumphalist perspective to legitimize Israel and its claim to the land, as was common practice in ancient Near Eastern societies (Niditch, "Introduction", *Judges: A Commentary*, 9).

<sup>108</sup> Although *herem* is promoted in Joshua, this does not mean it was ever actually historically implemented (Susan Niditch, "The Ban as God's Portion", *War in the Hebrew Bible*, 55). The historical truth to the *herem* declared on the indigenous Canaanites has not been substantiated through archeological finds or extrabiblical sources, but the presence of these peoples throughout the Bible suggests their survival and continued coexistence alongside Israel.

<sup>109</sup> First Chronicles relates a parallel anecdote but refers to the Jebusite who willingly cedes his threshing-floor to David as Ornan (1 Chr. 21:18-27). Chronicles is an alternative account of the Israelite nation's development; it echoes many of the stories from Samuel and Kings but has a perspective that is oriented more towards the experience of Israel (the northern kingdom) rather than Judah (the southern kingdom). First and Second Chronicles recount the formation of Israel as a nation, the Davidic monarchy, and the fall of Israel and Judah. Although this narrative draws heavily on Samuel and Kings as source material, it reflects a much more open and welcoming attitude towards the northern kingdom than those narratives ("Chronicles, Book of 1-2", *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, 1001; Peter Bedford, "Diaspora: Homeland Relations in Ezra-Nehemiah," *Vetus Testamentum* 52:2 (2002), 150). Sarah Japhet notes that ancient tradition ascribes the authorship of Chronicles to Ezra, although this is probably untrue due to differences in theology and worldview between the two books. See Japhet, "The Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 175. Although both were written roughly contemporaneously, Chronicles has a much more favorable and open view towards non-Israelites than Ezra does (Japhet 175; see also Bedford, 148).

<sup>110</sup> An alternative interpretation of David's payment of Auranah is that he desires to owe the Jebusite nothing, and so he pays the full price for the Jebusite's property to avoid future contestation of his purchase. This was also the case when Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite in which to bury his wife Sarah, as he paid the full price for the cave in order to avoid any ambiguity over ownership or becoming indebted to the original owner. He even ensures that the bargain is observed by a group of Hittites to ensure that witnesses are present to attest to the purchase (see Genesis 23). At the root of both exchanges, however, is a basic respect for the other person's rights to the property and an observance of the rules of conducting trade and maintaining civility, which would not be the case if either party disrespected the other's power or place in society.

<sup>111</sup> See 1 Kings 5:13-17.



<sup>112</sup> Michael Satlow, "The Northern Kingdom: Israel, 922–722 BCE", *How the Bible Became Holy* (Yale University Press, 2014), 13.

<sup>113</sup> Marvin Alan Sweeney, *I & II Kings: A Commentary*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 171.

<sup>114</sup> Sweeney, *I & II Kings: A Commentary*, 168-169.

<sup>115</sup> See 1 Kings 5:13-17, which states that Israelites were forcibly conscripted to build the Temple; 1 Kings 9:15-22 states that Solomon conscripted the descendants of the indigenous "peoples of the lands" but did not conscript Israelites.

<sup>116</sup> Satlow, "The Northern Kingdom: Israel, 922–722 BCE", 13.

<sup>117</sup> "They [the Israelites] went after false idols and became false; they followed the nations that were around them, concerning whom the Lord had commanded them that they should not do as they did" (2 Kings 17:15). Within Judah, too, pagan cults sprung up: "Judah did what was evil in the sight of the Lord; they provoked him to jealousy with their sins they committed, more than all their ancestors had done. For they also built for themselves high places, pillars, and sacred poles on every high hill and under every green tree; there were also male temple prostitutes in the land. They committed all the abominations of the nations that the Lord drove out before the people of Israel" (1 Kings 14:23-24).

<sup>118</sup> Michael Satlow, "The Northern Kingdom: Israel, 922–722 BCE," 30.

<sup>119</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that the area of Jerusalem more than doubled due to the influx of Israelite refugees, and surrounding Judahite settlements also increased massively during this time to accommodate the new arrivals (Satlow 30). 2 Kings 17:24-41 also provides an account of the Assyrian conquest and its aftermath.

<sup>120</sup> Correction to the NRSV translation provided by Professor Deborah Green.

<sup>121</sup> See Exodus 12:48-49, which states that if a *ger* wishes to celebrate the Passover with the Israelites, he must be circumcised. After circumcision, he was regarded as "a native of the land" and, having adopted the sign of the Covenant, he was presumably considered a full member of Israel.

<sup>122</sup> See discussion of *gerim* within the Davidic monarchy.

<sup>123</sup> When considering the formation of Israel as a nation under David, it is important to note that nation-states in the modern sense emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; whether the modern idea of a nation-state applies to peoples in antiquity is dubious. The two approaches to defining nationhood are as follows: as an essential characteristic of a people, or as something more malleable and circumstantial. See Erich S. Gruen, "Nationhood: Was There Such a Thing in Antiquity?", unpublished manuscript of a lecture delivered at the University of Oregon, October 30, 2019. Similarly, Benedict Anderson proposes that the modern idea of nationalism emerged in the eighteenth century and may not have applied to peoples in antiquity; however, his framework for understanding the concept of the nation may still be helpful for understanding the political state that David constructed. Anderson notes that nationalism is constructed through a series of cultural artifacts and beliefs that a group of people have, among them a shared sense of comradeship, a sense of limitation (physical boundaries), sovereignty (answerable to no higher power), and community (a sense of fraternity regardless of actual social inequality within the society). See Benedict Anderson, "Introduction", *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), 6-7.

<sup>124</sup> Amélie Kuhrt, "Ancient Near Eastern History: The Case of Cyrus the Great," in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, ed. H.G.M. Williamson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109. Jews who lived outside of Judea were considered to live in the Diaspora, or *golah* in Hebrew.

<sup>125</sup> Tamara Ezkenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger in Ezra 9-10", *Second Temple Studies, Vol 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period* (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press, 1994), 266; see also Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 77.

<sup>126</sup> During the first deportation in 597 BCE, king Jehoiachin, the royal court, and the elites of the society were deported; in the second deportation of 586 BCE the remaining upper classes and important officials were also removed from Judea. The only Jews left in the land were the poorest (2 Kings 24:10-17 relates the first deportation; 2 Kings 25:7-12 relates the second deportation. See also E.J. Bickerman, "Nebuchadnezzar & Jerusalem", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 69, 81).

<sup>127</sup> "Ezra-Nehemiah, Books of" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 732.

<sup>128</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 1st ed., Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 207. See also "Ezra-Nehemiah, Books of" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 732.

<sup>129</sup> Smith-Christopher suggests that the *golah* community was exclusivist as a survival mechanism in order to maintain group solidarity and integrity (Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of Postexilic Judaeon Society", *Second Temple Studies: Persian Period*, vol.1 (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press, 1991), 83-84).

- <sup>130</sup> Eskenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger", 266.
- <sup>131</sup> Eskenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger," 268-269.
- <sup>132</sup> Peter R. Bedford, "Diaspora: Homeland Relations in Ezra-Nehemiah", *Vetus Testamentum* (52:2), 2002, 149.
- <sup>133</sup> Sarah Japhet, "People and Land in the Restoration Period", *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 98-100.
- <sup>134</sup> Japhet, "People and Land in the Restoration Period", 100.
- <sup>135</sup> "When the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the returned exiles were building a Temple to the Lord, the God of Israel, they approached Zerubbabel and the heads of families and said to them, 'Let us build with you, for we worship your God as you do, and we have been sacrificing to him ever since the days of King Esar-haddon of Assyria who brought us here.' But Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of families in Israel said to them, 'You shall have no part with us in building a house to our God; but we alone will build to the Lord, the God of Israel, as King Cyrus of Persia has commanded us'" (Ezra 4:1-3).
- <sup>136</sup> Blenkinsopp notes that in this passage (Neh. 2:20), the term "right" "probably alludes to the right to participate in the Jerusalem cult...How important this right was will be appreciated if we recall that membership in the cult community also conferred civic status" (Blenkinsopp 226-227).
- <sup>137</sup> Correction to the NRSV translation provided by Professor Deborah Green.
- <sup>138</sup> Blenkinsopp suggests that the phrase "all who had joined them" (his translation of the Hebrew) refers to local people and Samaritans who accepted YHWH (Blenkinsopp 133). The term could also refer to non-exiled Jews who had remained in Judah during the Babylonian Exile and joined the *golah* community.
- <sup>139</sup> See Deuteronomy 7:3-4: "Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods".
- <sup>140</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 217.
- <sup>141</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 218.
- <sup>142</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 216-217.
- <sup>143</sup> See 2 Kings 17:24-33 for an account of the Assyrians' forced resettlement of Israel with non-Israelite conquered peoples. These forcibly resettled people adopted YHWHism, but they also, according to the biblical account, continued to worship other deities. The worship of gods besides YHWH serves as a reason for the writer of Kings, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, to dismiss any claim these people might make to the title "Israel". Ironically, as the biblical narrative reports, Israelites and Judahites also worshipped deities other than YHWH.
- <sup>144</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, 218-219.
- <sup>145</sup> "Tobiah", *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 6, 584.
- <sup>146</sup> "Tobiah", *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 6, 584.
- <sup>147</sup> See Neh. 6:18: "For many in Judah were bound by oath to him [Tobiah], because he was the son-in-law of Shecaniah son of Arah: and his son Jehohanan had married the daughter of Meshullam son of Berechiah". Tobiah is intimately connected with the Jewish community through his marriage to a Jewish woman and his relationship with her extended family; it is presumably through this network that he is related to the high priest Eliashib.
- <sup>148</sup> As Olyan comments, "the priest-administrator Elyashib obviously found nothing objectionable in Tobiah's presence in the sanctified space of the Temple sphere. Clearly, Tobiah is a polluter only in the eyes of the circles responsible for the Nehemiah memoir". See Saul Olyan, "Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah as a Tool to Reconstitute the Community", *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 35:1 (2004), 12.
- <sup>149</sup> Blenkinsopp 252.
- <sup>150</sup> Blenkinsopp 281-282
- <sup>151</sup> Peter R. Bedford, "Diaspora: Homeland Relations in Ezra-Nehemiah," *Vetus Testamentum* 52:2 (2002), 149.
- <sup>152</sup> Blenkinsopp 252.
- <sup>153</sup> Blenkinsopp 364. Blenkinsopp presumably refers to the passages in the Torah that prohibit intermarriage, such as Deut. 7:3-4: "Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods". However, as discussed in Chapter 1, other sections of the Torah suggest that intermarriage was a non-issue within the community.
- <sup>154</sup> Beth Glazier-McDonald, "Intermarriage, Divorce, and the Bat-'el Nēkār: Insights into Mal 2:10-16", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106, no. 4 (1987), 603-604. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3260822>.
- <sup>155</sup> Fanie Snyman, "Investigating the Issue of Mixed Marriages in Malachi, Ezra-Nehemiah and the Pentateuch", *Scriptura* 116, no. 2 (2017): 178. <https://doi.org/10.7833/116-2-1326>.
- <sup>156</sup> Eskenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger", 270.
- <sup>157</sup> See Deut. 7:3-4.
- <sup>158</sup> Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of a Postexilic Judean Society", *Second Temple Studies, 1: Persian Period*, (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press, 1991), 75-76.
- <sup>159</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of a Postexilic Judean Society", 77.

- <sup>160</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah: Exclusion, Transformation and Inclusion of the 'Foreigner' in Post-Exilic Biblical Theology", *Ethnicity and the Bible* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 124.
- <sup>161</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 125; see also Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of a Postexilic Judean Society", 85.
- <sup>162</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 123-124.
- <sup>163</sup> Eskenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger", 271.
- <sup>164</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9-10 and Nehemiah 13: A Study of the Sociology of Post-Exilic Judean Community", *Second Temple Studies, Vol 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period* (Sheffield, Eng.: JSOT Press, 1994), 245.
- <sup>165</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of a Postexilic Judean Society", 86-88, 93.
- <sup>166</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of a Postexilic Judean Society", 86-88, 90-91.
- <sup>167</sup> See Smith-Christopher's explanation of hypergamy theory, which argues that being a member of a disadvantaged group increases the pressure to marry into the local community, at least until the group establishes itself, because this gives members of the minority an avenue for social mobility that they would not otherwise be able to access (Smith-Christopher, "The Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9-10 and Nehemiah 13", 249, 252-253). Even though the *golah* were already elites, they were still returnees who needed to reestablish their claim to the land. The conflicts between *golah* leaders such as Ezra and Nehemiah and local political leaders such as Tobiah indicate that resettlement of the returnees and establishing their position in Judean society was not easy or straightforward.
- <sup>168</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9-10 and Nehemiah 13", 247.
- <sup>169</sup> Eskenazi, "Marriage to a Stranger", 270.
- <sup>170</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 129-130.
- <sup>171</sup> Smith-Christopher, "The Politics of Ezra", 97.
- <sup>172</sup> Acting as God's mouthpiece, the prophet Ezekiel claims, "I will bring desolation upon the land and everything in it by the hand of foreigners" (Ezek. 30:12). Isaiah illustrates the point with equal detail: "Your country lies desolate, your cities are burned with fire; in your very presence aliens devour your land; it is desolate, as overthrown by foreigners" (Isaiah 1:7). See also Ezek. 7:21, 7:24; Jer. 13:24-25, 15:15-19, 17:4.
- <sup>173</sup> See Ezekiel 28:25-26; Jer. 30:3-8, 31:16-17.
- <sup>174</sup> "Do not weep for him who is dead...weep rather for him who goes away, for he shall return no more to see his native land" (Jer. 22:10). The prophet considered that to be kept away from one's homeland was a fate worse than death.
- <sup>175</sup> See Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, in which he condemns prophets who falsely testify that Babylon will soon fall and the exiles will be quickly restored to their land (Jer. 29).
- <sup>176</sup> "For thus says the Lord: only when Babylon's seventy years are completed will I visit you, and I will fulfill to you my promise and bring you back to this place" (Jer. 29:10). The actual Babylonian exile must have lasted about 58 years, from 597 BCE (the first deportation) until 539 BCE (when the Persian emperor Cyrus conquered Babylon and allowed the Jews to return home), although it is uncertain how long the exiles' return to Judah actually took.
- <sup>177</sup> William McKane, "Introduction", *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah: International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), cxxxix-cxl. See also William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26-52*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 141, <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/45966/>.
- <sup>178</sup> William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26-52* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 118, <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/45966/>.
- <sup>179</sup> William McKane, "Introduction", *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah: International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), cxxxv-cxxxvii. See also William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26-52* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 118, <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/45966/>.
- <sup>180</sup> McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, cliii; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26-52*, 300.
- <sup>181</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 119-120.
- <sup>182</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 140.
- <sup>183</sup> Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah", 137-138. For example, the prophet Zechariah claimed, "Many nations shall join themselves to the Lord on that day, and shall be my people; and I will dwell in your midst" (Zech. 2:11).
- <sup>184</sup> This idea is also reflected in Isaiah 2:3-4: "Many peoples shall come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

<sup>185</sup> See Neh. 13:23-25; also Jer. 5:15: “I am going to bring upon you a nation from far away, O house of Israel, says the Lord. It is an enduring nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language you do not know, nor can you understand what they say”. In this oracle Jeremiah associates the destruction brought by Babylon with the unintelligibility of its language.

<sup>186</sup> John Goldingay, “Introduction”, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66: The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments*, ed. G.I. Davies and C.M. Tuckett, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 10-11.

<sup>187</sup> Goldingay, “Introduction”, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 11-12. Isaiah even explicitly mentions the inclusion of aliens in the Jewish community: “aliens will join them [the Jews] and attach themselves to the house of Jacob” when the Jews are restored to their homeland by God (Isa. 14:1). This idea is reflected throughout the text, especially in Third Isaiah, which will be discussed later in this section.

<sup>188</sup> Goldingay 71-73.

<sup>189</sup> See Jer. 50:5; Goldingay comments that Isa. 56:3 may be a reference to Jer. 50:5 (Goldingay 71).

<sup>190</sup> Goldingay 73.

<sup>191</sup> See also Isa. 25:6-8, 45:14; Isa. 60, Isa. 61:5-6, which express similar ideas. Zechariah, too, expresses the desire for punishment of foreign peoples for past wrongs and, simultaneously, the possibility of inclusion of foreigners within Israel (Zech. 2:9; 12:9; 14:16).

<sup>192</sup> J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 201.

<sup>193</sup> Consider the passages in Joshua that talk about the annihilation of the “peoples of the lands”—these never came to fruition because they were both impractical and impossible to carry out; rather, they were inserted for nationalistic and theological purposes.

<sup>194</sup> With regard to a different but related passage, Goldingay suggests that the radical inclusivity espoused in Isaiah 56:1-8 “by anticipation makes it impossible for anyone to read Isaiah 60-62 [more exclusive, revenge-oriented passages] in a way that imperils the position of other peoples” (Goldingay 93). That is, Isa. 56:1-8 contradicts the more divisive position of Isaiah 60-62, suggesting that any revenge advocated against foreign peoples could be a rhetorical flourish. Alternatively, these oracles could contradict each other simply because they were written by authors who had different opinions. It is important to note that Isaiah was composed over an extended period of time by multiple people. The oldest oracles in the text are attributed to Isaiah of Jerusalem, an eighth century BCE prophet; however, other oracles are clearly rooted in an exilic or post-exilic context, as in the passages that are addressed to the exiles in Babylon. Due to the multiplicity of authors, parts of the text contradict each other. See J.J.M. Roberts, “General Introduction”, *First Isaiah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 3.

<sup>195</sup> Ezekiel also previously mentions extortion of resident aliens as an issue within the community (Ezek. 22:6).

<sup>196</sup> “Ah, you who make iniquitous decrees, who write oppressive statutes, to turn aside the needy from justice and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be your spoil, and that you may make the orphans your prey!” (Isa. 10:1-2).

<sup>197</sup> See Deut. 24:14-22.

<sup>198</sup> J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary*, (Minneapolis [Minnesota]: Fortress Press, 2015), 369.

<sup>199</sup> See Isa. 58:1-9. Zechariah also articulates this idea: “Render true judgments, show kindness and mercy to one another; do not oppress the widow, the orphan, the alien, or the poor; and do not devise evil in your hearts against one another” (Zech. 7:9-10). None of these actions have to do with the observance of ritual but rather with the qualitatively just treatment of others.

<sup>200</sup> See Isa. 1:16-17, 3:14-15, 10:1-2.

<sup>201</sup> Holladay comments that “It is almost as if Jrm was convinced that the social injustice of the people stems from the behavior of the king” (William Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1-25* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 594).

<sup>202</sup> Holladay 594.

<sup>203</sup> Holladay 596.

<sup>204</sup> Holladay 594.

<sup>205</sup> Genoveva Roldán Dávila, in-class lectures, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, August 14, 2019 and October 9, 2019.

<sup>206</sup> Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Adam Liptak, “Supreme Court Revives ‘Remain in Mexico’ Policy for Asylum Seekers”, *The New York Times*, March 11, 2020, URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/11/us/supreme-court-mexico-asylum-seekers.html>

<sup>207</sup> “La migración y los migrantes: una perspectiva global”, *Informe sobre las migraciones en el mundo 2018* (Geneva: Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, 2018), 28; see also Sónia Parella Rubio, “Los desafíos del estudio de las movilidades femeninas desde una perspectiva de género y de la interseccionalidad”, *Las odiseas de Penelope: feminización de las migraciones y derechos humanos*, ed. Genoveva Roldán Dávila, María José Guerra Palermo, Nancy Pérez García (Mexico City, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 91.

<sup>208</sup> Parella Rubio, “Los desafíos del estudio de las movilidades femeninas desde una perspectiva de género y de la interseccionalidad”, 89.

<sup>209</sup> Rodolfo García Zamora and Patricia Gainza, “Economía, migración y política migratoria en Sudamérica: Avances y desafíos”, *Migración y Desarrollo* 12:23 (México: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2014), 75.

URL: <http://rimd.reduaz.mx/revista/rev23/3.pdf>.

<sup>210</sup> See Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, “El proceso migratorio y la formación de minorías étnicas” in *La era de la migración: movimientos internacionales de población en el mundo moderno*, trans. Luis Rodolfo Moran Quiroz (Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2004), 49-51.

<sup>211</sup> “Religious Landscape Study”, Pew Research Center, 2014. URL: <https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/>

<sup>212</sup> Jessica Martínez and Gregory A. Smith, “How the faithful voted: a preliminary 2016 analysis”, Pew Research Center, November 9, 2016. URL: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/how-the-faithful-voted-a-preliminary-2016-analysis/>

<sup>213</sup> Benjamin Knoll, “And Who is My Neighbor? Religion and Immigration Policy Attitudes”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (48:2), June 2009, 313-314.

<sup>214</sup> Suomala, “Immigrants and Evangelicals: What Does the Bible Say?”, 591; Grace Yukich, *One Family under God: Immigration Politics and Progressive Religion in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2. For a more detailed explanation of the influence of factors other than religion on people’s political beliefs, see Arlie Russell Hochschild, “The Deep Story and the People in It”, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*, (New York: The New Press, 2016), 135-143.

<sup>215</sup> “US: COVID-19 Policies Risk Asylum Seekers’ Lives”, *Human Rights Watch*, April 2, 2020. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/02/us-covid-19-policies-risk-asylum-seekers-lives#>

<sup>216</sup> Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Reading the Women of the Bible*, 137-138.

<sup>217</sup> Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*, 47.

<sup>218</sup> Awabdy, “Social and Religious Integration”, 228-231.

<sup>219</sup> It is important to recognize that the United States is also composed of groups that do not have immigrant origins. These groups include Native Americans, who are indigenous to the land and are not the descendants of immigrants in the modern sense. Native Americans are likely the descendants of people who crossed the Bering Strait, or possibly the descendants of groups who sailed across the ocean from Eurasia to North America. They established communities throughout the Americas several thousand millennia ago and were the first people to settle in the land. Some contemporary Native Americans reject these migration theories and claim that their ancestors had always resided in the land. See Simon Worrall, “When, How Did the First Americans Arrive? It’s Complicated”, *National Geographic*, June 9, 2018. URL: <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2018/06/when-and-how-did-the-first-americans-arrive--its-complicated-/>. African Americans are the descendants of people who were brought to this country against their will and enslaved. Their migration was by no means voluntary. These groups played significant roles in the formation of the United States and contributed greatly to the development of the country and to contemporary American society. It is important to recognize that they form part of the American people, in addition to people descended from more contemporary, voluntary immigrant groups. At the same time, the formation of the country as we know it today is due in large part to great influxes of immigrants from Europe, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa. It is to these latter people, particularly the ones who find themselves in positions of power and governance, that the thesis appeals to recall their roots and ancestral story of immigration.

<sup>220</sup> Christopher Maronde, “Moses in the Gospel of John”, *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, vol. 77 (2013), 23; Randi Rashkover, “Christianity and the Law: The Law as the Form of the Gospel”, *Freedom and Law: A Jewish-Christian Apologetics* (Fordham University Press, 2011), 274.

<sup>221</sup> See Matt. 5:17: “Do not think that I have come to abolish the law or the prophets; I have come not to abolish but to fulfill”. See also John 1:17: “The law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ”. Both passages suggest that Christ, through his actions, embodied the law of the Torah.

<sup>222</sup> Philip la Grange Du Toit, “The Fulfilment of the Law According to Matthew 5:17: A Dialectical Approach”, *Acta Theologica* 38, no. 2 (2018), 55.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid 56-57.



# Understanding Native Hawaiian Land Relations Through Kānaka Maoli Literature

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## ABSTRACT

Within a hegemonic Western discourse, Hawai‘i is largely considered an aesthetic tourist destination. It is perceived to be a vacation haven, bountiful in opportunities for real estate, commodification, and gentrification. While endeavors such as these have indeed proven to be economically prolific for the state, the profits do not directly, if even remotely, benefit the Native Hawaiians whose land continues to be seized and commodified in the name of said profits. Therefore, that dominant discourse which paints Hawai‘i as a tourist destination of great economic potential is in fact a colonialist notion, denoting Hawaiian land as public property to be seized, altered, and owned. In reality, the land that is used for expansive capitalist ventures is often seized from Native people, as has been the trend since settlers first invaded Hawai‘i. This truth is further troubling when one considers Native Hawaiian land relations and the spiritual connection that many *Kānaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians) have to that land. In light of the spiritual ties that many *Kānaka Maoli* have to land, or *‘āina*, its seizure and alteration by non-Native persons is an act of colonialism against not only *Kānaka Maoli* homes, but also against our bodies and spirits.

This spiritual and emotional connection between *Kānaka Maoli* and our land is deeply rooted, and it is an idea commonly expressed in contemporary *Kanaka* culture by the term *aloha ‘āina*. In understanding this sentiment, it is essential that one first understands that *aloha* carries a much deeper meaning than the Hawaiian “hello” and “goodbye.” *Aloha* connotes one’s deep love for and connection to *Kanaka* culture. It also signifies love for one’s neighbors, friends, and ancestors. In essence, *aloha ‘āina* is an expression of one’s identification with and commitment to Hawaiian land and its connected historical and cultural significance. By close reading *Kanaka* texts and terminology such as this, one can begin to understand the sanctity of *Kanaka* land relations, thereby lending to an understanding of one of the ways by which colonialism against *Kānaka Maoli* continues in perpetuity.

In this thesis, I will investigate and discuss relationships between *Kanaka* bodies and *‘āina*. I will do this by close reading *Kanaka* literature, including the Hawaiian creation

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*mele* known as the *Kumulipo*, the narrative and performative device that is *hula*, and my Auntie Betty's stories that have been passed down to me through oral storytelling. I will contextualize my findings in both historical and contemporary frames. Ultimately, I am conducting this research with the aim of contributing to existing scholarship which aims to dismantle the dominant narrative which suggests that we live in a post-colonial era. The idea that colonialism is an extinguished historical event is a dangerous and false misconception that allows for the perpetuation of the discriminatory maltreatment of marginalized Indigenous communities and cultures. This discrimination is enacted in countless ways, including but in no way limited to the seizure of *Kānaka Maoli* lands. It is my hope that this research will encourage any and all readers to continue to learn about *Kanaka Maoli* and other Native cultures, and that this endeavor for further knowledge will lead to advocacy on behalf of, and greater reverence toward Native people, narratives, and knowledge.

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## INTRODUCTION

"Tell me a story with your mouth," I used to request of my grandma when I was a child. A toddler at the time, I was unaware of the sanctity of the tradition of oral storytelling in *Kanaka* culture. But I think that it was of no coincidence that I preferred stories that were told from memory and recited orally. Prior to colonialist invasions of Hawai'i, *Kānaka Maoli* had no written language. Instead, there were other means by which my ancestors told stories and kept records. Oral storytelling was one such prominent method, one in which I have been fortunate enough to participate in my lifetime. From this tradition comes the maintenance of our genealogies, which offer immense knowledge regarding our ancestors, both human and otherwise. The *Kumulipo* is an outstanding example of a royal genealogy, which Queen Lili'uokalani translated and transcribed. Another means of *Kanaka* storytelling is *hula*, which is commonly perceived as primarily a source of tourist entertainment. *Hula*, however, requires great discipline of its dancers and teachers. It tells stories of our ancestors and cosmogony, honors our progenitors, and is a sacred practice in its own right. While these three forms, oral storytelling, transcribed genealogies, and *hula*, are only a select few of the many means by which *Kānaka Maoli* have preserved our histories for generations, they are the three primary forms which I will analyze and discuss in this thesis. I have chosen these three forms based on personal interest. However, other media—including but not limited to music, documentaries, poetry, and novels-- warrant future research as *Kanaka Maoli* literature and as informants of *Kanaka Maoli* land relations.

Today, I write this work as a *Kanaka* scholar, dedicated to honoring my inheritance and the work that my ancestors have done to preserve our stories. A contemporary *Kanaka Maoli* living in a diaspora, this is my own act of cultural preservation and resurgence. My ambition in this research is ultimately to illuminate the knowledge and practices of *Kānaka Maoli* who have come before me. I do this in the hopes of illuminating the wisdom of my ancestors, especially that regarding relationality to each other and to *āina*. Moreover, it is my hope that this work will serve to encourage reader engagement with anti-colonialist action, whether demonstrated by protesting

against the decimation of *Kanaka* land, the use of social media to spread awareness about the reality of ongoing colonialism, or any number of other initiatives that contemporary *Kanaka Maoli* and allies are engaged in to defend *Kanaka* sovereignty and protect our lands and relations.

It may seem that the horror of settler-colonialism exists only in the past. However, it certainly still persists, and presents ongoing battles to many *Kānaka Maoli*, one of whom was my Great Auntie Betty, who had to fight to regain rights to our inherited 'āina. If someone were to search “Allerton Beach, Kauai,” on YouTube, they could see my family's beautiful 'āina. Unfortunately, the first result of this search is a video posted by Coldwell Banker Turtle Cove Realty. The brief video shows footage of a picturesque, empty beach. The background narrator details it as “a spectacular beach...that few visit,” “one of those secret places that Kaua'i is famous for,” “in a setting that, with a little effort, you can find and enjoy for the day.” While it might seem harmless, this video's content and language is seriously problematic, seeing as the particular beach being advertised belongs to my family. According to tradition that dates back to 900 AD, and according to several legal documents, tourists are not allowed on this land. In fact, 92 of my ancestors are buried in the caves that surround the beach. Therefore, the grounds are sacred according to the genealogical and spiritual traditions of my family and *Kanaka* culture. However, this real estate company's video falsely suggests that the beach is simply a hidden gem intended for public access. While there was likely no malintent in the creation of this video, its language describes our private beach as a “secret” place “that few visit,” advertising it as an enticing vacation spot to tourists who wish to be off-the-grid. This dialogue is one example of the destructive ways in which the discourse surrounding the Western commodification of land is irreverent and harmful against the rights and traditions of *Kānaka Maoli* and our culture. Not only has this beach been in my family since 900 AD, but my Auntie Betty spent an immense amount of time and effort fighting for the legal rights that declare the land as officially belonging to our family. Therefore, I will work to defend the sanctity and importance of *Kanaka Maoli* 'āina like ours throughout this thesis.

## PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

Ultimately, I am conducting this research with the goal of contributing to that existing scholarship which aims to dismantle the dominant narrative which suggests that we live in a post-colonial era. The idea that colonialism is an extinguished historical event is a dangerous and false misconception that allows for the perpetuation of the discriminatory maltreatment of marginalized Indigenous communities and cultures. This discrimination is enacted in countless ways, including but in no way limited to the seizure of Native lands. In my thesis, I intend to elaborate upon this discrimination in both modern and historical contexts, and to provide a brief history of the colonialism of Hawai'i.

I believe it important to assert that I have a personal stake in this research, myself being a *Kanaka Maoli*. Having grown up immersed in the stories, food, language, music, and keepsakes that defined my Hawaiianess, I feel a great reverence for and personal attachment to Hawaiian culture and place. In my research, I wish to use the critical, theoretical, and close reading skills that I have acquired as a student in the English discipline in order to explore the recurring, dominant themes and languages present in *Kanaka* literature. Specifically, I am interested in



understanding how Native texts, from origin stories, legends, songs, and chants to more contemporary narratives, can communicate something substantive, and maybe even transformative, about *Kānaka Maoli* relationships to land, or 'āina. In doing so, I will accomplish three primary goals: I will illuminate the artistic, holistic nuances of *Kanaka* storytelling and culture; I will confront the ongoing social injustices that are silently being committed against *Kānaka Maoli* still today, and I will convey some of the often-omitted narratives that describe *Kanaka* culture, and those that accurately depict a *Kānaka Maoli* experience of colonialism.

## RESEARCH STRATEGY

In my research, I will be performing a close reading of the following primary texts: the *Kumulipo*, as translated by Queen Lili'uokalani, a performance of *hula* by Unukupukupu of Hilo, Hawai'i, and select stories by Betty Kealoha Snowden Duarte. I will analyze these texts using ecocritical and postcolonial reading theories, analyzing how they serve to define *Kanaka* relationality with 'āina as well as to survey how *Kanaka* culture has evolved under the hand of settler-colonialism. I will ground my findings in conversation with several other *Kanaka* and Native scholars so as to acknowledge and engage with the incredible work that has already been done in this field.

To begin, I will close read one text that predates colonialism, the *Kumulipo*, which is a Hawaiian creation chant. The *Kumulipo* details our cosmogony as *Kānaka Maoli*, detailing the creation of Hawai'i's islands, gods, and all living beings. In its description of creation, the *Kumulipo* illuminates the interwoven and equal relationship between man, land, and all other earthly creations. Specifically, I will be close reading a translation of the *Kumulipo* as performed by Queen Lili'uokalani, the last reigning Queen of Hawai'i. Known to be a famously literate, passionate, nationalist *Kanaka Maoli*, Queen Lili'uokalani translated the *Kumulipo* while she was under house arrest following her deposition by colonizers. I will be examining the language and motifs that recur throughout this text in order to explain some predominant themes that inform *Kānaka Maoli* land relations and to center the text as a profound statement of resistance and sovereignty at the height of the occupation.

Next, I will analyze the form and history of *hula*, focusing specifically on a performance by the Unukupukupu Hālau Hula. *Hula* is a practice of dance and storytelling in *Kanaka* culture that has existed for centuries. During the initial colonization of Hawai'i, 'Ōlelo Hawai'i was outlawed, which meant that many non-English speaking *Kānaka Maoli* necessarily preserved our stories through song and dance. Therefore, *hula* conveys valuable and culturally relevant narratives which are imperative in understanding *Kanaka* land relations, both prior to and during this era of colonization. The inclusion of this non-traditional literary form further contributes to this project's anti-colonialist agenda in that it muddies the Euro-American idea of genre as well as the attached expectation of what qualifies as literature.

Finally, I will conduct a close reading of select stories told by my Auntie Betty. A proud *Kanaka* woman, my Auntie Betty taught me and my cousins a great deal about our inheritance and what it can mean to be *Kānaka Maoli*. I will be using video footage of my Auntie Betty telling these

stories, recorded by my mother, Denise Harden, in 2001. Using this footage, I will both transcribe its audio and detail the setting of the captured events. I will then elaborate upon this demonstration of oral storytelling and what it reveals about *Kanaka* kinship and cultural practices. Furthermore, I will analyze the content and predominant themes of the stories, exploring how they define *Kanaka Maoli* culture and relationships to 'āina.

Moving into the technical aspects of how I will conduct this process, I would like to define “close reading,” which is one aspect of my chosen research methodology. Essentially, this strategy suggests the careful, sustained analysis of a given passage, phrase, or word within a text so as to expand upon and contextualize its linguistic, cultural, and political implications. Because my aim is to analyze and communicate *Kānaka Maoli* relations to 'āina, I will be close reading works and passages that discuss this relationship in particular. Not only will I be examining the English text, but I will also explore the nature of any provided translation from the original 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. In doing so, I will perform a close reading for contextual significance at the same time that I am performing somewhat of an etymology in order to explore the translation of ideas across cultures. 'Ōlelo Hawai'i provides useful clues into the land relations that I wish to illuminate, conveying nuances about Hawai'i that provide insight into the genealogical, cosmological, and conceptual knowledge that defines *Kanaka* culture.

In addition to close reading, my research will employ a historical methodology, as I will execute a historical and cultural contextualization of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, of Hawaiian colonization, and of the political happenings of contemporary Hawai'i in my research. Using a plethora of secondary sources, I will explore the cultural, social, political, and spiritual implications of my primary sources. Ultimately, I will contextualize these findings within a history of the colonization of the Islands in the 19th century and their forced annexation as a US territory in 1898, and as a state in 1959. This contextualization will be useful in exhibiting some of the ways in which *Kānaka Maoli* are continually discriminated against and colonized as well as highlight the incredible acts of resistance, revitalization, and resurgence through which we maintain our connections to 'āina, our ancestors, and our wider relations. This research ultimately aims to illuminate both truths at the same time that it explores *Kanaka* literature as a lens into the often-ignored narratives of *Kānaka Maoli* and our relationship with 'āina.

## CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF HAWAI'I'S COLONIZATION

The following is a condensed chronicle of the colonization of the Hawaiian Islands, beginning with Captain James Cook's arrival at Kaua'i in January 1778 (Kuykendall). Born in Yorkshire, England, Cook was the first European to see the Hawaiian Islands. He named them the Sandwich Islands after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich. Some sources speculate that *Kānaka Maoli* believed Cook to be the *Kanaka* god Lono<sup>1</sup> and welcomed him with what they therefore believed to be due reverence. However, this relationship allegedly turned sour at the killing of a *Kanaka Maoli* by a European invader. In response to this rumored death, there arose tensions between the *Kānaka Maoli* who inhabited Kealahou Bay and the European invaders who were visiting. It is unclear how the subsequent events unfolded, but the turmoil ultimately ended in Captain Cook's death in 1779.

Following Cook, many European explorers visited the Islands, bringing with them disease, religious agendas, and desires to trade *Kanaka* materials like sandalwood, whale oil, and furs. Amidst all of this foreign inundation, however, King Kamehameha the Great had an agenda of his own. Each Hawaiian Island had its own ruling *ali'i*, or chief, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Kamehameha desired the consolidation of the Islands so that they could function under one governance, namely his own. After conquering Maui, Lāna'i, Hawai'i, Moloka'i, and O'ahu, Kamehameha still did not rule over Kaua'i or Ni'ihau, preventing the complete union of the Islands (Burns). However, in 1810, the *ali'i* of these two remaining independent Islands agreed to this union, resulting in what became known as the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

Prior to this successful union, however, Kamehameha ruled over only the singular Island of Hawai'i. It was during this era, in 1792, that British Naval Captain George Vancouver visited the Islands (Kuykendall). Vancouver, who had been a junior officer on Captain Cook's voyages, began to establish a relationship with King Kamehameha over the course of his travels. This relationship was allegedly a catalyst in Kamehameha's eventual decision to cede his Kingdom to Great Britain in 1794. However, it is argued still today that "Kamehameha did not mean to give away the land but only to ask aid for Hawai'i" (Westervelt 21). This ambiguity in consent and intention regarding the signing of treaties has long been a point of concern for Native populations. Oftentimes, treaties were drawn using language that was virtually inaccessible for any person whose first language was not English, leading to deceptive negotiations that historically disadvantaged Native groups.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore still debated as to whether Kamehameha knew that he was agreeing to concession, but it happened nevertheless. As Kamehameha gained dominion over all of the Islands, all of Hawai'i came under British rule. This shift in governing powers affected the principles and titles of *Kanaka* rulers, and it made British subjects out of *Kānaka Maoli*.

Under British rule, and as the subject of increasing foreign interest, the Kingdom of Hawai'i became a destination for surges of missionaries, predominantly Calvinist and Evangelist Christians (Kuykendall). Along with the desire to spread Christianity, these missionaries brought with them foreign diseases and entirely new sets of beliefs that would destroy *Kānaka Maoli* ways of being and knowing. Specifically, this influx of foreign visitors meant a reconstruction of the *Kanaka* education system, including a written alphabet and, commonly, the prohibition of *ʻŌlelo Hawai'i*. Moreover, *Kanaka* clothing was replaced with more conservative wear, seeing as the common clothing worn by *Kānaka Maoli* did not align with the Christian idea of modesty (Stone). These changes were not inherently negative, but they were objectively destructive to the traditions that had long defined *Kanaka Maoli* culture. For example, the forbiddance of *ʻŌlelo Hawai'i* in the classroom, and its lessened use at large, meant that older generations of *Kānaka Maoli* struggled to pass along their stories and genealogies to their descendants who no longer spoke the same language. Moreover, many *Kānaka Maoli* were taken advantage of for lacking English proficiency, finding themselves coerced into situations and agreements that they did not fully understand. This resulting confusion often led to the unintended signing away of one's rights to *ʻāina* or other valuables (Trask).

The foreign visitors persisted, often dealing in continued missionary work and the trading of goods. King Kamehameha the Great continued his rule until his death in 1819, in Kailua-Kona

Hawai'i. Succeeding him was his eldest son, Liholiho, who died from the measles after only a five-year reign as king. Next in line was Kauikeaouli, who was only ten years old when he assumed the throne under the regency of Ka'ahumanu, his father's favorite wife. Kamehameha III then went on to rule for nearly 30 years. During his reign, British and French governments signed a declaration in favor of Hawai'i's independence, making the Islands a neutral territory. With governance switching hands at such a rapid pace, turmoil was inevitable.

Perhaps one of the most destructive decisions made by a ruler during this era was Kamehameha III's agreement to the Great *Māhele* in 1848 (Trask). This measure irrevocably changed *Kanaka 'āina* systems of ownership and distribution of lands and resources. Essentially, the decree denounced *ahupua'a*, the traditional system of land division, in exchange for a complicated legal process that left many *Kānaka Maoli* blindsided by the revocation of the 'āina that was their birthright. Because of the Great *Māhele*, the homes of many *Kānaka Maoli* were seized and redistributed outside of their families. Many folks were unaware that they were not complicit with updated measures or were otherwise unsure how to secure their 'āina under this new set of laws. As a result, foreign powers were able to secure private ownership of 'āina, leading to the exploitation and commodification of *Kanaka 'āina* and to the displacement of *Kānaka Maoli*. Sugar plantation owners came to own significant plots of land, making profits off of the 'āina at the expense of these dispossessed *Kānaka Maoli*.

A few decades later, David Kalākaua (1874-1891) became King of Hawai'i. Only a year into his reign, Kalākaua signed a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which gave the United States market free access to goods grown and harvested in Hawai'i ("Hawaiian Monarch Divides Land"). The signing of this treaty resulted in profits and expansion for sugar plantation owners, most of them foreigners. While this meant a temporarily lucrative economy for Hawai'i, it also meant a surge in immigrants who were either looking to work on or own these plantations. In essence, this movement transformed the Kingdom of Hawai'i into flourishing grounds on which foreigners could pursue American interests of capitalism and commodification. During this time, plantation owners grew increasingly wealthy, one of the most prominent beneficiaries being Sanford B. Dole, who was also growing increasingly dissatisfied living under a *Kanaka* monarchy (Trask). From this increasing discontentment came talk of reformation and the staging of a coup. The Reform Party, or, "Missionary Party," gained power in government. This political group essentially sought out the erasure of *Kanaka* culture in exchange for values and practices that were more aligned with their own. White missionaries who had invaded Hawai'i had an ever-increasing presence throughout and interest in the Islands, profiting off of the commodification of the land's resources and people. King Kalākaua attempted to fight back against these forces, himself a proponent for the reduction of powers held by the Missionary Party. Of course, Kalākaua was met with fervent pushback in efforts spearheaded by Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford B. Dole. These two men were members of the Missionary Party, and both stood to gain significant territory and money from their exploitation of *Kanaka 'āina*. In response to Kalākaua, they created a constitution that further minimized Kalākaua's powers and ascribed greater power to the cabinet and Legislature. Militia backed the constitution, and King Kalākaua signed it at the threat of violence. This would become known as the Bayonet Constitution.

After Kalākaua passed in 1891, his sister, Queen Lili'uokalani claimed the throne. Only two years into Queen Lili'uokalani's reign (1891-1893), the United States staged a coup in which they forcibly deposed the Queen and illegally assumed control of the sovereign kingdom. While the Queen was imprisoned in 'Iolani Palace, U.S. militia invaded Honolulu. These efforts were led by none other than Sanford B. Dole, who stamped over alleged objections from then U.S. President Grover Cleveland. Queen Lili'uokalani surrendered, wanting to avoid outbursts of violence. In 1895, the Queen allegedly participated in a coup of her own, led by the Hawaiian Royalists against the Republic (Kuykendall). The coup was unsuccessful, and it resulted in Lili'uokalani's arrest, at which point she formally assented to abdicate her throne, thereby abolishing the Hawaiian monarchy. In 1898, the United States officially annexed Hawai'i, and it became the nation's 50<sup>th</sup> state in 1959 (Trask).

Dispossession of and violence against Native bodies, the stealing of Native lands, the manipulation of Native peoples, and overt racism are not strictly crimes of the past. They are present realities, as similar injustices to those in Hawai'i's history continue to be committed against Indigenous populations the world-over. The settler-colonialist agenda has always been fueled by a ravenous appetite for Native lands and resources. One strategy to access those resources and to reduce Indigenous resistance has been to repeatedly tear apart the fundamental practices, beliefs, and relationships by which Native cultures have long been defined. In place of these sacred tenets in practice from time immemorial, the colonizers' ways of doing are asserted as if correcting a problem. The beliefs and practices that preceded colonial invasion are denounced, discouraged, and trivialized. Burial grounds become gardens for tourists, sacred mountains become grounds on which telescopes are built, and so on. It may not be as blaringly loud during the 21<sup>st</sup> century as it was during the 19<sup>th</sup>, but colonialism is certainly still ongoing, and it is certainly still destructive.

Parallel to this persistent injustice has always been persistent defiance by Native communities and allies. Native scholars have long been investigating and rejecting this destructive colonialist agenda, which is evidenced by an incredible, expanding body of work in Native and Indigenous studies. *Kanaka* scholars like Queen Lili'uokalani have contributed to works that speak to the sovereignty of Hawai'i, and which reclaim agency for *Kānaka Maoli* everywhere. Native communities continue to enact practices that have historically been repressed. In *Kanaka* culture, this has been facilitated by the resurgence of *hula kahiko* and in the continued practice of oral storytelling, to name only a couple of means by which *Kānaka Maoli* refuse erasure by modern colonialism. The preservation and passing down of our genealogies, either written or spoken, is one essential defense against this act of violence. Our genealogies express our connections to our ancestors and declare our shared birthright to the 'āina that is so often exploited. Famously translated by Queen Lili'uokalani, the *Kumulipo* is one such genealogy that traces the royal bloodline back to our original progenitors, and which details the familial bonds that all *Kānaka Maoli* have to 'āina. In this, the *Kumulipo* reasserts *Kanaka* sovereignty, declaring that *Kānaka Maoli* are the rightful inheritors and caretakers of *Kanaka* 'āina. In the next section, I will analyze this text so as to discern what it can tell us about this sacred relationship to 'āina and to each other.

## CHAPTER 2: THE KUMULIPO

The relationship between *Kānaka Maoli* and Hawaiian *‘āina* is entirely unique from the settler-colonial ideology that separates humans from nature. In fact, I would like to proposition the word “nature” as an ideal that is commonly manipulated so as to serve settler-colonial values. According to its use in this context, “nature” often suggests that living ecosystems are distinctly separate from humanity, and which in fact characterizes nature as a category of life that is entirely independent from humankind. Haunani-Kay Trask articulates this point in her work *From a Native Daughter*, by way of “reading the West's view of itself through the degradation of [her] own past” (Trask 117). Through this lens, Trask observes that, “When historians wrote that the king owned the land and the common people were bound to it, they were saying that ownership was the only way human beings in their world could relate to the land, and in that relationship, some one person had to control both the land and the interaction between humans.” That is, settler-colonialist ideology did not and does not permit a kinship with land in the same manner that is inherent to *Kānaka Maoli*. Rather, the colonialist treatment of land is based upon constructs of ownership, positing land as a political commodity and as an object to be owned and controlled. This relationship is not only evident in the history of land seizures in Hawai‘i, but throughout the long-standing history of Euro-American colonialism, which has historically exploited land as a bargaining chip, and flaunted its ownership as a designation of power.

As Mishuana Goeman writes in “Land as Life,” “A consequence of colonialism has meant a translation or too easy collapsing of *land* to *property* [italics in original]” (Goeman 72). In modern, capitalist ideology, land is seldom perceived as a source of wisdom, and even less so as one’s relative. Instead, it is treated exactly as Goeman suggests: property. Its purpose is belittled to real estate, ownership, expansion. Goeman goes on to contrast this ideology with that of Native cultures, explaining, “Indigenous Nations claim land through a discursive communal sharing, and land is not only given meaning through consensus of claiming territory but also through narrative practices” (73). Rather than viewing land as a means for individual or economic gain, Indigenous ideologies regard land as sacred, as a gathering place, as a source of knowledge and narrative. According to Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, author of *As We Have Always Done*, “This makes sense because this is the place where our Ancestors reside, where spiritual beings exist, and where the spirits of living plants, animals, and humans interact” (Simpson 155). Although Simpson is speaking to Native American and, more specifically, Anishinaabe land relations, this perspective also applies to *Kanaka Maoli* ideology, which mirrors a near-identical school of thought: humans, both living and dead, are in relationship with the land and all of its inhabitants in perpetuity. Therefore, land is a source of knowledge to be revered and honored accordingly. Scholars in fields of Native and Indigenous studies have long been invested in this conversation about the sanctity of land, defending its role as educator and spiritual divinity.

In fact, Native Hawaiian tradition acknowledges land, animals, and other earthly elements to be in relationship with humankind, rather than being a wholly separate category of life. As scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa writes in her book *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, “Hawaiians say, ‘*He ali‘i ka ‘āina, he kauwā ke kanaka*,’” which translates to “The land is a Chief, man is its servant” (Kame‘eleihiwa 3). This phrase, which Kame‘eleihiwa states is commonly known among Native

Hawaiians, reveals that the power dynamics of the Kanaka Maoli relationship between humankind and land are entirely antithetical to that between the Western person and land. Whereas Western colonialism posits man as the direct owner of land, Kanaka Maoli perceive land to be the “Chief” which man serves. While this dynamic positions land as the more powerful entity over man, the relationship between the two is more familial than it is authoritative or hierarchical. According to Trask, “Since the land was an ancestor, no living thing could be foreign. The cosmos, like the natural world, was a universe of familial relations. And human beings were but one constituent link in the larger family” (Trask 5). Therefore, “Nature [is] not objectified but personified” in Kanaka culture, “resulting in extraordinary respect (when compared to Western ideas of nature) for the life of the sea, the heavens and the earth” (5).

One text wherein this relationship is particularly evident is the *Kumulipo*, a Hawaiian creation *mele* that was first written down in the 19th century. The word *mele* can be read as a genre, separate and distinct from the Euro-American categories of literature that academia uses to categorize written literature. *Mele* is akin to the English “chant” or “song,” seeing as it is passed down orally and recited with meter, but typically without a melody. Having been passed down through generations by means of oral storytelling, the *Kumulipo* details the birth and creation of various living elements, including man, shellfish, taro, and many other creatures. Through a close reading of this text, I will investigate the relational and metaphorical language employed in the *Kumulipo* in order to analyze and expand upon its representation of *Kānaka Maoli* land relations and cosmogony.

Moreover, this work will analyze two particular adaptations of this Hawaiian creation chant: the first as translated by Queen Lili‘uokalani, the second by Martha Warren Beckwith. Queen Lili‘uokalani, the last sovereign monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Peterson), translated the *Kumulipo* while imprisoned by US corporate and military figures during the 1895 occupation of Hawai‘i (an illegal occupation that is ongoing). Her work consequently serves as a declaration of *Kanaka* belonging, proving unjust both her imprisonment and colonial land seizures. She states that she “endeavored to give the definition of each name as far as it came within [her] knowledge of words, but in some cases this could not be done because the true signification has been lost” (Lili‘uokalani *Introduction*). Therefore, her translation features both ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i*’ (Hawaiian language) and English, with certain words selectively retained in ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i*’ so as not to mistranslate a connotation or idea that can only be conveyed through the original language of the *mele*. For example, where Beckwith writes “Born was the drupa shellfish, his child the bitter white shellfish came forth,” Lili‘uokalani writes, “The Makaloa was born, the Pupuawa was its offspring” (I, 30). It is in instances such as these that Lili‘uokalani elects to preserve the *mele*’s original ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i*’ terminology, perhaps for personal preference and likely because, as stated earlier, she feels that a word’s translation to English would cause its “true signification” to be lost. In *Kanaka* culture, the word *makaloa* does indeed signify the English “shellfish.” However, it is also a name for a certain type of seaweed, carries the connotation of being the material used “for making the fine Ni‘ihau mats,” and is an adjective meaning “Always green; always fresh” (Wehewehe). Of course, the English word “shellfish” does not carry any of these connotations, which are specific and valuable to Hawaiian culture. Therefore, Lili‘uokalani’s commitment to preserving certain

words in *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* is in fact an act of cultural preservation, seeing as the language communicates a great deal of cultural ties that cannot be wholly translated in English.



**Figure 1:** Queen Lili'uokalani, scholar and activist (Hawaii State Archives).

While Lili'uokalani's translation tactic is responsible in its refusal to depart from *Kanaka* tradition and meaning, it does offer an impediment in reader comprehension if the text's audience does not understand *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* or its myriad nuances. Therefore, my analysis also references Beckwith's text in order to offer English translations when essential for the comprehension of non-Hawaiian-speaking readers. Beckwith, an American folklorist and ethnographer, was the first person to translate this *mele* entirely into English, and her adaptation has been referenced by English-speaking scholars since its publication in 1951. That being said, I will occasionally use Beckwith's translation as the reference-point by which I will clarify the language employed in Queen Lili'uokalani's translation for English-speakers. However, I will also explain the cultural connotations of the *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* terms that are being translated to English. In doing so, I hope to offer both clarity for reader comprehension, as well as insight into the cultural nuances that are maintained through Lili'uokalani's preservation of the *Kumulipo*'s original diction.

In any context, the task of translation demands that great care be taken so that a work's original linguistic and cultural nuances may be preserved. Therefore, my analysis of the *Kumulipo* will consistently acknowledge the shortcomings and intricacies of translation and its negation.



Furthermore, my close reading will focus on the relational terms, descriptors, and form employed throughout the *Kumulipo* in order to investigate what *Kanaka* literature suggests about *Kanaka* land relations. Ultimately, the aim of my research is to develop and demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between *Kānaka Maoli* and land, and to exemplify a critical reading theory that is informed by *Kanaka* culture. This close reading will analyze the characters, character relations, diction, and structure employed throughout the *Kumulipo* in order to demonstrate how *Kanaka* texts such as this reveal essential knowledge regarding *Kanaka* land relations and culture.<sup>3</sup> In doing so, I also argue for the political significance of this text as a statement of *Kanaka* sovereignty by Queen Lili'uokalani in response to the United States' illegal occupation of the Hawaiian kingdom.

The *Kumulipo* was originally created in honor of the birth of Kalaninuiaʻmamao, formally known as Ka-I-i-mamao. Ka-I-i-mamao was a high chief whose birth name, Lonoikamakahiki, was changed by his grandmother at his birth (Lili'uokalani). His new name was intended to denote his royal lineage and to serve as an acknowledgment of the gods. Queen Lili'uokalani prefaces her translation of the *Kumulipo* with this history, including an explanation of the royal, spiritual, and ancestral significance of the text in relation to Ka-I-i-mamao. She also notes that this ancient prayer of creation, the *Kumulipo*, would be passed on through oral storytelling to Ka-I-i-mamao's daughter Alapai Wahine, who would further pass the story along for generations. This historical foregrounding is essential to Lili'uokalani's translation, seeing as "the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another, and with all the myriad aspects of the universe" (Trask 2). That is, Ka-I-i-mamao is not just the son of two parents, but the descendant of every creation and entity that preceded his birth, which the *Kumulipo* goes on to detail. Moreover, it recognizes that his offspring have inherited that same ancestry, just as they inherited the stories of those who came before.

This detailed account of lineage is one means by which the *Kumulipo* is an exemplary demonstration of oral storytelling as an accurate historical record-keeper. That is, particular names, dates, and chronologies have been memorized, recited, and passed down for generations by way of oral storytelling. This is essential to understand as we engage with *Kanaka* knowledge and its embodiment in non-Western forms. This knowledge is no less legitimate or accurate because it has not historically been written down. Queen Lili'uokalani substantiates this claim by highlighting the origins and circulation of the *Kumulipo* prior to her translative work. In so doing, Lili'uokalani rightfully characterizes the text as a legitimate historical record by documenting the names of figures who were involved in the genealogy's first telling and dedication. This is a vital distinction when contextualizing the *Kumulipo* in the modern-day, Western tradition of literature, which often discounts oral storytelling as unreliable.

In fact, in his collection of essays *The Truth About Stories*, Indigenous scholar Thomas King argues that, "If we stopped telling the stories or reading the books, we would discover that neglect is as powerful an agent as war and fire" (King 98). King astutely acknowledges that the preservation of a culture relies in large part on the continued telling of its stories, whether they are written or spoken. Neither is more essential or correct, but both are imperative to understanding the history, values, and identity of any given culture. To cease the repetition of a

culture's stories, or to cease the manner in which those stories have historically been passed down, would be an act of neglect against said culture, thereby contributing to its erasure. Particularly when examining a genealogy such as the *Kumulipo*, the distinction of oral storytelling as a reliable historical medium is essential in marking the text as a record, and not as a fable. Queen Lili'uokalani translated the *Kumulipo* so that it would survive into modernity, but she was also sure to explain in her introduction that its origins and survival have been products of a long-standing tradition of oral storytelling. By situating the text as an outcome of successful *Kanaka* storytelling practices, Queen Lili'uokalani characterizes the text and *Kanaka* culture as historically legitimate, rebuking popular notions about Western forms of record-keeping as the only correct accounts of history.

## A CLOSE READING

The structure of the *Kumulipo*, in its entirety as well as in its individual stanzas, tells us a great deal about *Kanaka* land relations. It is divided into two major sections, or, *wā*. While *wā* designates certain sections of the work, it also means “space,” “time,” and “era” in ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i*. In other words, the structural division of the *Kumulipo* is itself a chronologizing tool, and an especially useful mnemonic device for oral storytellers. The first of these two *wā* is representative of the generative darkness known as *Pō*, a time during which non-human life forms were created. The second *wā*, called *Ao*, is the generative period during which the first humans are created, and it is during this latter half that gods and light are introduced. These periods of darkness and light can be associated with “night” and “day,” respectively. In ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i*, the word *Pō* has many other meanings besides “night,” including “a revelation from the gods [as in dreams or omens],” “to stay in the dark; ignorance,” and “the realm of the gods,” to name only a few of its many definitions (Hawaiian Electronic Library). From this, we can gather that the generative darkness of *Pō* is entirely separate from humankind, it being “the realm of the gods,” its darkness conducive to human “ignorance” in all of the divine wisdom that it conceals. Contrarily, *Ao*, the latter half of the *Kumulipo*, translates to “enlightened,” “World, earth, realm,” and “to grow.” Whereas the first half of the genealogy precedes the creation of humankind and highlights an ignorance, the second half is complementary to this darkness in its introduction of light and awareness. It is during this second half of the *Kumulipo* that humankind is created, at which point we come to grow aware of our existence and of the generative powers from which we derived.

The particular order in which life forms are created is significant in that animals, plants, and all other nonhuman life forms are born before man. In *Kanaka* tradition, “...first-born are always hakus (superiors, lords)” (Tenth Era). Therefore, the positing of man as the younger sibling to nonhuman creations suggests that man owes a certain degree of reverence to animals, ‘*āina*, and other nonhuman entities. Just as younger siblings are expected to respect their elder human siblings in *Kanaka* culture, so they are expected to revere their nonhuman siblings. The *Kumulipo*'s structure is demonstrative of why *Kānaka Maoli* so vehemently revere ‘*āina*, seeing as it fills this role of man's respected elder. Moreover, this dynamic depicts humankind as the relative, or sibling, of such creations as ‘*āina*, further constructing a framework wherein reverence and love are demanded by the intimate relationship shared between *Kānaka Maoli* and our land.

Consisting of 2102 lines and divided into sixteen sections, or “eras,” the *Kumulipo* is organized according to a historical timeline. It is not organized by chapters or characters; rather, it responsibly traces Hawaiian cosmogony, and the relationships that structure it, in a chronological, orderly fashion. This connection to one’s predecessors is both intensely spiritual and somewhat political. That is, while all *Kānaka Maoli* share the origins that are chronicled in the first *wā* of the *Kumulipo*, an individual will inherit the *mana*, or spiritual energy, that is unique to their individual *mo’okū’auhau* (familial genealogy). One inherits certain biological features from their family, but they also inherit their family’s energies, for better or worse. This reveals just how deeply ingrained *Kanaka* identity is with the original generative powers. One’s *mana* marks one’s connection with the divine, as well as that with all of one’s ancestors, including but not limited to human lifeforms. In essence, many *Kānaka Maoli* base their identities off of their inherited genealogies. Thus, *Kānaka Maoli* regard their ancestors, human or otherwise, with the utmost respect, including the *‘āina* from which they have descended.

The way in which this genealogy is parsed, by way of eras, is essential for memorization, seeing as the *Kumulipo* was passed down through generations by way of oral storytelling. Moreover, much of the *Kumulipo* employs a repetitive structure which details how various elements are created and interrelated. Such couplets as “Man by Waiololi, woman by Waiolola,/ The [insert creature] was born and lived in the sea;” are repeated at the start of verses 3-14 in the First Era of the work (Lili’uokalani). Similar to how the chronological organization of the work serves as a mnemonic device, so too does this repetition. Furthermore, the repetition of this designation places various creations as equal to one another, each emerging from the same generative source, and none marked as favored by its creator. This is in direct contrast to the Christian theology which marks God’s creations as “good,” until man is created, making His creations “very good” (Genesis 1: 25-31). In Hawaiian cosmogony, every creation is related to each other, and none is superior in value to the other. The repetitive form of the *Kumulipo* serves to enforce this, seeing as each creation is acknowledged as derivative of the same source, and in the same fashion. In turn, *Kānaka Maoli* regard *‘āina* and animals as their equal counterparts, not as inferior beings or commodities.

While the repetition of the aforementioned couplet is consistent throughout the First Era, the first two verses of the Era are distinct in their poetic narration. Specifically, the First Verse of the First Era begins by marking the story’s events as occurring “[a]t the time when the heavens turned and changed...” (I. I. 2) This cosmogony does not explain the creation of these “heavens,” nor that of the planets that it subsequently mentions. Rather, it is more focused on accounting for the spiritual and ancestral origins of life. Specifically, the source accredited with Earth’s genesis is “the slime which established the earth/ The source of deepest darkness” (I. I. 6-7). Across any and all translations of the *Kumulipo*, the creator of all life is consistently denoted as this “slime,” which is a designation entirely unique to this particular cosmogony. This generative slime does not immediately create life; rather, it is “[t]he source of deepest darkness,” from which “was night born” (I. I. 11). This tradition is also an obvious departure from monotheistic theories of creationism. None of the generative powers cited in the *Kumulipo* are gendered or anthropomorphized, which is in direct contrast to those defining elements of monotheistic

theology that often depict creators as having human-like characteristics or singular identities. In this, the *Kumulipo* demonstrates that man is neither ruler nor influencer over any other life forms. As a consequence, man is once again characterized as equal in power and value to such creations as animals and ‘*āina*. Moreover, the acknowledgment of a generative spirit, or element, as the primary source of creation denies the theory of a singular deity, which is representative of how *Kanaka* identity is inherited and communal rather than solely based on the individual. This means of identification is in fact evidenced by the deeply rooted *Kanaka* tradition of tracing one’s inheritance through the shared genealogy that is the First Era of the *Kumulipo*.

The darkness that is detailed in the First Verse of the First Era is known as *Pō*, or the generative darkness from which all life is subsequently sourced (Warren). Ascribing powers of creation to a “darkness” is further demonstrative of the *Kanaka* departure from notions of monotheism, and of the illimitable cosmological relationship that is believed to bind together all of creation in this mythology. The *mele* goes on to detail the birth of two generative entities in its second verse: “Kumulipo was born in the night, a male./ Poele was born in the night, a female” (I. II. 1-2). To categorize these entities in familiar terms, both “Kumulipo” and “Poele” are essentially divine, nonhuman energies. These energies are responsible for the creation of those beings that are subsequently listed in this second verse. Although they are generative powers, it is important that one does not mistake the gendering of these two entities as an anthropomorphizing move. Rather, this labelling of “male” and “female” complements can be interpreted as a means to instill a sense of balance between generative, cosmological energies. That is, the two energies are equal and opposite one another, allowing their partnership to create whole beings. This pairing of generative male and female energies is consistently repeated at the beginning of each verse throughout the *mele*’s First Era, each pairing posed as the “parents” of the creations listed thereafter. It is thus evident that all creations are siblings born from the same “parents,” regardless of whether those siblings are of the same species.

After the second verse introduces generative parents Kumulipo and Poele, their first creation, “[a] coral insect,” is listed, which is itself a generative agent “from which was born perforated coral” (I. II. 3). This pattern, wherein each new line cites a new creation and its offspring, continues throughout this and subsequent verses: “The Papaua was born, the Olepe was its offspring (pearl and oyster)” (I. II. 14). This pattern takes the consistent form of a single line of text for each act of creation and reproduction, thereby suggesting that each organism is of equal value to one another. Whether the second verse is describing a divine spirit or an oyster, it consistently adheres to this form, visually and temporally demonstrating the *Kanaka* ideal that all living organisms possess their own beingness and are inherently equal in worth. Furthermore, the consistent designation of various creatures as having or being “offspring” is consistent with the genealogical intention and voice of the *Kumulipo*.

In essence, the *Kumulipo* is a thoroughly detailed, far-spanning demonstration of just how closely humans are in relationship with nonhuman life. For example, the Third Verse of the First Era features a structure that is repeated in several of the subsequent verses, wherein the first and last three lines remain the same in each stanza: “Man by Waiololi, woman by Waiolola,/ The [creature] was born and lived in the sea,” followed by, “A night of flight by noises/ Through a

channel; water is life to fish;/ So the gods may enter, but not man” (Lili‘uokalani). This repetition serves a dual purpose: as a mnemonic device for remembrance and as a structural element to emphasize the significance of the repeated themes. The introductory line of each of these verses is originally written as, “O kane ia Wai‘ololi, o ka wahine ia Wai‘olola” (Kalākaua). This line features the words “kane” and “wahine,” meaning “man” and “woman,” respectively. This theme of gendered pairs remains consistent throughout the *Kumulipo*, and its repetition serves once again to establish the generative nature of this genealogical chant. Whereas the gendered pair Kumulipo and Poele were previously read as nonhuman entities, the use of “Man” and “Woman” at this moment in the *mele* reads as more distinctly human, seeing as the terms “Kane” and “Wahine” are used in the original ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i* telling of the story. Therefore, the denotation of “Man” and “Woman” at this moment in the text can be read as referents to humans, rather than to amorphous, gendered entities. By opening each verse with the line, “Man by Waiololi, woman by Waiolola,” or “Man for the narrow stream, woman for the broad stream,” this section situates men and women as connected to land by bodies of water. In doing so, this section reveals how inextricably linked *Kanaka* are to ‘*āina*. In fact, this phrasing posits both man and woman as “streams,” which, in the natural world, come together to contribute to one singular body of water. Considering that the verses begin with this designation, and are followed by the listing of new creations, the phrase “Man for the narrow stream, woman for the broad stream” is symbolic of the original generative powers uniting to form one creation. This introductory line is repeated for twelve verses, demonstrating the importance of balance between man and woman, as well as that of the connection that binds together *Kanaka* and ‘*āina*.

Moreover, the repeated closing lines of each of these twelve verses is similarly essential in defining the themes of the *Kumulipo* and the culture that it represents. According to Queen Lili‘uokalani’s translation, the closing lines read, “A night of flight by noises/ Through a channel; water is life to trees;/ So the gods may enter, but not man” (I. III. 4-6). These three lines embody the spiritual character of ‘*āina* in accordance with *Kanaka* culture, which acknowledges ‘*āina* as a living and sacred entity. This closing phrase also suggests the connection that is shared by all earthly creations, seeing as “water is life to trees,” and that the giving of life is facilitated “[t]hrough a channel.” That is, all of the land is interconnected and in a divinely created, inextricable relationship. Humanity, rendered in the gendered language of the time as “man,” is one facet of this relationship, but the *Kumulipo* is sure to clarify that humans are neither the creators of nor overseers to the other entities involved: “So the gods may enter, but not man.” The dynamics of land relations are sacred in their limited accessibility by “the gods.” This defiance of entrance to humankind reminds us that the gods create all life forms, each equally valuable and with equivalent power. Essentially, if *Kanaka* cosmogony were to be organized into a hierarchy of power, there would be only two scaffolds: first, the gods, and second, all other beings.

Given that ancestors are sacred and revered in *Kanaka* culture, no matter what physical form they take, this *mele* demonstrates a deep respect for nonhuman life in that it designates such organisms as coral and clams as ancestors in this royal genealogy. This is particularly important to consider given the context of the political state of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i during the time at which Queen Lili‘uokalani was translating the *Kumulipo*. While Lili‘uokalani was being held

prisoner, and the Hawaiian ‘āina was being seized by colonizers, Lili‘uokalani committed to this translational work so as to preserve “terms and allusions” regarding “the natural history of Hawaii, which might be forgotten in future years without some such history as [the *Kumulipo*] to preserve them to posterity” (*Introduction*). In essence, Lili‘uokalani’s translation and transcription was an act of reclamation. That is, by writing down the *Kanaka* genealogy, she was documenting a historical record that evidences the history of Hawai‘i, as well as her genealogical relationship to that land which was actively in the process of being stolen by U.S. colonizers. In fact, in Queen Lili‘uokalani’s introduction to the *Kumulipo*, she calls the *mele* “nothing less than the genealogy in remote times of the late King Kalākaua...and myself” (*Introduction*). In other words, the *Kumulipo* is evidence that the land on which she was imprisoned, and which colonizers were seizing, was part of her rightful inheritance. The trees, the taro, the sand, the coconuts are her ancestors. Every living creature that inhabits the ‘āina, as well as the ‘āina itself, was and is a progenitor to Lili‘uokalani, a relative.

The colonialist seizure of the ‘āina, then, is a breach of a longstanding inheritance to which Lili‘uokalani and all *Kānaka Maoli* are and always have been entitled. Considering this dynamic, one can now understand how modern land seizures, over-building on Native land, or the building of the Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea are all modern acts of colonialism that impact more than just the Western notion of nature. These acts deny the sacred *Kanaka* history of inheritance, which posits *Kānaka Maoli* as the relatives, inheritors, and caretakers of *Kanaka* ‘āina, and they directly disrespect our non-human ancestors by way of their unjust possession and commodification. One *Kanaka Maoli* activist, Pua Case, has led great efforts against the installation of the TMT on Mauna Kea, and has elaborated on this transgression to *Democracy Now*: “Mauna Kea is genealogically linked to the Native people of these lands. Mauna Kea is known as our *kupuna*, our ancestor, our teacher, our protector, our corrector and our guide” (Goodman). The dormant volcano is not just a stunning summit; it also plays all of these roles that Case astutely acknowledges. And it is also only one site of many at which the modern colonialism of *Kanaka* ‘āina and *Kānaka Maoli* persists.



**Figure 2:** Peaceful protestors gather to object to the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea. Photo via Caleb Jones/AP.

Protesting, educating, and persisting in *Kanaka* practices are methods of cultural resurgence and reclamation. Case's above interview is exemplary of an essential tenet in redirecting trajectories of further destruction against *Kānaka Maoli* and our beliefs and practices. The resurgence of said practices is another way to prevent their erasure. For example, *hula kahiko*, or traditional *hula*, has long been met with attempts of modification, sexualization, and erasure. Therefore, its continued practice is itself an act of defiance against colonialism, and even more so when younger generations are taught about its origins and performance. The following section elaborates on the history, modernization, and resurgence of *hula*.

## CHAPTER 3: HULA

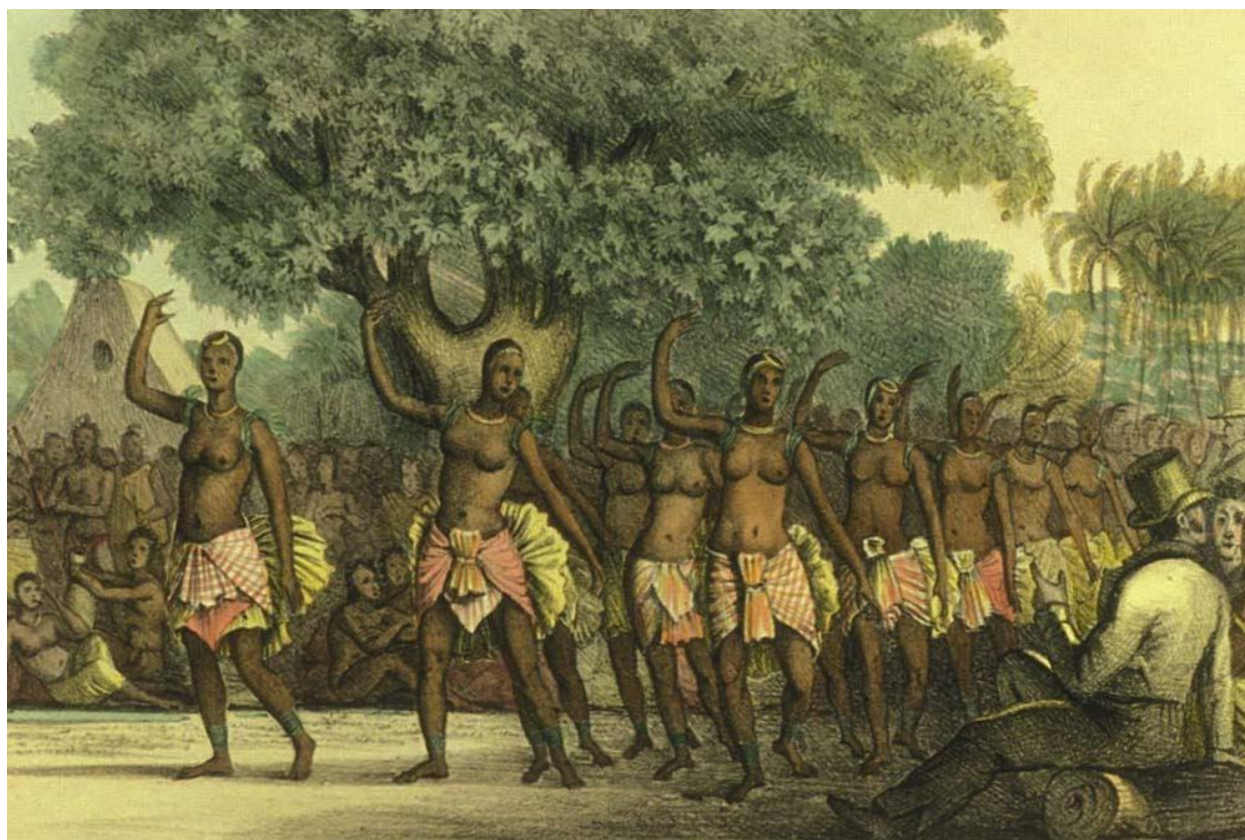
When British colonizers first infiltrated the Hawaiian Islands, they were both fascinated and appalled by *Kanaka* culture. In fact, Protestant missionary Hiram Bingham recorded his unfavorable opinion regarding *hula* in a journal entry: "The whole arrangement and process of their old hulas were designed to promote lasciviousness [sic], and of course the practice of them could not flourish in modest communities. They had been interwoven too with their superstitions, and made subservient to the honor of their gods, and then rulers, either living or departed or deified" (Sitzer 14). This denotation of *hula* as a means "to promote lasciviousness" is only one of a myriad, culturally-biased interpretations by colonizers who were entirely unfamiliar with *Kanaka Maoli* culture.<sup>4</sup> Whereas the hegemonic norms of the 19th century U.S. prioritized conservative dress and monotheistic (Christian) religion, these constructs were not familiar to *Kānaka Maoli*. Nevertheless, colonizers reacted to the different cultural practices of *Kānaka Maoli* according to how they measured up with the practices of the white American. As Sharon Linnéa writes in her novel *Princess Ka'iulani: Hope of a Nation, Heart of a People*, "The [Protestant and Catholic] missionaries were scandalized by what they saw as the natives' ignorance (meaning they had no written language or schools) and their partial nudity (they lived in a tropical climate and had very different standards of decency!)" (Linnéa 12). However, there is no inherently superior quality to written language; neither is nudity inherently promiscuous. These perspectives are created by a culture, and they were quickly forced upon *Kānaka Maoli* following the arrival of English Captain James Cook in 1778.

Upon Cook's arrival, he was greeted with a warm reception by the *Kānaka* people, and he was even treated to a traditional *hula* performance (Stone). While Cook reportedly enjoyed bearing witness to the performance, his ignorance to *Kanaka* culture ensures that he did not understand *hula* in the depth with which it has historically been conceived and practiced. Author of *Yesterday in Hawaii*, Scott C.S. Stone writes, "*Hula* at the time of early Western contact was a visual rendering and/or enhancement of Hawai'i's oral literature. Without knowledge of Hawai'i's language, poetic conventions, and cultural and religious traditions, it was impossible to understand and appreciate the *hula*" (28). While *hula* is a beautiful performative art which can be used for entertainment purposes, it is intricately connected to storytelling and cultural tradition at its core. Stone denotes "poetic conventions" as central in characterizing and understanding *hula*, referencing the all-important narrative component of the practice. Not only is *hula* a physical art, but it is fundamentally a means of communication through which *Kānaka Maoli*



convey stories of cosmogony, genealogy, kinship, *Ali'i*, and other cultural facets. Stone continues to comment on the poetic nature of *Kanaka* storytelling, observing that “dance rendered this poetry into visual form by alluding to selected words of the text... The dancer was essentially a storyteller... conveying the text depended primarily on movement of the hands and arms” (28). Each of the *hula* dancer’s movements are either mimetic of, or gestures toward, the text that is sung or chanted in tandem with the dance. This is an essential tenet in understanding the cultural, historical, and literary value of *hula* as a form in that it reveals how the dance has historically acted as a storytelling--and consequently record-keeping--device. That is, the records, histories, and traditions of *Kānaka Maoli* were passed down through such oral storytelling tactics and performance modes as *hula*, and were therefore essential in the cultural makeup of the *Kānaka* people. The dance is often misconstrued as a universal “welcome” by visitors who have historically perceived the sacred tradition as catered entertainment. In truth, *hula* was and continues to be a valuable device for storytelling, communication, cultural history, and community memory.

Unfortunately, the Euro-American perception of *hula* gained traction as Christian religion gained popularity among *Kānaka Maoli* in the late 19th century. In fact, Queen Ka‘ahumanu, wife of Kamehameha I, converted to Christianity and forbade *hula* in 1830 (Stone 36). This decision led to the underground practice of *hula*, and to its otherwise staged and “missionary-approved” performance, which included conservative costumes.



**Figure 3:** Ludwig Choris’s interpretation of traditional *hula* garb, prior to missionary invasion (Young).





**Figure 4:** More conservative, “missionary-approved” wear for hula dancers.  
 Photograph by J.J. Williams (c. 1885). (“History of Hula in Hawaii”).

This dictation over what dancers wore, where they danced, and how they danced is an obvious repression of *Kanaka* culture. In modern times, *hula* practice is still repressed, but by antithetical measures. Rather than restricting costumes to more conservative, missionary-approved styles, modern tourism now situates *hula* as an almost trivially commodified, and often over-sexualized demonstration of the “paradise” ideology that tourists so ravenously consume. Haunani-Kay Trask describes this characterization in her work *From a Native Daughter*: “In the hotel version of the *hula*, the sacredness of the dance has completely evaporated, while the athleticism and sexual expression have been packaged like ornaments” (144). Whereas the original practice of *hula* was performed ceremonially in order to share and preserve histories, prayers, *meles* (chants), and other sacred texts, modern popular *hula* is often done in a purely secular and performative manner, often rendered as a spectacle of welcome or greeting for tourist consumption.

## MODERNIZATION & RESURGENCE

In understanding how *hula* has come to be regarded as a tourist-greeting, one must consider the fundamental tenets that have directed its performance along this trajectory. While individual dancers enact this “hotel version” of the traditional dance, it must be noted that they are acting within a deeply embedded structure of colonialism. Hawaiian tourism, which is aimed at the commodification of the idea of “paradise,” exploits *Kānaka* people, practices, lands, and identities for a profit. While one might feel averse to this structure and its unethical practices, one may not have the financial or social mobility to actively resist, deny, or opt out of such relationships. That

is, many *Kānaka Maoli* work within the tourist industry because of a need for income and the availability of jobs within that particular market, needs that are themselves the result of ongoing settler colonial dispossession, oppression, and marginalization. As Trask puts it, “In the end, the entire employment scene is shaped by tourism.” As a consequence, “[r]efusing to contribute to the commercialization of one’s culture becomes a peripheral concern when unemployment looms” (145). While this evolution of *hula* is predominant in its global perception, a significant number of persons continue to practice traditional *hula*, or *hula kahiko*. Some practitioners of this more traditional form might attend hula school, known as *hālau hula*. In these schools, students learn traditional moves, regalia, behaviors, beliefs, and *meles*.

This modern revival of *hula kahiko* is in fact its second resurgence, the first of which occurred at the death of Ka‘ahumanu in 1832. Given her 1830 verdict which outlawed the public practice of *hula*, *Kānaka Maoli* gave a new life to *hula* as Ka‘ahumanu’s life drew to an end. Moreover, King Kalākaua succeeded Ka‘ahumanu in 1874, and he was an impassioned proponent of the revitalization of *Kanaka* culture. One staple aspect of this culture was, and is still, *hula*. Not only is *hula* essential to *Kanaka* culture as a site for cultural, historical, and genealogical knowledge; it is also wholly representative of the *Kānaka Maoli* departure from Western tradition in its form. Its oral and physical recitation is subversive in the face of Euro-American religious, literary, and historical accounts that have long been recorded in print. *Hula* narratives have survived for generations by way of orality and movement, thereby defying any assumption that print is necessary for a text’s survival. Moreover, *hula* challenges the very notion of what constitutes a genre, itself a subcategory of literature which exists in physical and oral form. Therefore, by way of its form, content, and revival, *hula* defies Euro-American traditions and their colonizing imperatives to deny or delegitimize alternative practices of articulating histories and relationships to place as legitimate acts of sovereignty and resistance.

In its modern resurgence, *hula* has come to be regarded as having two distinct forms: *hula kahiko* and *hula auana*. Indeed, *hula kahiko* is the more traditional and ceremonial style, whereas *hula auana* is the more modern, non-ceremonial variation that tourists often enjoy at *luaus*. While this is an important distinction, there are a great deal more variations of *hula* than are illuminated by this polarizing separation of “modern” from “traditional.” Moreover, the differences between *hula kahiko* and *hula auana* expand beyond temporal designations. For example, *Ai kahiko* translates to “in the ancient style,” while *auana* roughly translates to “to wander.” While the former translation quite clearly communicates the earlier origins of *hula kahiko*, the latter conveys the stylistic difference of *hula auana*, which consists of less rigid movements than does *kahiko*. Typically, the movements of *hula auana* are more fluid, so dancers’ hands, hips, and feet appear as though they are “wandering” about in more free-flowing gestures, hence the dance’s name (“The History of Hula”). Additionally, the two are distinct in that the more common *hula auana* features the more melodic music of the ‘ukulele and the steel guitar, while *hula kahiko* is typically accompanied by percussive instruments and melismatic chanting.

While these are the two prominent categories of *hula*, myriad other stylistic variants exist and thrive still today. Such variants include the *hula ‘ai ha‘a*, a high energy dance that requires dancers to maintain a low-to-the-ground stance, accompanied by chanting (“Hula”). Another form is the

sacred *‘Aiha ‘a Pele* dance, which is ritualistic in honoring the volcanic powers of Hawai‘i. Because this particular variation is practiced in honor of Hawai‘i’s volcanoes, dancers are expected to sweat as if they were approaching a volcano’s edge. Therefore, the choreography of this style is quite demanding, featuring more rigid movements and greater muscular exertion than others. In order to expand on this style, I analyze its performance, as demonstrated by the folks at Unukupukupu of Hilo, Hawai‘i. Unukupukupu is a traditional Hula school, or *Hālau Hula*, wherein students learn about the history, purpose, etiquette, and execution of *hula*. The class is taught by Dr. Taupōuri Tangarō, who prefaces the performance of this ceremonial dance with the following speech, which I reproduce at length:

We’re born from chaos. When the Universe began to form itself, and it was very chaotic, we were born from that. We descended from the stars, upon the Earth. From the chaos comes linearity: how to live in kinship with your environment. From the chaos and the birth of our communities, we found that over the historical timeline, dreaming was always something that was risked from the ancient times. So, all of our stories tell us to keep dreaming. Don’t forget to dream, and pray that when you wake up, your dreams are right by your side... (Unukupukupu Hālau Hula 06:53-07:38)

As Tangarō so eloquently depicts it here, *hula* is as much a cosmological and genealogical storytelling device as is the *Kumulipo*. That is, he first notes how the movements and recitations of the dance expresses that “We’re born from chaos.” Similarly, the *Kumulipo* details in spoken and written words that humans derived from a chaotic, generative slime. Moreover, Tangarō asserts that “We descended from the stars,” which the *Kumulipo* confirms by telling us that stars are *ali‘i*, or ancestors who were ruling chiefs. The consistencies between the intention and material of both the *Kumulipo* and *hula* are extensive, which reveals how essential both forms are in preserving and representing *Kanaka* culture. Furthermore, these consistencies demonstrate the importance of the topics on which both mediums focus: inheritance, family, cosmogony, reverence, connection to life forces outside of the self, to name a few. Another topic that is central to *Kanaka* identity is the relationship between *Kānaka Maoli* and their environment. Specifically, Dr. Tangarō suggests that our history and origins tell us “how to live in kinship with your environment,” which he insists will subsequently be demonstrated by the Unukupukupu Hālau Hula. Once again, this topic is central among various mediums of *Kanaka* storytelling, revealing its persistent importance as a piece of the *Kanaka* identity. What Dr. Tangarō herein calls “kinship with your environment” is what lies at the heart of the *Kumulipo*, which details our familial relationship with the *‘āina*, and which informs us about why and how we should honor that relationship.

He then goes on to tell the audience that the dancers will be “recreating the chaos with a drum, the heartbeat of our Mother, and the *Pū*, the vibrations of our Sky Father” (7:49-7:57). He remarks that, “For us, the drum is our Mother Earth and the *Pū* that we send out...is what calls all the elements of the sky to be present. And when the father and the mother is present, then we may be born” (7:58-8:08). This is yet another reminder that this dance is communicative of our cosmogony and inheritance, and that it is meant to honor our origins as *Kānaka Maoli*. Dr. Tangarō then prefaces the dance by commenting on the purpose of this particular variation:

The dancers will dance a set that honors our volcanoes. And the idea is to dance very hard, so they begin to sweat. If you go to a lava flow and you're not sweating, something's wrong with your body. You should be sweating. You're at the edge of life and death and you should be sweating. And so, we ritualize that. We bring the water from our inner bodies through the dance and we wet the floor, and in doing that we feed this indigenous landscape here. (8:26-8:58)

Tangarō then comments on the effect of the temple drums, explaining that the drum dances express “how it is that we are going to be in kinship with our environment. These stories that come through the dances tell us exactly what to do, what not to do, and how to evolve” (9:10-9:23). Tangarō herein conveys that *hula* communicates essential *Kanaka* knowledge in its music and choreography. More specifically, that knowledge often pertains to *Kanaka* land relations, or how to “be in kinship with our environment.” This reveals just how fundamental mankind's relationship with *‘āina* is to *Kanaka* identity, seeing as *‘āina* is part of our genealogy, our relations, responsibilities, and obligations that attend them, and not simply a resource for human exploitation.

This description of *‘aiha ‘a pele*, the dance that honors volcanic powers, reveals just how integrated the practice of *hula* is with the inspiration for each variation. Dances are not simply conceived with an inspiring idea and executed in an abstract fashion. Rather, each dance is deeply connected to a particular history, and every word, every action of a dance is enacted in order to honor its specific historical inspiration. No part of *hula kahiko* is nonessential or without meaning. The execution of this particular version of *‘aiha ‘a pele*, performed by the Unukupukupu Hālau Hula, is exemplary of this dedication to honoring *Kanaka* history.



**Figure 5:** A screenshot from “Unukupukupu Hālau Hula” video, posted to YouTube by Library of Congress.

Notice the body language of the dancers in this featured screenshot: raised arms with upward-facing palms and faces, expressing communication with the gods above. The dancers' knees are bent so that they are nearer the ground, indicative of physical and spiritual proximity with the *‘āina*. Further emphasizing this “kinship with the environment,” the dancers' bare feet are planted firmly on the ground to connect with the *‘āina*. Dr. Taupōuri Tangarō explains this connection in his introduction: “We bring the water from our inner bodies through the dance and we wet the floor, and in doing that we feed this indigenous landscape here.” This transfer of energy and sweat from dancer to dance floor is one essential means by which this dance communicates kinship with the environment and proximity to volcanic powers. Moreover, one must keep in mind that this dance would typically be executed on *‘āina*, rather than on a wooden floor, as is seen in this particular video. When the dance is indeed performed on the land, the dancers' sweat more directly “feed[s]” into the physical “indigenous landscape,” as well as the social and cultural landscapes to which Dr. Tangarō alludes. However, its performance is nonetheless symbolic of grounded *Kanaka* relationships with the land when it is demonstrated indoors. The conception of this dance and its historical, ceremonial performance is always done in homage to this relationship, so its significance persists regardless of setting.

Another means by which reverence toward land, or *‘āina*, is expressed in this dance is through the playing of *Pū*, or conch shells. The following is a screenshot of the *Unukupukupu* dancers summoning the elements of the sky by playing the *Pū*:



**Figure 6:** A screenshot from “Unukupukupu Hālau Hula” video, posted to YouTube by Library of Congress.

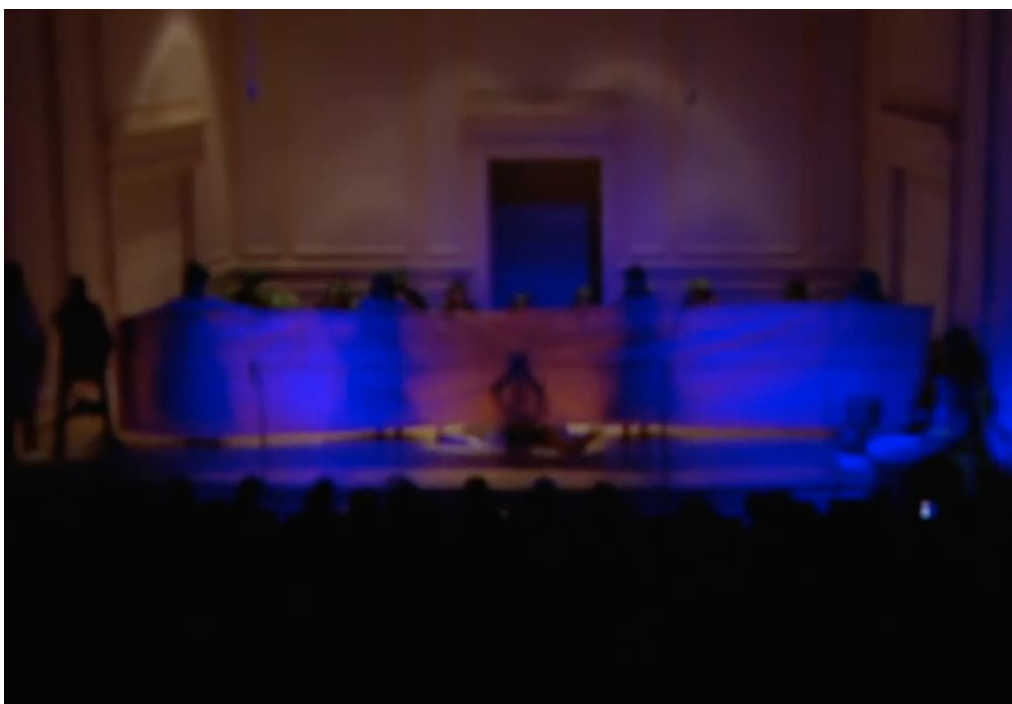
The particular sound that the *Pū* emits is akin to that of a trumpet, and it is meant to convey “the vibrations of our Sky Father.” This is one ceremonial piece of this dance, seeing as the acknowledgment and summoning of Mother Earth (Papa) and Sky Father (Wakea) signals a



beginning--in terms of both cosmogony and choreography. As Dr. Tangarō states, “when the father and the mother is present, then we may be born.” This dance herein reveals yet another distinct parallel to the *Kumulipo*, which begins with a detailed account of the origins of Papa and Wakea, before chronicling the birth of subsequent creations. The dance begins with the drums that summon the mother, and the *Pū* that summons the father, alluding to that same generative, life-giving pair. As a result, the forces and the dancers together breathe physical and ceremonial life into the dance.

This performance persists for forty minutes, demanding an incredible level of tact, physical exertion, and memorization from the dancers. I am particularly interested in expanding on one of Dr. Tangarō’s remarks, in which he notes that the drum dances explain “how it is that we are going to be in kinship with our environment. These stories that come through the dances tell us exactly what to do, what not to do, and how to evolve.” This quote reveals the purpose and origin of *hula*. It is not simply aesthetic, nor is it overtly sexual, nor was it created strictly as entertainment for audience enjoyment. *Hula*, at its core, is an expression of relationship. It is a storytelling vehicle, a means by which *Kānaka Maoli* communicate with our ancestors, keeping in mind that our ancestors are not only human, but also the *taro* plant, the ocean, the stars, ferns, and flowers. This designation is what Dr. Tangarō alludes to when he suggests that the dance explains how to “be in kinship with our environment.” This is essential to understand when investigating the value and purpose of ceremonial *hula*, no matter the particular style that is under analysis.

As a final example of the sacred, spiritual nature of *hula*, let us turn to the concluding moments of this Unukupukupu Hālau Hula performance.



**Figure 7:** A screenshot from “Unukupukupu Hālau Hula” video, posted to YouTube by Library of Congress.

In the final section of their dance, the *Unukupukupu* students hold up a sheet, as seen above, in order to create a silhouette of their *kumu hula*, Taupōuri Tangarō. This demonstration is done to emulate “the veil that separates the known from the unknown, the conscious from the unconscious,” and to portray the role that *hula* dancers fill as storytellers and representatives of *Kanaka* culture, navigating the space between what is and is not known by others (9:44-9:48). In fact, Tangarō explicitly states that the role of *hula* dancers is “to go between the world of the known and the unknown, and live amongst [their] communities” (9:56-10:01). Therefore, this symbolic gesture of the *kumu hula*’s silhouette, guarded by the “veil” of a sheet, represents the sacredness of the *hula*, as well as the responsibility that each dancer has in fulfilling their designated roles as storytellers and knowledge-bearers.

In this section, Tangarō also explains that this dance is meant to “encourage dreaming” (9:34-9:36). The altered state of a dreaming, sleeping brain is illustrated by the separation of a sheet as “the veil that separates...the conscious from the unconscious.” The subtle and highly intentional movements of the dancer whose silhouette is visible represent the dream itself. As I mentioned earlier, Tangarō remarks that “dreaming was always something that was risked from the ancient times. So, all of our stories tell us to keep dreaming. Don’t forget to dream, and pray that when you wake up, your dreams are right by your side...” In his suggestion that dreaming has long been “risked” by *hula* dancers, Tangarō is likely alluding to the vulnerability that is required of the dancers-- and of many *Kānaka Maoli* when we dream. As Noelani Goodyear-Ka’ōpua writes in “Dreaming is an Everyday Act of Resurgence,” “...dreaming opens portals to different ways of being and perceiving, ways to which we do not have immediate access when we are awake” (84). Therefore, to dream is to allow oneself to potentially go between the threshold that separates the living and the dead, the known and the unknown, and other such domains to which we do not typically have conscious access. This may be a harrowing endeavor, hence Tangarō’s description of dreaming as a risk. However, the wisdom that is to be gained from these unconscious insights can be immense, which is why Tangarō suggests, “pray that when you wake up, your dreams are right by your side...”

While Tangarō’s wisdom is intended for all, it is especially relevant for *hula* dancers, seeing as they are expected to demonstrate higher consciousness as inheritors and storytellers of sacred traditions. Seeing as *hula* often honors deities and ancestors, and tells of our cosmogony and genealogy, it is indeed a sacred practice. Because of this, the dancers are asked to be alert, aware, and in tune with the messages that they uncover as their studies, dreams, and dances take them beyond the veil of what is known. Once again, Tangarō herein emphasizes the sacredness, as well as the heightened consciousness, that is so fundamental to the practice and choreography of *hula*. Not only is *hula* a physical practice, but it is also mental, spiritual, and emotional.

This cultural understanding of the medium can be uncovered through such scholarly research as my own; however, it can also be cultivated through an education at a *hula* school, or, a *hālau hula*. Many *Kānaka Maoli*, such as the aforementioned dancers from the *Unukupukupu Hālau Hula*, attend these schools in order to learn choreography, but also to be trained in the ways of a traditional *hula* dancer. This training means an education in etiquette and self-conduct, rituals, diet, exercise, and prayers. Inspired by a long-standing tradition, students at a *hālau hula* will

learn about Laka, the goddess who “is dancing through the dancer,” as well as other deities that inspire a host of other dances (“The Hawaiian Electronic Library”). Moreover, some of the more traditional rules that students might be expected to follow include the limiting of sugar intake, the forbidding of cutting one’s hair or nails, sexual abstinence, no backtalk toward instructors, and strict upkeep with personal hygiene. These are only a handful of guidelines that *hula* students would be expected to uphold in accordance with traditional rules. Some schools cling to these mandates, called *kapu*, more closely than others, but every *hālau hula* enforces some variant of these guidelines. The head teacher, or *kumu hula*, of each class will decide which rules and rituals will be upheld. Not only would students elect to uphold their instructor’s *kapu* to demonstrate obedience toward their *kumu hula*, but also to demonstrate reverence to the *hula* gods. By honoring the *kapu*, students position themselves as likely recipients of blessings from such *hula* goddesses as Laka. *Hula* dancers who uphold the *kapu* enforced by their *kumu hula* are believed to receive blessings of enhanced talent and improved memory.

In large part, *hālau hula* are responsible for the modern resurgence and survival of traditional *hula*, and this schooling continues to be popular among *Kānaka Maoli* still today. A student of *hālau hula* will be well-informed on the cosmogony, culture, and history of Hawai‘i. Therefore, this schooling is essential to the perseverance of cultural pride and to the survival of Native narratives. In this modern age of consumerism, which often attempts to commodify and sexualize the ceremonial *hula* tradition, *hālau hula* are imperative to the resurgence of *Kanaka* culture. The popular *hula auana* is neither immoral nor inferior as far as stylistic variants are concerned; however, it is a byproduct of tourism, and one whose narrative function is often lost on uninformed--or perhaps uninterested--tourists. This is not to say that there is anything wrong with attending a more tourist-aimed performance of *hula*; after all, many of those participating are *Kānaka Maoli* and likely use such venues for economic support and security. It is to assert, however, that the popular, modern understanding of *hula* as the horizon of knowledge and experience is entirely lacking. This can be astutely expressed by Taupōuri Tangarō as he explains the role of *hula* dancers: “Our job is not to entertain, you see. Our job is to go between the world of the known and the unknown, and live amongst our communities” (Unukupukupu Hālau Hula 9:50-10:01). A performance of *hula* is most always aesthetically pleasing, but the beauty of the dance extends far beyond its visually striking components, and deep into the cultural significance of its resurgence.

*Hula* is one significant means by which *Kanaka* culture survives still today. Scholarly research like my own is another important aspect of this survival, but it is certainly not more relevant nor more important because it is a product of academia. I argue that *hula* is of equal importance to the survival and resurgence of *Kanaka* culture, seeing as it is a practice that calls upon a deeply-entrenched relationship with the history and nuances of Hawai‘i. Similarly, academia calls upon scholars to investigate and enter into conversations surrounding the historical and present-day realities of Native culture. Therefore, scholarly work is complementary to other on-the-ground forms of resurgence such as *hula*. Both call for integration with *Kanaka* culture, and both are essential to the modern resurgence and preservation of *Kanaka* culture. As Kīhei de Silva writes in *Everyday Acts of Resurgence*, “The everyday-ness of resurgence requires us ‘ōiwi [indigenous



persons] to persist- to continue to do, say, grow, and dance that which our lāhui [nation] always has” (Silva 19). Engaging with literature about *Kanaka* culture can be conducive to bountiful insights, as can the persistence of pre-colonialist practices like *hula*. Ultimately, it is because of folks who “continue to do, say, grow, and dance that which our lāhui always has,” that Hawai‘i will refuse to be swallowed up by colonialist erasure. While Dr. Tangarō continues to dance and teach *hula kahiko*, Queen Lili‘uokalani chose to translate the *Kumulipo* so that our genealogy survives into modernity. Neither act of resurgence is more Hawaiian, nor more impactful; rather, each act of resurgence builds upon each other as we continually strive to preserve and build *Kanaka* culture.

These acts of preservation are always combating the threat of erasure, which Kīhei de Silva explains: “‘Hula’, ‘Aloha’, and the Hawaiian ‘Lei’ have suffered much co-optation and attempted assimilation at the hands of colonizers and capitalists. Our continued survival as *kānaka maoli* will depend on our youth’s willingness and ability to see through the false reflections of ourselves that the colonizer’s mirror shows us, and on their stubbornness in maintaining our connections with land lāhui cherished by our people’s true practices and attitudes” (19). In accordance with the historical agenda of colonialism, the sexualization and commodification of *Kanaka* culture will persist. In response, we, too, must persist in our efforts to reject the perversion of the practices and traditions that define *Kānaka Maoli*. If *Kanaka* practices like *hula* are not preserved, they become subject to trivialization as tourist commodities. This, in turn, furthers ideas that suggest *Kānaka Maoli* are commodities, ourselves; subjects to be exploited and modulated according to the wants of a dominant discourse. In a modern, diasporic existence, efforts of preservation may materialize in the attendance of lectures by *Kanaka* scholars, the reading of *Kanaka* texts, or the practice of *hula*, to name only a few means of cultural resurgence. In the next chapter, I explore another avenue for *Kānaka Maoli* resistance, revitalization, and resurgence: the oral tradition.

## CHAPTER 4: ORAL STORYTELLING

In previous sections of my research, I have demonstrated how the practice of oral recitation is essential to the preservation and resurgence of *Kanaka* culture. Just as the genealogy of the *Kumulipo* was preserved for centuries by means of memorization and oral recitation, so too were many *hula* dances and *meles*. Prior to the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, *Kānaka Maoli* primarily recorded their stories by such means of oral storytelling and performance. It has always been a fundamental facet in this and other Native cultures (King). However, as LeAnne Howe observes in her article “Tribalography: The Power of Natives Stories” (1999), “In the western intellectual tradition, the act of writing stories has been given hegemony over the act of telling stories. This phenomenon led to a privileged view of text, so much so that written stories of the past became labeled as ‘history,’ and their authors ‘historians’” (122). Settler colonial modernity has encouraged the migration of stories from memories to books, from spoken to written. This push has effectively worked to discredit those stories that have persisted through orality, as if the writing down of words is the only means by which they become legitimately authoritative. A Native woman herself, Howe reports that her writing uses “...the terms story, fiction, history, and play, interchangeably because [she is] from a culture that views these things as an integrated

whole rather than individual parts” (118). Although Howe is referring to her narrative understanding as a Choctaw woman, the same ideology applies to *Kanaka* narration, which is fundamentally multi-generic in its use of *hula*, *mele*, written text, and orality to tell stories. No single form is more appropriate or more meritorious than the next, according to *Kanaka* knowledge. However, modern Euro-American standards might suggest otherwise. In order to ensure the contemporary survival of our histories, then, such scholars as Queen Lili‘uokalani have translated and recorded our stories that have long circulated through oral storytelling. Nonetheless, the practice of oral storytelling is itself a tenet of *Kanaka* culture, so its continuation is an essential defense against cultural erasure.

In my own lifetime, I have inherited a great deal of familial knowledge through this long-standing tradition of storytelling. Specifically, I have learned about my own genealogy through stories told by my grandmother, by my Auntie B, and especially by my Auntie Betty. Betty Kealoha Snowden Duarte was the proud agent of reclamation who rescued my family’s *Kanaka* history from erasure. Following a period of intensely anti-Hawaiian colonialism that poisoned the early years of the 20th century (Snowden), my Auntie Betty decided to research and record the histories that had almost been lost to the silencing of *Kanaka* voices.

While I will engage with and expand upon the stories that my Auntie Betty would recite at family gatherings, preserved via video recording, I will be carefully avoiding the reproduction of certain written documents. In particular, the document that she created for my mom and her daughters, *The Trustees Handbook I*, is prefaced with the following wish: “Please do not give copies of this to anyone; duplicate any part of it; put it on computers; or allow anyone to copy any part of it...” (Snowden). Out of respect for my Auntie Betty and my *Kanaka* inheritance, I will therefore reference this document on occasion but will refrain from reproducing anymore of its contents, which were not intended for mass publication. I believe that the rationale behind her adamant request for this preservation of privacy lies in the fear that the documented information might somehow be perverted or used against our family. This fear would be entirely reasonable, seeing as she had endured more than her share of frustration at the misuse and maltreatment of our stories and inheritance. As Eve Tuck writes in “R-Words: Refusing Research” (2014), “Refusal, and stances of refusal in research, are attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can’t be known” (225). By limiting who is allowed access to my family’s genealogies, to documentation concerning the burial of our ancestors, and to personal stories about family members, my Auntie Betty preserved our most sacred documents and knowledge for our family. In doing so, she reclaimed some agency on behalf of our entire lineage, making us the sole inheritors of certain stories, and effectively “plac[ing] limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits” to outsiders.

One particularly upsetting instance of the misuse of our family documents occurred while my Auntie Betty was fighting for the rights to our inherited Kaua’i beach in a drawn-out court case. Though there were many, one of the primary obstacles that made this trial difficult for my Auntie was a lack of written records indicating that our property was in fact ours. This deficiency was in large part due to the reality that our records had long been preserved orally, rather than in written

documents. My Auntie Betty shared with us younger generations that the court had used any existing documentation to inquire about particular names, places, relations, and dates, and to interrogate her with undue scrutiny. If she answered particular questions in a manner that did not align exactly with what was written on a sheet of paper, it would mark one strike against my Auntie Betty as she attempted to gain back the rights to our family beach, our *‘āina*. The major issue with this system of interrogation was that my Auntie Betty was answering questions about family, tradition, and history based largely on the stories that she was told, rather than the particular words of the documents being used against her. This means that the people who were interrogating her were operating under assumptions about the accuracy of written and oral literature. As Thomas King articulates in his book *The Truth About Stories* (2003) the “assumption about written literature is that it has an inherent sophistication that oral literature lacks, that oral literature is a primitive form of written literature, a precursor to written literature, and as we move from the cave to the condo, we slough off the oral and leave it behind” (100). This is exactly the assumption that fueled such undue scrutiny in this court case, and it is one of the driving reasons behind why gatekeeping our familial histories became a necessary cause to which my Auntie Betty was passionately dedicated. Let it also be known that it is all thanks to her diligent research, commitment, and bravery that our beach once again belongs to our family, following its seizure by military forces in the mid-20th century. Our beach, Lawai Kai, is where my ancestors are buried, it is where my family would gather in my childhood, and it is the setting for the stories that my Auntie Betty last recited to my family nineteen years ago.

In the following section, I will transcribe these stories, engaging with them in a more immersive, narrative discourse than has been typical of this thesis. Indeed, the form and contexts of these exchanges, and my own positionality with them and the histories and relationships they articulate, demand this shift in methodology. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), “When indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, people participate differently, and problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms” (93). I therefore consciously make this methodological shift as a *Kanaka* woman, as a firsthand recipient of my Auntie Betty’s stories, and as the descendant of the people of whom these stories tell. Moreover, I wish to describe the storytelling in a manner that is more reflective of the narrative style in which the stories were circulated. Telling stories amongst family was not a formal event, although reverence was expected when elders were speaking. Instead, the activity was a conversation, in which all of our *ohana* was involved and welcomed to contribute. Therefore, my methodology in the subsequent sections will attempt to emulate the style of immersive dialogue in which these stories were shared with me.

## THE SETTING

In the summer of 2001, my family gathered around my Auntie Betty in a semicircle. Some of us were sitting cross-legged on the floor, others propped up in chairs at the kitchen table of our rental house. Comforted by the warm, gardenia-scented air of Kaua’i, us Oregonians settled in to listen to my dad recite my Auntie Betty’s stories, which she had typed up and printed for us to

take home at our eventual departure. Though I was only three years old at the time, I was just as essential to the congregation as was my mom, my sister, my cousin, and my grandma. The recitation of these stories was in large part to teach us younger family members about our inheritance, about morality, and about a long spanning, collectively held wisdom that we share as *ohana*. Stories like these are not told solely to entertain. Though my family would laugh and reminisce throughout their telling, we knew that my Auntie Betty shared these stories in the hopes that we would share them with future generations. We knew that she told us about our ancestors so that we would understand our origins and be empowered to identify with our *Kanaka* heritage. On this day, in 2001, she shared with us stories about Lawai Kai, our family beach in Kaua'i. And she took care to do so prior to our visiting the beach, so that we might understand the sacredness of the land before we were overwhelmed by its picturesque beauty.



**Figure 8:** A partial view of my family's *'āina*, Lawai Kai Beach, Kaua'i. This photo was taken from the burial grounds of my ancestors. Taken by Denise Harden, 2002.

## STORY 1: KEALI'I KAAPUNI HONUA

The first story shared in the video recording of our family gathering tells about the origins of one particular family name, Keali'i Kaapuni Honua. This name has been bestowed upon one *kane* (male) from every generation of our family for centuries. The story details what the name means and why it is significant to our family. Furthermore, it reveals the interconnectedness of humans,

animals, and *‘āina* as it details an account of the original settlers on our family’s beach in Lawai Kai Valley. Written by Betty Snowden, and herein recited by William Harden, the story goes as follows:

On a small island in the Pacific lived a powerful chief. He knew that if he could double his territory, he could be the most powerful chief in the area. So, from the day that his beautiful little daughter was born he plotted how he would marry her off to his rival on a neighboring island. To accomplish this, he had to present the young wife, who had never been with a man. After she was born, the chief placed his daughter in a simple hut on a white sandy beach on the end of the island. Behind the hut, he placed guards to watch the princess day and night and keep her from uninvited visitors. No one could get to her without leaving footprints in the sand. The princess grew up in her lonely prison with only family as visitors.

Imagine the fury and confusion when she turned out pregnant. The furious chief called his guards to find out what happened. They swore that every day and night they had checked the area around her hut, and the only footprints were left by crabs and turtles. The chief took matters into his own hands. During the evening, he hid on the grassy area overlooking the beach. Soon after dark, sand crabs scuffled and played on the sand near the hut. Much later, a large sea turtle climbed out of the sea and ambled toward the hut. The chief heard his daughter squeal and giggle with delight. For days, he watched the hut, only to see every morning the footprints of the sea creatures.

Meanwhile, the princess grew larger, infuriating the chief who saw his plans of conquest disappearing before his eyes. He commanded his guards to build a raft upon which he would put the princess. He would have her towed out to be set adrift to die, but his curiosity would not let her go without finding out who was the father of the unborn child. The princess replied, “It was the turtle. He came each night into the tent, and when I touched him, he turned into this handsome prince. But he had to return to sea each dawn, or the sun would find him and seal his doom to remain a turtle forever.” The chief was so angry at the princess for telling him lies that he had her immediately put on the raft and towed out to sea. Left alone to die, the sobbing princess was relieved to see a giant sea turtle rise up from the deep and go under the raft, lifting it gently upon his back. This way they traveled until they reached Hawai‘i. When their child was born, they named him Keali‘i Kaapuni Honua, which means “the Chief who is carried on the back of the turtle.” That was the name King Kalakaua gave to Uncle Lorin in 1881 so that he would not forget. (Snowden)

The way in which relationships are depicted in this legend is essential to understanding *Kanaka* reverence for *‘āina* and for the animals that inhabit it. Whereas the princess’s father denounces her and offers up her life in exchange for power, the turtle-turned-prince provides the princess with love, a safe voyage, and refuge from the perils brought upon her by humankind. Furthermore, their peaceful arrival at Lawai Kai signifies the sanctity of Hawaiian *‘āina*, which is a solace from the prison that was the princess’s home. The story concludes with the recognition

that Keali'i Kaapuni Honua was the name that King Kalawao gave to our Uncle Lorin in 1881 "so that he would not forget." Ending the story on this note not only evidences how oral storytelling has allowed our stories to survive, but it reveals just how essential the stories are in defining our lineage, the identities of individual family members, and our long-standing relationships to and claims upon this place.

The atmosphere in which this story was recited is also an important detail by which *Kanaka* storytelling can be characterized. My dad is not a *Kanaka Maoli*, but he specifically was invited to recite my Auntie Betty's writing. When it came time to pronounce "Keali'i Kaapuni Honua," a chorus of praise and applause can be heard in the recording, as his pronunciation was exactly correct. My life experience has taught me that this extension of grace and welcoming to non-*Kanaka* family members is commonplace for *Kānaka* folks. While our genealogies are sacred and aid in defining one's identity, the inheritance of our lineage has not been strictly tied to biology or "blood." Rather, those family members like my dad who are not *Kānaka Maoli* are just as much a part of our family history as is my *Kanaka* mom. Moreover, my aunts would welcome and encourage him in a loving manner as a reciprocal gesture of the same love and interest that my dad invested in learning about *Kanaka* culture. Their reaction of joy and applause is further exemplary of the overall tone of our gathering, since we were gathered together to learn, to share, and hopefully to feel empowered by these stories. The tradition of storytelling in my family, and in *Kanaka* culture at large, builds a shared sense of community among the storytellers and listeners involved.

Indigenous scholars like Jeff Corntassel have discussed this idea of community in accordance with Native practices, elaborating on how the Native idea of family "extends beyond fatherhood, motherhood, and well beyond those artificial boundaries that we construct around relations, such as 1st, 2nd, or 3rd cousins. Such artificial distinctions can distance us from each other and obscure the depth of our familial sense of belonging. At the end of the day as Indigenous nations, we all belong to each other" (34). In Native practices, kin-making is not limited to the nuclear family nor to any other "artificial distinction" that might attempt to suggest relationality. Technically, my father is my Auntie Betty's nephew-in-law, but that arbitrary title does not determine their closeness nor my father's ability to participate in *Kanaka* storytelling. It is through our love for one another, and through our shared efforts to preserve our family's histories that we are interconnected.





**Figure 9:** My family standing on the steps of Queen Emma's summer cottage, located on our family beach in Lawai Kai, Kaua'i (2000). Back row (L to R): Jordan Kalani Harden; my grandma, Mabel Kalani Duarte Kampstra. Front row (L to R): my sister, Jenna Denise Kalei Harden; my mom, Denise Elaine Kampstra Harden.

## STORY II: MO'O

"The name Lawai: la is sun, wai is water. And our stories tell us that the turtle, and the mo'o, or lizard, came from Tahiti. They were so tired, so they lay on the sand, out of the water to dry. Lawai was where they came to the sun to dry." Auntie Betty pauses as my cousin knocks on the

door outside. Everyone waits for him to enter, welcomes him inside, and turns back to Auntie Betty. “You have our undivided attention,” my grandma assures her.

She continues, this time reciting a story from memory<sup>5</sup> without the narrative aid of my dad:

So, I’ve told you a little bit about they came over on the back of the turtle. That’s a legend. It’s probably not really what happened. There’s another story about how there were three lizards, and we call them mo’o. And they’re like demi-gods, they’re like gods that take the form of different things like lizards. Well there were three of them, big giant ones. And they wanted to come from Tahiti to see what was on this side of the world. So, they swam all the way from Tahiti, and they were almost here, they got really tired. They get to Ni’ihau. And the lady lizard, the sister, said “I’m too tired, I’m gonna stay here. I’m not going any further.” And the brother lizard said, “Nah, I’m going to go over there and see what’s over there.” So, the male lizard came over and he landed in Lawai Kai Valley, on our beach, and decided that is where he’s going to stay and make his home. His sister stayed on Ni’ihau and married, and the legend says they were the original gods of the people on Ni’ihau. And our family is the Royal House of Keali’i from Ni’ihau, who came over and married the royal family on Kaua’i, who was Mo’ikeha. And so that’s the original royal families here. (Snowden)

Before I begin an analysis of this story, I want first to acknowledge my Auntie Betty’s remark about the preceding story: “That’s a legend. It’s probably not really what happened.” If the story about Keali’i Kaapuni Honua is “probably not really what happened,” then why is it significant in defining and understanding our family history? What purpose does it serve if it is not factual? Regardless of whether the events in the story occurred, they speak to the relationality of our family to the sea, sun, animals, and land. Just as fables and fairytales feature unrealistic elements of symbolism that teach about morality and other relevant lessons, so too do our family’s stories. In the instance of the story about Keali’i Kaapuni Honua, supposing that the story’s events did not in fact occur, the story nonetheless teaches about the value in our family’s *‘āina*, which has historically been a reprieve for people and animals alike. The story models a relationship between humankind and animals that suggests how closely related the two are to one another. It recognizes characteristics of bravery, cleverness, reliability, and ingenuity. So, the listener of this story can choose to believe or reject these events as having really happened. Regardless, the story teaches about the relationships and values that define our lineage.

To put this contemplation of truth into a popular Western context, consider LeAnne Howe’s discussions of what she terms “epitomizing non-events” that often structure Indigenous and other stories: “Whether the non-event in question ever happened matters very little to the people who believe it. Witness the [1999] *Shakespeare In Love*, the life of the author retold through his fiction or play, *Romeo and Juliet*. Therefore story creates attitudes and culture, the very glue which binds a society together” (121). Here, Howe astutely recognizes that the fictionalization of any given story does not necessarily undermine its function as a meaning-maker. The question of whether there ever existed a turtle-turned-prince does not require an answer in order for my Auntie Betty’s story to carry meaning in defining my family’s lineage, relationships, and culture. The story



nonetheless “creates attitudes and culture” regardless of its “truth.” Indeed, in framing relationships in specific ways, such moments draw attention to alternative “truths” that exceed the demands of historical corroboration or empirical verification.

The same can be said of the second featured story, which reveals a great deal about the purpose and value of the stories that have survived for generations. This tale about mo‘o details the origins of familial names, and focuses on a royal genealogy, much like the *Kumulipo*. As my Auntie Betty explains, our beach, Lawai Kai, gets its name from the components “la,” sun, and “wai,” water. The corresponding story focuses on these elements of ‘āina, explaining how the sand and sun provided reprieve for the exhausted turtle and mo‘o. And, as we observed in close reading the *Kumulipo*, animals are our progenitors. That is, the ‘āina serves the animals, which inhabit and care for that ‘āina, which human descendants eventually inhabit and, in turn, care for. Another important, emerging motif in these stories is that of demi-gods and royalty, and specifically *ali‘i nui*, or, ruling chiefs. Demi-gods are ever-present in Hawaiian myths and legends, being the stepping stone between gods and humans (Cartwright). They often take on roles as creators, troublemakers, or figures who otherwise set events--natural and superficial--into motion. In this particular story, three lizards are the demi-gods who establish communities on the islands of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau. They also begin the royal lineage that I would eventually inherit as a descendant of the Royal House of Keali‘i. As demonstrated in this story, the original *ali‘i nui* were demi-gods, and so their descendants inherited their spiritual ties to ‘āina and to the generative darkness of *Pō*. Considering that demi-gods are the progenitors to all *Kānaka Maoli*, this means that *Kānaka Maoli* all inherit these ties to ‘āina and *Pō*, regardless of which particular demi-god is part of our specific genealogies. It is, however, the specific details of our own familial genealogy that ties us--socially, culturally, spiritually, and politically--to this specific site of ‘āina in Lawai Kai. And it is these ties which bind us to our land, even as real estate and tourism threaten to invade it.

As in the previous story narrated by my father, the context in which this story is shared demonstrates not only the reverence that everyone brings to the telling, but also an ethic of love, care, and familial respect in which the story is told. The group pauses at an interruption so as not to miss any of Auntie Betty’s story, and my grandma offers her sister assurance in her position as knowledge-keeper, -producer, and -giver, noting, “You have our undivided attention.” Such an assurance is an expression of love, informing Auntie Betty that her research, ancestry, and time is not being shared in vain. This gesture reaffirms the importance of the stories and of my Auntie Betty’s efforts, which have historically been fraught with pushback from folks who have attempted to seize the land about which her stories tell. After telling this story, my Auntie talks about how Steven Spielberg had approached her with a request to shoot *Jurassic Park 3* at our beach. Of course, she declined after he allegedly suggested that one scene would require our permission for them to “bomb our lily pond.” The group exchanges laughs, anecdotes, and expressions of disdain at the whole ordeal before she continues to tell another story about our beach. In this next story, not surprisingly, she expands on why it should be protected from exploitation--no matter the dollar amount promised in exchange or the celebrity of those making the request.



**Figure 10:** Jordan Kalani Harden sitting on Lawai Kai Beach, Kaua'i (2002).

### STORY III: THE KAHUNA OF LAWAI

The third and final story that my Auntie Betty recites is welcomed by the consistently quiet audience that fills the living room of our rental house. My mom is behind the camera, and turns to reveal a captive audience, the kids sitting on the laps of parents and grandparents, our backs being scratched with eyes glued to my Auntie as she continues to share with us our inheritance.

Many, many years ago, Lawai Kai was like the college of kahunas. And kahuna means, 'the keepers of the secrets.' And they were the scientists of before. They could navigate boats without instruments because they could follow the stars. They could cure people who were sick, they did surgery. They were the kahunas of dance and chant. But the most famous kahuna stories of Kaua'i was why King Kamehameha could never conquer Kaua'i. And it was because of our Five Kahuna. And our Five Kahuna were so powerful that they could command the wind. And they would say, 'Wind, come up,' and the wind would come. Or they would say, 'Waves, go down,' and they would go down. It's in our history books. The first time they came over to try to conquer Kaua'i, the Good King and our people said, 'We have to go talk to the Kahuna of Lawai Kai.'

On top of Kaua'i'iki until today is the most famous heiau [temple] in the South Pacific. That's because our people were the keepers of that famous heiau, and our family are the caretakers of that heiau. And you have to be the top kahuna in wherever you were before you could go into it. There were only twelve kahuna at the time of Kamehameha who could enter that heiau because that was where the secrets of the wind and the water, and pestilence, and thunder and lightning were kept. Well, Kamehameha came over. He was gonna conquer Kaua'i. And he went up to our little heiau and he talked to the kahuna, and the kahuna came down and said that they would take care of it. So, Kamehameha came across, and they hid on the other side of [inaudible] Beach, is what they call Mahaulepu.

He hits Mahaulepu and a giant wave came, and dumped 25,000 Hawaiian warriors into the ocean, and most of them drowned. And the boats floated up into the sea and the Kaua'i warriors went and hailed them for them, and when the enemy warriors came onto land, the Kaua'i warriors said, 'Get in it and out of here,' and off they went. So, the attempt to capture Kaua'i failed. The [second] time King Kamehameha--now, this is about 1800--Kamehameha decides to come over, and he's gonna get Kaua'i because he's got the rest of the islands. So, when he hits Honolulu, the Kaua'i king goes up to the heiau, to our kahuna-- "Oh, we'll take care of it."

So, the next morning at daybreak, 40,000 warriors jump into canoes to come to Kaua'i. Guess what? One hour out to sea, everyone felt mysteriously sick. More than half of them died from what they call pestilence. They had a strange disease that nearly killed them, and the few that were left paddled back to Oahu and never made it out of the bay. So, the third time came, and Kamehameha said, "This is nonsense. Stories about the kahuna is not real. We are going to Kaua'i." Fifty thousand warriors get into canoes, and they left Hilo and picked up people in Maui...[inaudible]...and bring armies from all the other kings. They're gonna capture Kaua'i. This is it. Well our five kahuna who's out here in the bay do they thing. The waves came, the thunder and lightning, and all kinds of things. The canoes were all destructed, upside down, nobody lived. That was the end of Kamehameha's attempt, that was 1800. And it's in the history books. They don't know what happened, they never made it. Kaua'i was never captured by King Kamehameha. Still today, it never was. (Snowden)

This story offers immense insight regarding *Kanaka* relationships with *‘āina*. Specifically, it demonstrates the powerful connection that the *Five Kahuna*, or “keeper of secrets,” had with the *‘āina*. The *kahuna*, who “could follow the stars” and “command the wind,” used their spiritual connection with the elements and the intellectual bodies of knowledge such relationships produced to defend Kaua’i from Kamehameha’s attempts at conquering the land. As the story goes, the *kahuna* knew how to access and control such elements as the “wind and the water, and pestilence, and thunder and lightning...” The *kahuna* used this relationship with the *‘āina* so as to offer security for their people and their territory, demonstrating a relationship wherein *Kānaka Maoli* and *‘āina* both strive to protect one another. The *kahuna* called upon the *‘āina* to act as an omnipotent and destructive force against invaders, benefiting those who desired to honor the power of the *‘āina* and who did not wish to conquer it. As an attack against Kamehameha’s warriors, “a giant wave came” and drowned invaders, and “More than half of them died from what they call pestilence.” It is because of the *kahuna*’s sacred connection to the *‘āina* that the original inhabitants of Kaua’i were able to maintain their land. This relationship is exactly what is intended by the *‘Ōlelo Hawai’i* phrase *aloha ‘āina*, which essentially suggests that humans and *‘āina* are in kinship with one another and must take mutual care of each other. If one tends to, honors, and respects the *‘āina*, then the *‘āina* will reciprocate this care.

King Kamehameha, himself an *‘Ōiwi* (Native son of Hawai’i), wanted to conquer Kaua’i so that he could reign over the Islands, motivated by a desire to unite them all against increasing incursions by European imperialists. Though the Islands were threatened by separation from such invasions, the individual *ali’i* who ruled various Islands did not want to concede to the dominion of one King or ruler; hence, the intense defense of Kaua’i. This is important to understand: even in stories wherein *Kānaka Maoli* attempt to conquer land, there is a consistent reverence for *‘āina*, the desire for its acquisition stemming from a desire for protection and unification rather than for its commodification or manipulation. Moreover, the separation of the islands prior to Kamehameha’s Kingdom speaks to the autonomy that each island once enjoyed, separate communities operating under individualized ethics of governance. As a once-independent island, my ancestors were able to defend Lawai Kai, and Kaua’i at large, in a manner that is now impossible for modern residents of the nation-state.

Another way in which a *Kanaka Maoli* might express reverence toward the *‘āina* is through the preservation and sharing of the stories that reveal its power, just as my Auntie Betty did when she passed along these stories, which I now reproduce. The survival of our individual stories allows my family to maintain a relationship with our ancestors that is grounded in shared experience, all of us having learned some variation of the same tales. Moreover, having all been audience members to the telling of these stories ensures that the same behaviors and values are modeled to each generation, specifically reverence for *‘āina* and elders. As Kīhei de Silva writes in *Everyday Acts of Resurgence*, “The everyday-ness of resurgence requires us *‘ōiwi* to persist-- to continue to do, say, grow, and dance that which our *lāhui* always has” (19). Especially in the face of an ever-expanding tourist industry that dominates the Islands, and as newer generations grow temporally and geographically distanced from our ancestors, the continued reproduction of these stories in their many forms offers a chance for cultural resurgence and survival.

Prior to colonial invasion, ‘*Ōlelo Hawai‘i* survived entirely through orality, ceremony, song, and performance. It was Euro-American colonizers who introduced the Hawaiian alphabet which exists today, aiding in colonialist efforts to erase and replace *Kanaka* culture with existing Euro-American methods of being and doing.<sup>6</sup> Because of this forced assimilation, *Kanaka* scholars like Queen Lili‘uokalani have made efforts to preserve our stories by translating and transcribing them so that they might survive into modernity, according to contemporary methods of storytelling. Queen Lili‘uokalani’s written translation of the *Kumulipo*, which she performed while imprisoned by foreign invaders, is exemplary of the *Kanaka* refusal of erasure. While the push to written language, and particularly to written English, was made in order to oppress *Kānaka Maoli*, it has in fact become yet another means by which we can preserve our stories. Through *hula*, orality, written works, and *mele*, our stories will survive in perpetuity.

Our stories, shared by the elders of the family, all tell of our ancestors. Just as the stories paint our ancestors in a reverent manner, the audience to the oral storyteller must demonstrate respect. Once again, the morals of our stories function to reflect aspects of relationality in *Kanaka* culture, defining how we interact with our family as well as the ‘*āina*. So just as the stories teach various lessons, so too do the moments in which the stories are shared. As Jeff Corntassel writes, “How we convey Indigenous values and practices to future generations is sometimes just as important as what we’re teaching” (35). By gathering together around my Auntie Betty and patiently listening to her speak, we can learn that sharing is foundational to our knowledge, that joy is central to our interactions, and that orality is as strong and legitimate a means of storytelling, kin-making, and place-making as is writing.

## CONCLUSION

As a *Kanaka* woman living in Oregon, I do not have constant, direct access to Hawaiian ‘*āina*, so I cannot tend to it, nor connect to it physically. How, then, do I exercise *aloha ‘āina*? In a diasporic existence such as mine, scholarship, music, *hula*, and storytelling are the fundamental means by which I can fulfill this desire and responsibility. Stephani Nohelani Teves writes about her own experiences as a *Kanaka* woman living away from Hawai‘i in her work *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (2018): “Thinking more broadly about diaspora is required if we are going to account for what its exponential growth means for the future of the lāhui. The benefit of this conversation would be a more expansive practice of belonging, one that is grounded in genealogy and kuleana (responsibility), not in statist forms that have worked to colonize, remove, and divide us” (Teves 145). According to Teves, the defiance of geographical boundaries is essential to the reclamation of indigeneity and to the survival of indigenous practices. If belonging is indeed founded in genealogy, one can travel and live in any location, their ties to indigeneity not restricted by the confines of time or place.

Beyond these boundaries of place, we must also challenge boundaries of genre which attempt to restrict or remodel our narrative modes as we pass along our stories and practices to younger generations. Oral storytelling is one powerful means by which *Kānaka Maoli* can honor our heritage, recalling and learning from the ways and words of our ancestors. If we connect with our

inheritance by emulating these practices, we can recognize that it is rooted in us, unable to be altered or displaced. Teves continues:

[I]t is necessary to change our discussion of indigeneity as something always bounded by and to the land. Our genealogies and responsibilities to the land should be prioritized, but we should not lose sight of the diversity of experiences that exist within Native communities. We need to have a more robust conversation about how ideas of ‘the Native’ are constrained by discourses that privilege presence on the land in contrast to living in the diaspora, and the impact these discourses have on belonging within our nations, communities, and “ohanas.” (145)

I reproduce this quote at length because it so eloquently recognizes the shortcomings of modern perceptions of indigeneity. Having spent my whole life in Oregon, I occasionally felt that I was not “Hawaiian enough” to claim my heritage. I believed that I would be more Hawaiian if I lived on the land where my ancestors are buried. This is a product of an internalized monologue which falsely says that indigeneity is exclusively tied to land. As Teves highlights, “Our genealogies and responsibilities to the land should be prioritized, but we should not lose sight of the diversity of experiences that exist within Native communities.” This diverse range of experiences can include *hula*, scholarship at the Knight Library in Eugene, the exchanging of stories about ancestors, and countless other acts that promote cultural resurgence.

As Daniel Justice writes in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, “Indigenous literatures are a vital expression of that imaginative commitment, righting—and *writing*—relations across time and space” (Justice 116). Therefore, by engaging with Indigenous literatures, we can participate in the preservation and resurgence of our heritage, regardless of place. Especially when considering that our *Kānaka Maoli* ancestors were voyagers in early times, making homes out of the Islands as they navigated the Pacific,<sup>7</sup> it seems that migration is part of our inheritance. We are bound to the *‘āina* not by a static physicality, but by an indestructible spiritual connection that cannot be limited by place. However, this is not to say that place is not important. Certainly, the *‘āina* is the birthright of *Kānaka Maoli*. *‘Āina* is family; the hibiscus, the coral, the turtle, the taro all are our relatives despite the distance that exists between us at times in our lives and histories. As Justice reminds us, “These things are inextricably connected: the Hawaiian people, the land with which they are in deep and abiding relation and from which their language emerges, and the political struggle to maintain both in good health and mutual care” (Justice 117). Just as we are tied to the land, so too are we tied to the perpetual call to defend it, and to defend our rights to it, from wherever we are.

There are countless methods by which cultural reclamation and resurgence can be performed. Whether this materializes as song, scholarship, or otherwise, the act of embodying and preserving *Kanaka* practices is both a privilege and a responsibility. *Kānaka Maoli* have long invested immense time and effort in order to reclaim and reassert the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands. By reproducing and writing the stories of our ancestors, we can ensure that they will survive for generations to come. Queen Lili‘uokalani, and King Kalākaua before her, preserved the *Kumulipo* in writing. Their progenitors preserved it in orality before them. I have now reproduced my Auntie



Betty's stories, which she reclaimed and repeated for us younger generations to inherit. *Hula* students continue to learn and preserve sacred practices from their *kumu hulas*, who themselves have taken on the responsibility of preserving and teaching the form. Our narratives survive through the continued passing down of these practices, and through our shared refusal to allow their erasure.

*Kānaka Maoli* are called to preserve these practices and to honor those who enacted them before us. But what responsibility do non-Kanaka folks have? To any and all readers, *Kanaka* or otherwise, I implore you please to embrace *Kanaka* ways of doing. Investigate all ways of doing, all cultures, and all beliefs that are not prominent in a Western, white American discourse. Read, ask questions, protest when you feel called to do so, investigate, consider why things are the way they are, ask where injustice lies and how it can be combatted. I believe that we are all called to be lifelong learners, constantly inquiring about existing systems and how they can be improved upon. There are so many voiceless people throughout the world. If you have a voice, like I do, I implore you to ask these questions loudly and to speak up on behalf of groups that are so often silenced.



**Figure 11:** Jordan Kalani Harden surrounded by *ohana* (2002).

Back row: my grandma, Mabel Kalani Duarte Kampstra. Front row (L to R): my Auntie B, Beverly Duarte Kapahu; me, Jordan Kalani Harden; my Auntie Betty Kealoha Snowden Duarte.

## GLOSSARY

**Note:** These are common English translations and do not convey the breadth of *Kanaka* connotations or meaning.

<i>‘āina</i>	land
<i>ali‘i</i>	chief
<i>ali‘i nui</i>	royal chief
<i>hālau hula</i>	hula school
<i>heiau</i>	temple
<i>hula auana</i>	contemporary hula
<i>hula kahiko</i>	old-style hula
<i>kahuna</i>	wise elder
<i>kumu hula</i>	master hula teacher
<i>mele</i>	chant, song, or poem
<i>‘ōiwi</i>	Native Hawaiian
<i>Pō</i>	the generative darkness from which all life is born

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For further details, see Kuykendall, Ralph S. *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. University of Hawaii Press, 1957. See also, Daws, Gavan. *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. University of Hawaii Press, 1974, pp. 11-15.

<sup>2</sup> See Scott Lyon's *X-Marks* for further elaboration on this history.

<sup>3</sup> The *Kumulipo* has been investigated and analyzed by many *Kanaka* scholars and is often cited as an informant on *Kanaka* culture in conversations of *Kanaka* identity, colonialism, spirituality, cosmogony, and related topics. A few notable scholars who have engaged in these conversations in their own texts include Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui, "Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature;" Joyce Pualani Warren, "Theorizing Pō: Embodied Cosmogony and Polynesian National Narrative;" and Brandy Nālani McDougall, "Mo'okū'auhau versus Colonial Entitlement in English Translations of the Kumulipo." These works discuss the importance of the *Kumulipo* in *Kanaka* studies and culture, emphasizing various aspects of the *Kumulipo* and of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. In my own work, I want to establish how the *Kumulipo* informs *Kanaka* relationships with 'āina, engaging with the work of these and other scholars.

<sup>4</sup> Such as Captain James Cook (1779) and Adelbert de Chamisso (1816). See Stone, Scott C. S., et al. *Yesterday in Hawai'i: A Voyage Through Time*. Island Heritage Publishing, 2014 for a more detailed account.

<sup>5</sup> I am transcribing my Auntie Betty's language verbatim, as it is heard in the video recording. I do this in an effort to preserve the authenticity of the stories and the manner in which they were told. I have also chosen not to use the standard [sic] to recognize any inaccuracies according to Standard American English. By refraining from asserting any notations about inaccuracy, I hope to recognize the legitimacy and comprehensibility of any interspersed Hawaiian Pidgin English.

<sup>6</sup> See Scott Richard Lyons's *X-Marks* to read more about how Euro-American language and record-keeping have been significant weapons in committing transgressions against Native populations.

<sup>7</sup> See Fornander's *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People* for further details.